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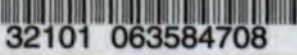
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SECOND SERIES, NO IX.—WHOLE NO. XLI.

ARTICLE I.

THE NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS.

By Rev. Justin Perkins, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., Ooroomiah, Persia.

THE interest with which we contemplate a people is often in great disproportion to its numbers. The little states of Greece stand unrivalled on the pages of history, as the early instructors and civilizers of the human species. The small community of the Waldenses, pent up in the narrow valleys of Piedmont, was the repository of that inestimable treasure, the vitality of our holy religion, during the long night which veiled the rest of Europe. The few thousands of the Moravians have gained a place on the records of the church, by the vigor of their zeal and the energy of their efforts to extend the triumphs of the gospel, which great Christian nations might worthily covet. And the small island of Britain is now exerting an influence on the condition and destinies of the world, which the vast extent and the unnumbered myriads of China have never known, and never will know till her broad territory and her countless inhabitants shall be illumined by the light of science, and controlled by the spirit of Christianity.

The obscure people, named at the head of this article, possess a humble claim to illustrate the statement I have made. The

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Nestorian Christians are the small, but venerable remnant of a once great and influential church. They are the oldest of Christian sects; in their better days they were numerous through all the vast regions from Palestine to China; and they carried the gospel into China itself. Their history is a checkered one. Sometimes, as under the tolerant policy of Gengis Khan and his descendants, they were raised to high places in the camp and at the court; while at other times, as by the crushing arm of the bloody Tamerlane, they were cut down and swept away, till scarce a vestige remained, save in the fastnesses of inaccessible mountains. But in prosperity and adversity, during a period of more than one thousand years, they furnish the brightest examples of persevering toil and self-denial, and often of heroic martyrdom, cheerfully encountered in the profession and zealous promulgation of the gospel,* that are to be found on the records of Christianity, since the days of the apostles.

My object is not to sketch a history of this venerable people; but merely to make a few statements relative to their present position, number, circumstances, character and prospects. I do this in compliance with a repeated request of the former worthy editor of the Repository, and in the hope that its readers may thereby become better acquainted with the people for whose salvation I am laboring, and more interested to co-operate, by prayer and effort, for the advancement of this object.

Before noticing the Nestorians in the particulars proposed, I may remark, that their *lineal origin*, like that of most eastern nations, is hid in the mists of uncertainty. Common, and perhaps universal tradition among themselves claims the *Jews* as their ancestors. As evidence of this descent, they urge the resemblance which exists between the Hebrew language and their own. They also adduce their deep abhorrence of the use of images and pictures in religious worship, while all other eastern Christians, descended from heathen ancestors, still retain their strong attachment to idolatry. The curious inquirer might find many other proofs that the Nestorians are descendants of the Jews. Nor is there any absurdity in the supposition, that their remote ancestors may have been some portion of the Israelites, who were carried away captive by the kings of Assyria, as.

* See an interesting article on the "Missions of the Nestorian Christians, in Central and Eastern Asia," in the *Missionary Herald* for August, 1838.

mentioned in 1 Chron. 5: 26, and 2 Kings 15: 29, into places probably not distant from the regions now occupied by the Nestorians. But to attempt to demonstrate as certain the Jewish origin of this people, must be very difficult and unsatisfactory.

Their conversion to Christianity, the Nestorians refer to Thomas, one of the twelve apostles; with whom Adai (Thaddeus), and Mari, one of the seventy, are said to have been associated. Oral tradition and the ancient writings of the Nestorians are united in support of this opinion. And as several of the Christian Fathers inform us that Thomas travelled eastward, even to India, preaching the gospel through the countries intervening, we may regard this claim of the Nestorians as not improbable. This opinion is also confirmed by the fact, that their ritual, composed by ancient ecclesiastics, contains commemorations of Thomas, in the form of thanksgivings to God, for his zealous labors among their ancestors and other eastern nations. At this day, the Nestorians are particularly fond of naming their churches, in honor of that apostle, Mar Thoma, i. e., St. Thomas.

The origin of the Nestorians, as a *Christian sect*, is matter of authentic history.* Nestorius, from whom the sect derives its name, was born and educated in Syria, was a presbyter at Antioch, and was made bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 428. The conspicuousness of his station—that city being the seat of empire—his boldness in attempting to correct some popular superstitions, and perhaps his rashness in theological speculation, drew upon him the envy and hostility of contemporary bishops, particularly of the ambitious Cyril, then bishop of Alexandria. Having been arraigned for heresy, Nestorius was excommunicated at Ephesus, by the third general council, A. D. 431. First banished to Arabia Petræa, and subsequently transported to one of the oases of Lybia, he finally died in Upper Egypt.

* See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, by Murdock, Vol. I. p. 395 and 428, et passim. A full account of the origin and progress of Nestorianism may also be found in Asseman's "Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana," Vol. IV., in general very correct, save that it savors strongly of papal prejudice. A brief, but interesting account of the Nestorians also occurs in the "Researches" of Messrs Smith and Dwight, Vol. II. p. 201.

One charge on which the august council decreed his excommunication, by *ex parte* management, was, that he refused to apply to the Virgin Mary the epithet, *Mother of God* (*Θεοτόκος*). This charge he evaded; though Protestants would certainly have thought none the worse of him, had he frankly pleaded guilty. His motives in attempting to check the prevalent superstition of paying idolatrous homage to a departed mortal, were undoubtedly honest. Another principal charge was, that in his theological belief he invested Christ with *two persons*, as well as two natures. This charge he perseveringly denied; and whatever novelties his speculating genius may have led him to broach on that mysterious subject, his views, for aught that appears, may have been correct in the main.

The cause of Nestorius being regarded as the cause of an injured, persecuted man, created extensive sympathy, and found numerous and efficient advocates. It was warmly espoused by his countrymen in the East, particularly in the celebrated Syrian school of Edessa (modern Orfa), in Mesopotamia, in which great numbers of Christian youth were at that time educated. This first Christian sect, thus severed from the general church by prejudice and oppression, taking firm root in that central position, spread rapidly in all directions. It soon became powerful, especially in Persia; and in all its vicissitudes, it has remained, from that day to this, in some of the regions now occupied by Nestorian Christians.

With the Nestorians, should not be confounded two other sects, with whom they are sometimes associated—the *Jacobites* and the *Chaldeans*. The former are *monophysite* Syrians, who hold to but one nature in Christ. They are quite numerous in Mesopotamia, and were related to the Nestorians, originally, as fellow countrymen, speaking the same language, the *ancient Syriac*. But the two sects are divided by the bitterest rancor; and most of the Jacobites now speak the Arabic language instead of the modern Syriac, and are thus cut off from the last tie of sympathy with their kindred, the Nestorians. The *Chaldeans* are that portion of the Nestorian Christians, who have been converted to the Romish faith, principally within the last two centuries, by the indefatigable efforts of Jesuit missionaries. Most of these Catholics are found in and about the valley of Mesopotamia, where they have become quite numerous. Indeed, very few Nestorians now remain on the western side of the Koordish mountains, who have not yielded to the intrigues

and usurpations of papal domination. The name, *Chaldeans*, was given to them by the Pope, on their embracing the Catholic system; an epithet which the Nestorians deny them the right thus exclusively to appropriate, claiming an equal title to it themselves in consequence of their lineal origin. Many of these Catholics continue to speak the language of the Nestorians, as well as the Arabic, and some of them speak only the former; but as family quarrels are usually the most violent, the Nestorians are separated from the Chaldeans by a hostility, even more rancorous than that which divides them from the Jacobites. It is to the Nestorians, as distinct from both Jacobites and Chaldeans, that this article has reference.

The existing remnant of the Nestorian Christians is found principally among the mountains of Koordistan, and in Ooroomiah, an adjacent district in the western part of Persia. Geographically, they are situated between 36° and 39° of north latitude, and between 43° and 46° of east longitude.

Koordistan is the ancient Assyria, embracing also a part of Armenia and of ancient Media. It consists mainly of wild ranges of mountains, which divide the Turkish and the Persian empires. Its western sections are nominally subject to Turkey, and its eastern, to Persia. The inhabitants, however, pay but a limited allegiance to either; and some of them—the Hakkary tribe, in central Koordistan, in particular—are nearly or quite independent. The Koords—the Carduchi of Xenophon, who gave him so much trouble, on his retreat with the ten thousand—consist of a great number of tribes, who, from time immemorial, have been keepers of flocks—wild, fierce barbarians, given to plunder. Much of their country is exceedingly rough, and admits of but little cultivation. This, added to the fierceness of the people, renders portions of it well nigh inaccessible, and consequently but little known to civilized nations.

The Nestorians of Koordistan inhabit the wildest and most inaccessible parts of the Koordish mountains. Some of the districts are so rough, that no beast of burden, save with the utmost difficulty, can travel over them. The least populous districts of these Nestorians, as Garvar, Somai, Chara, Mamoodiah, and some others are subject to the Koordish tribes who dwell in the same districts, and by them are sorely oppressed and often plundered. Other districts, as Diss, Jeloo, Bass, Tehoob and Tiaree, have a larger Nestorian population, and are more independent of their Koordish neighbors. Such is particularly the

case of *Tiaree*, situated in the rugged, narrow valley of the river Zab—running into the Tigris, the ancient Zabrus, or Zabis—which is the most populous of all the Nestorian districts of the mountains. It is governed by meliks—literally *kings*—or chiefs, chosen from its own people, by the popular voice irregularly expressed. The office of these chiefs is usually hereditary in the same family. This district of *Tiaree* is not only quite independent of the Koords, but its inhabitants have such a character for bravery and ferocity, even toward their Koordish neighbors, that the latter seldom hazard the adventure of entering that country; and such as do enter it are said often to atone for their temerity, by being murdered and thrown into the river. The local situation of *Tiaree*,* hemmed in as it is by steep, lofty mountains, save where the river, by narrow defiles, enters and leaves the district, serves, no less than its populousness, effectually to defend its inhabitants from invasion.

The Nestorians of the mountains, like their Koordish neighbors, obtain their subsistence to a great extent from the pasturage of flocks. The principal part of their arable soil, in most places, consists of small terraced patches, on the steep declivities of the mountains. And so rough and barren is much of their territory, that the people find it almost impossible to live in their own country. Many of them are very poor. Some travel abroad and beg as a profession. Considerable numbers come down to the plain of Ooroomiah in summer, to find employment; and still more are driven down in the winter, to seek a subsistence on charity. In some of the districts which are more susceptible of cultivation and less liable to the ravages of the Koords, the inhabitants obtain a comfortable living; though their fare is coarse, consisting chiefly of the products of their flocks, with rice, and bread made of a species of millet. Wheat is seldom cultivated.

The Nestorians of these mountains resemble their Koordish masters and neighbors, not only in their mode of obtaining a subsistence, but also, in a degree, in their exceeding rudeness, wildness and boldness of character. The inhabitants of different districts sometimes quarrel and plunder each other; and if

* The name *Tiaree*, is a Syriac word which means a *fold*, or enclosure (as a sheepfold, John 10: 16 and elsewhere), and was obviously given to this district from its striking local peculiarities.

remonstrance is offered, the pillagers justify themselves by replying, that they rob their Christian brethren to save the spoil from the Koords!

The district of Ooroomiah is in the western part of Azerbaijan—ancient *Atropotene*, the northern portion of Media—the northwestern province of Persia. It consists of a magnificent plain, situated at the eastern base of the Koordish mountains, and extending from them to the beautiful lake of the same name. This lake is about eighty miles in length and thirty in breadth, lying a little to the west of north and east of south. Its waters are very salt, perhaps as much so as the Dead Sea. No fish are found in it; but fowl, particularly the duck and flamingo,* frequent it in immense numbers. The plain of Ooroomiah is about forty miles in length, lying upon the central section of the lake, and in its broadest part is about twenty miles wide. Imposing branches of the Koordish mountains sweep down quite to the waters of the lake, at the extremities of the plain, enclosing it like a vast amphitheatre. With the adjacent declivities of the mountains, it comprises an area of about six hundred square miles, and contains at least three hundred and thirty villages. It is amply watered by three considerable rivers, besides many smaller streams. Its soil is extremely fertile, and is all under high cultivation. Its staple productions are wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco and the vine; and it abounds in a great variety of fruits. Besides ten or twelve species of the grape, it yields cherries, apricots, apples, plums, melons, nuts, etc. etc., in the most ample profusion. And the number of orchards and trees

* The *flamingo* frequents this lake in such numbers, that I have seen miles of the shore whitened by one continuous flock. Their bodies are about the size of a goose; but their slender legs and small flexible neck are of such enormous length, that one fully grown measures six feet from the bill to the toes; and it stretches its wings to even a greater length. Their color is white, save the wings, the front half of which is covered with inimitably delicate and beautiful red feathers, and the back part with black quills. The flesh is reckoned delicious by the inhabitants, who take them in great numbers by means of snares made of hair, and placed in the shallow parts of the lake, where they walk about in search of decayed vegetable matter carried into the lake by the streams.

planted on "the water-courses," is such as to give much of it the appearance of American forests.

About twelve miles back from the lake, and about two miles from the mountains, is the city of Ooroomiah. It is the ancient Thebarma, the birth-place, as tradition says, of Zoroaster. It contains about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and is four miles in circumference. Like other cities of Persia, it is surrounded by a mud-wall and a ditch; and most of its houses are built of unburnt brick. Its markets are good for this country; its streets are wider than is common in the East; and it has quite an air of comfort, from the great number of shade-trees interspersed among the dwellings.

From elevations back of the city, the beholder, as he looks down upon the smiling gardens directly below him—then on the city, half buried in shrubbery—next on the vast plain, studded with its hundreds of villages, and its thousands of orchards and hedges of poplars, willows and sycamores, and gleaming with its almost illimitable fields, waving a golden harvest,—and farther still on the azure bosom of the placid lake, beaming and sparkling like a mighty mirror, under the brilliancy of a Persian sky,—and finally, on the blue mountains, away in the distance—has before him one of the loveliest and grandest specimens of natural scenery that was ever presented to the eye of man. And forgetting for the moment the moral night that broods over so bright a scene, it is easy for him to conceive that he is surveying the garden of Eden.

The climate of Ooroomiah is *naturally* one of the finest in the world. It resembles, in its temperature, that of our middle States. Unhappily, however, *artificial* causes are at work which render this climate unhealthy, particularly to foreigners;—such as the constant irrigation* in summer of the almost numberless fields and gardens; and, still worse, the extensive pools of stagnant water, that stand most of the time in different places, particularly in the ditch which surrounds the city. The reforming hand of a good government, controlled by the redeeming spirit of Christianity, is all that is needed to drain and dry up these pools and remove other nuisances, and soon restore the climate to its native salubrity.

* There are few showers in Persia during the warm season. The gardens and fields are therefore watered by small canals, which conduct water from the streams.

The Nestorians of Ooroomiah have a tradition that their immediate ancestors came down from the mountains, at a period rather indefinitely known, but about five or six hundred years ago; and that this plain was then but very little inhabited. It is quite probable that the Nestorians were entirely swept away from this province for a season, during the devastations of Tamerlane. But there are some monuments of their earlier residence here. The largest and oldest mosque in this city, for instance, was once a Christian church. In repairing it a few years ago, a vault was found under it containing ancient relics, and among them a manuscript in a state of tolerable preservation, purporting to have been written in that church about eight hundred years ago. Not more than six hundred Nestorians reside in the city of Ooroomiah. These are principally in a compact position, adjacent to which the premises of our mission are situated. There are about two thousand Jews in the city, and the remaining part of the population are Mohammedans. The Nestorians are numerous in the surrounding villages, in some cases living by themselves, and in others, intermingled with Mohammedans. Most of them are employed in the cultivation of the soil, of which they are sometimes, though rarely, the proprietors. A few are mechanics, as masons, joiners, etc. Their common relation to the Mohammedan nobility in the tenure of the soil, is that of serfs to lords. The Mohammedan peasantry sustain nominally the same relation to the higher classes, though their rights are better respected than those of the Christians. The Nestorians often suffer lawless extortion and oppression from their Mohammedan masters. But their circumstances on the whole are quite tolerable for a people in bondage. Their fertile country yields such overflowing abundance, that, so far from being pinched with want, they are always surrounded with plenty.

The Nestorians of Ooroomiah partake in their manners of the suavity and urbanity of the Persian character. By the side of their rude countrymen from the mountains, they appear like antipodes. This difference in the appearance and character of the two classes is owing entirely to their local circumstances. And we may regard it as a felicity, that the mountaineers are impelled by interest or necessity frequently to visit the plain, where they cannot avoid a softening, humanizing influence. And as, in the progress of our work, the people of this province shall become yet more enlightened and elevated by the revival of the spirit of Christianity among them, their intercourse will

tell yet more powerfully on their less civilized brethren, and, through them, on all classes of the wild mountaineers.

It is very difficult to arrive at even tolerable accuracy, in estimating the number of the Nestorian Christians. The methods of obtaining such statistics among Orientals are very indefinite and unsatisfactory. The population of a town, village or district is usually estimated by the number of families; a given number of individuals being assumed as the average in each family. But in the primitive, patriarchal style of living which obtains in these countries, where three, four and even five generations, as the case may be, dwell together—the number of persons in a family varying from five to thirty and even more—it is impossible to fix accurately on an average. Ten is the number often assumed for this purpose. In the Koordish mountains, the population is frequently computed by the soldiers that can be rallied on an emergency, every male adult being reckoned as a soldier. But this method is even more indefinite than the other; and in those wild, inaccessible regions, there is this additional difficulty, that the number of houses and soldiers is but very imperfectly known.

The number of the Nestorian Christians, as nearly as I can ascertain it, is about one hundred and forty thousand. Tiaree—by far the largest and most populous district—has about fifty thousand inhabitants. It is inhabited exclusively by Nestorians, and, as already stated, is quite independent of the Koords. In all the other districts of the mountains, there may be sixty thousand Nestorians. And in the province of Ooroomiah, including the adjacent districts on this side of the mountains, there are about thirty thousand. One hundred and forty thousand is certainly a small number for a nation, or an ancient sect of Christians. But the history of this people, in connection with their present circumstances and character, as was suggested at the commencement of this article, invests this little remnant with an interest independent of numbers.

To the Christian scholar, the *language* and *literature* of the Nestorian Christians are objects of much interest. Their ancient language was the *Syriac*—the common language of Palestine in the days of Christ, and the same doubtless in which the Saviour himself conversed and preached.* This is still the

* See an able and interesting article in relation to this language in the Biblical Repository, Vol. I. p. 358.

literary language of the Nestorians ; in it their books are all written, and in it they conduct their epistolary correspondence. Though a *dead language*, the best educated of their clergy converse in it with fluency. Their *written character* differs considerably from that of the Western, or Jacobite Syrians, which is the character best known to European scholars. The former was never, to my knowledge, in type, until A. D. 1829, when an edition of the Gospels was printed in it by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It much resembles the Estrangelo, and the Nestorians have some old books written in this character, and they still use it for *capital letters*. The common Nestorian character is very beautiful, and so agreeable to the eye, that members of our mission, when incapacitated by ophthalmia from reading English without pain, are able to read it with but little inconvenience.—The *vowels* used by the Nestorians are *points*, and *not* the *Greek vowels inverted*, as used by the Western Syrians.

The *vernacular* language of the Nestorians is a modern dialect of the ancient Syriac, much barbarized by inversions, contractions and abbreviations, and by the introduction of a great number of Persian, Turkish and Koordish words, each class prevailing, in given districts, according to their proximity to either of those nations. Thus corrupted, however, the body of the language comes directly from the venerable Syriac, as clearly as the modern Greek does from the ancient. Some critics have questioned this opinion, supposing that the language of the Nestorians is a modern dialect of the ancient *Chaldaic*, though all their literature is in the ancient Syriac, and their written correspondence is still conducted in that language. It is incumbent on such as sustain this view, to point out the difference between the Chaldaic and the Syriac, and to show that the spoken language of the Nestorians is more allied to the former than to the latter. I will insert in this connexion a brief extract from a letter which I received from the first editor* of the Repository ; whose learned researches on this and kindred subjects entitle his opinion to the highest deference. "Professor Roediger,"† he says, "proposes to go on and publish a fuller account of the Syriac language as now spoken among the Nestorians. The views contained in your letter leave no room to doubt of the character of the language ; nor that the *Chaldean*, so called,

* Prof. Edward Robinson, D. D.

† Of Halle.

of Mesopotamia, is the same. I have myself had no doubt of this before; although on inquiry of R—— and of Mr. S—— in Constantinople, I could get no satisfactory information from either. The prevailing view among scholars at present, is, that the ancient Chaldee and the Syriac are, at the bottom, the same dialect; the former having developed itself in a more Jewish form and adopted the Hebrew alphabet; and the latter having been diffused among Christians with a different alphabet; i. e. one being a Hebraizing Aramaean, and the other, a Christian Aramaean. A similar fact exists now, in relation to the Servian and Illyrian languages. They are the same, or nearly so, as spoken; but the Servians are Greek Christians, and use a peculiar alphabet; while the Illyrians are Catholics, and write with the Latin letters." I may add, that one of my respected associates, the Rev. Mr. Holladay, and myself have taken some pains to compare the language of the Nestorians with the Chaldaic, as exhibited in the books of Daniel and Ezra, and at the same time with the ancient Syriac of those portions of Scripture; and the result has been a most decided preponderance, in favor of deriving this modern language directly from the Syriac.

Very little attempt had been made to reduce the vernacular language of the Nestorians to writing, until we commenced our missionary operations. The ancient Syriac being a dead language, and entirely unintelligible to the people until studied as a *learned tongue*, it seemed to us, at the outset, quite indispensable to the due accomplishment of our object, to make their modern dialect the medium of written as well as oral instruction. Some *theoretic* philologists question the propriety of reducing to writing any of the spoken languages of the Oriental Christians, and perhaps some other vernacular Asiatic languages, advising that the people should be carried back to the re adoption of their ancient tongues. Such philologists should remember, that *popular* language is not that *tractable* thing which will always come and go at one's bidding,—and especially, march far in a retrograde direction; that it is an absolute sovereign, whom we may conciliate, but whom we try in vain to coerce. I may here quote another remark from Prof. Robinson's letter. He says: "There can be no doubt, I think, as to the propriety and necessity of cultivating the modern Syriac, in the manner you mention, any more than there is in the case of modern Greek. It is the language and the only language of the people, and must remain so, though it should be purified

refined, by a reference to the ancient language, so far as possible." We have, from the first, been fully impressed, in attempting to reduce this spoken dialect to writing, with the high importance of shaping it, so far as is practicable, to the very perfect model of the ancient Syriac; and we strenuously urge on the Nestorians the continued study of the latter, as a learned language. It is visionary, however, to suppose that they could ever be brought to adopt this as their vernacular tongue. By the blessing of God on our labors, we have succeeded in putting considerable portions of the Scriptures and some other matter into this new, and, to the Nestorians, attractive costume.

Of the venerable ancient Syriac, once so highly and extensively cultivated and so rich in its literary stores, as of the unfortunate people who use it, we now find but little more than its ashes. The number of works at present extant among the Nestorians is very limited, and copies of these are extremely rare. The library of the Patriarch,—which had often been represented to us as absolutely prodigious, and might actually appear so to these simple-hearted people, who are acquainted with no method of making books save by the slow motion of the pen,—is found to consist of not more than sixty volumes, and a part of these are duplicates. And no other collection, to compare with this, exists among them. Three, five or ten books, for a large village, or a district even, has been regarded as a liberal supply. The few which they do possess, however, are objects of deep interest. Among them are found the whole of the Holy Scriptures,—save the book of Revelation, which exists in none of their manuscript copies, and seems not to have been known to them, until introduced by us in the printed editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society. They make no objection to it in that connexion, but readily recognise and acknowledge it as canonical. Their Scriptures do not occur in one volume, but usually in six, the division being as follows. 1. The Pentateuch (*Ovrata*), copies of which are not so rare as of some other portions. 2. The remaining books of the Old Testament to the Psalms, with the exception of the two books of Chronicles (*Bitmetwée*)—copies rare. 3. The two books of Chronicles (*Dbereamin*), copies of which are very rare. 4. The Psalms (*Dávid*, or *Mismoree*)—copies comparatively plenty. 5. The Prophets (*Nowíee*)—copies rare. 6. The New Testament (*Hdetta*)—copies more numerous than of any other portion, except the Psalms. In the second book in this list, occurs the

apochryphal work, *Ecclesiasticus*, or *the Wisdom of Sirach* (*Hahumtha d'bar Seerah*). The Nestorians have also, in a separate volume, a work purporting to be *the revelation of Paul* (*Gileeana d'Paulus*), which is said to consist of communications of what he saw, when he was caught up to the third heaven.

The principal books containing the church services of the Nestorians are the following. 1. Alternate prayers for each day in two weeks (*Kdām Dooatha*). 2. Prayers for every day in the year except the Sabbath and festivals (*Keshkool*). 3. Prayers for the Lord's day and other festivals (*Hoodra*). 4. Prayers for festivals not in Lent (*Gezza*). 5. Services for the communion, ordination, baptism and consecration of churches (*Takhsa*). 6. Legends of the Saints, read in the churches during some of the fasts (*Werda*). 7. Marriage services (*Barukta*). 8. Funeral services (*Oneeda*). A small Romish legend is also found among them, claiming to be an epistle that descended from heaven at Rome, about the year A. D. 777, being engraved by the finger of God on a table of ice! After detailing a pompous array of signs and wonders that attended its descent, it proceeds to enjoin the observance of the laws of God and of the church, and denounces fearful threatenings on the disobedient. It is entitled, *The Epistle of the Sabbath* (*Agertha d'Hosheeba*), i. e. it descended on the Sabbath, and demands a reading every Sabbath. It is very little used by the Nestorians. Reciting the Psalms comprises a very considerable part of the daily church service of the Nestorians. The Gospels are also read, particularly on the Sabbath and on festival occasions. The Epistles and the Old Testament, though less frequently, are read in their churches.

The Nestorians have a book containing the laws and canons of their church (*Sūnhādos**). They have also some of the writings of the Fathers (*Avahatha*), and traditions (*Teshaiathee*); Books of Martyrs (*Sadee*); and Commentaries (*Nooharee*) on all portions of the Scriptures, some of which are very entertaining and instructive, but others are equally puerile.

* When the Syriac literature was in its greatest prosperity, the Greek literature was much cultivated by the Syrians, who introduced almost innumerable terms on religious, moral and philosophic subjects from the Greek into their own language. This word, *Sunhados* (Synod), is an instance, and several others which follow.

They have books of wise and moral sayings (Akuldaree, Shaper Doobaree), and books of philosophy (Peelâsoopa), but "falsely so called;" and they have rare copies of ponderous Dictionaries (Lexiconæ) and Grammars (Grammatika).

The Nestorians have some very ancient manuscripts. There are copies of the New Testament written, some on parchment and some on paper, which date back about six hundred years. Some of these are written in the Estrangelo, and others in the common Nestorian character. The very ancient copies of the Scriptures are regarded with much veneration, and preserved with great care. They are kept in envelopes, and when taken into the hands, are reverently kissed as very hallowed treasures.

I find it interesting, in translating the Scriptures, to compare the printed Syriac version, as also our own, with these ancient manuscripts. Slight diversities sometimes occur, not such as at all to invalidate the authority of either as a standard version; but, by the different location of a single *dot*, new light and vividness are often thrown upon a passage of Scripture. A case of this kind occurred a day or two ago. It was in Luke 24: 32, in relation to the conversation between Christ and the two disciples on their way to Emmaus. "Did not our hearts *burn* within us?" In the printed version it is *yakeed, burn*, the same as in English. But my translator, a Nestorian priest, questioned the correctness of this reading; and on referring to a manuscript copy of the New Testament about five hundred years old, instead of "*yakeed, burn*," we found "*yakeer, heavy, or dull*;" the difference being simply in the location of a point, which, in the one case, being placed *below* the final letter of the word made it Daled, and in the other case, placed *above* it, made it Raish. According to the ancient manuscript, the verse in question would read: "And they said one to another, Were not our hearts *heavy* (or *dull*,—reproaching themselves for being slow of understanding), while he talked to us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures;" a reading which certainly loses nothing of beauty and force when compared with our own version.

Few as are the books of the Nestorians, their *readers* are scarcely more numerous. Not more than one in two hundred of the people—in general, only the clergy—could read when we commenced our labors. And such as read at all—their highest and most influential ecclesiastics even—are but very imperfectly educated. A majority of the priesthood can merely chant their devotions in the ancient Syriac, without knowing

the meaning. Some of the bishops even, among the mountains, are in this predicament. We have now about four hundred children and youth in our seminary and schools, who possess as good native talents as an equal number in any country, and are successfully studying both their ancient and modern tongues; and we hope soon to have many more thus employed. We have freely circulated the printed Scriptures in the ancient Syriac, among such as can read, and have multiplied with the pen copies of those portions of the Bible which we have translated into the spoken dialect, and we need only the aid of a printer and press, to enable us to contribute far more rapidly and efficiently, to revive the dying embers of literature, as well as of pure religion, among this venerable people.

The Nestorians, like their Mohammedan masters and neighbors, are very fine-looking people. Their stature is nearly the same as our own. Their features are regular, manly, intelligent, and often handsome. And their complexion, were their habits cleanly, would be as light and fair as that common among Americans. In their character, they are bold, generous, kind, very artless for Asiatics, and extremely hospitable. Oppression from their Persian masters has never been able to reduce the Nestorians of Ooroomiah to the spiritless servility of the Armenian Christians. They are still brave, restless under oppression, and, so far as a subject people can be, remarkably independent in their feelings. On the other hand, the Nestorians of the mountains, with all their wildness, rudeness and bold independence, still possess the same kindness and hospitality of character, which are such prominent traits in the people of this province. There, the hungry man will divide his last piece of bread with a stranger or an enemy. In the district of Ooroomiah, where the Nestorians are so plentifully supplied with the means of living, they, as a matter of calculation, lay in liberal stores for their poor countrymen of Koordistan; who, pinched with want among their own barren mountains, come down to the plain in large numbers, particularly in the winter, to seek a temporary subsistence on charity. The characteristic kindness and hospitality of the Nestorians, which they ever manifest to us to the utmost of their power, contribute much to render our residence among them agreeable and comfortable.

But attractive as are their native traits of character, it is as nominal Christians that the Nestorians are invested with yet deeper interest. The organization of the Nestorian church

is strictly episcopal. Its ecclesiastical head is a Patriarch, with the title of Mar Shimon, i. e. Lord Simeon. The residence of this Patriarch is at Diss, about twenty miles from Julamerk, in the Hakkary district, one of the most inaccessible parts of the Koordish mountains. He formerly resided at Kochanes, still nearer to the town of Julamerk. He is clothed properly with only spiritual power, though his influence is in fact far more general. Among the mountaineers, his word is usually law in both temporal and spiritual matters. Among the Nestorians of Ooroomiah his control is much more limited. He never ventures down among them, probably from the apprehension that he might suffer embarrassment from their Persian rulers. And being thus beyond the reach of the full exercise of his authority, the people of this province have become rather lax in their regard even for his spiritual prerogatives. Still they look up to him with respect and veneration, and requite the visits of his brothers, which are usually annual, with liberal pecuniary contributions. Under the Patriarch are eighteen bishops; four of whom reside in the province of Ooroomiah.

The canons of the Nestorian church, require celibacy in its Patriarch and bishops. They also require, that from childhood they abstain entirely from the use of animal food, save fish, eggs and the productions of the dairy. Indeed, they go a step farther back in the latter requisition. The mother of the candidate for the episcopal office must also have observed the same abstinence, during the period of gestation. This requisition of abstinence from animal food is, however, like many other of their ceremonials, in some cases softened down. One of the bishops of Ooroomiah was never a candidate for episcopacy, until he was forty years old, having eaten animal as well as vegetable food until that period. He was then made a bishop, as a token of the Patriarch's favor, for important services rendered when a deacon, in opposing the influence of papal emissaries. Since becoming a bishop, he has practised the required abstinence. I have sometimes questioned the Nestorian bishops, in relation to the reasons for their practising celibacy and restriction to vegetable diet. They never attempt to found the requirements of their church on the precepts of Scripture; but reply, that in consideration of the sacredness of the episcopal office, these observances are enjoined as matter of propriety, on those intrusted with it,—they being set apart to their high and holy work, as a *consecrated class of Nazarites*. Neither celibacy

nor abstinence from animal food are required of the inferior clergy ; nor do convents exist among them.

The Nestorian clergy, like the laity, are usually poor ; and with the exception of the Patriarch and the bishops, they are obliged to labor with their hands, or teach a few scholars to obtain a subsistence. The priests realize a small pittance, in the form of a trifling annual contribution from their flocks, and a scanty fee for marriages and some other occasional services. The bishops receive an annual tax of about two and a quarter cents on an individual, each from his respective diocese ; and this, in their simple style of living and with no families to support, suffices for their subsistence. The Patriarch receives an annual contribution, collected for him by the bishops, which usually amounts to two hundred and fifty or three hundred dollars.

The Nestorians are very charitable towards other sects of nominal Christians, liberal in their feelings, and strongly desirous of improvement. The Patriarch has repeatedly written to us, expressing his joy and satisfaction at our being among his people, his gratitude for our efforts for their benefit, and his earnest prayers for our prosperity ; and such have been the language and apparently the feelings of all classes of his people. The four bishops of Ooroomiah and several of the most intelligent priests are in our employ as assistants in our missionary labors. They engage in the instruction and superintendence of schools and Sabbath schools, preach the gospel, aid in translation, and render other efficient assistance. And the Patriarch and his brothers pledge to us the same co-operation, whenever we shall be enabled to extend our labors into the mountains.*

The religious belief and practices of the Nestorians are much more simple and scriptural than those of other Oriental Christians.† They have the greatest abhorrence of all image worship,

* Two brothers of the Patriarch (one of them his designated successor) are now with us on a visit, and are desirous of entering our employ as assistant missionaries here at Ooroomiah.

† An exposition of the *religious system* of the Nestorians does not come within the limits or the object of this article. But as the charge of *heresy*, in relation to the *character of Christ*, has been so violently laid upon the Nestorian church, by Catholics and other Oriental Christians ever since the days

auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, and many other of the corrupt dogmas and practices of the Papal, Greek and Armenian churches; while they cherish the highest reverence

of Nestorius, the present opportunity of vindicating, to Protestants, their orthodoxy on that important subject, ought not to be omitted. This point cannot better be secured, in few words, than by presenting their religious creed, as it occurs in their Liturgy, and is always repeated by them at the close of their services, as often as they hold religious worship, which is at least twice every day. They recognise it as the *Nicene* creed; and, as will be seen by inspection, it differs but little from that venerable document.

Below is a translation of this creed, with the caption prefixed, in the precise form in which it occurs in the Nestorian Liturgy in the ancient Syriac language.

"The creed which was composed by three hundred and eighteen holy fathers at Nice, a city of Bythinia, in the time of king Constantine the pious. The occasion of their assembling was on account of Arius, the infidel accused."

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and Creator of all things which are visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten, the first-born of every creature; who was begotten of his Father before all worlds, and was not created; the true God of the true God, of the same substance with his Father, by whose hands the worlds were made and all things were created; who for us men, and for our salvation, descended from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and became man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered and was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died and was buried, and rose on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and is again to come to judge the living and the dead; and we believe in one Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth who proceedeth from the Father, the Spirit that giveth life; and in one holy apostolic, catholic (universal) church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; and the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."

This document, being regarded as a summary of their religious system, and so often repeated by the Nestorians, of course exercises a strong influence over their religious belief and feelings.

for the Holy Scriptures, and, in theory at least, exalt them far above all human traditions. Indeed, the Nestorians may not improperly be called the *Protestants* of Asia.

Such being their religious character, it should cease to be a matter of wonder, that they have welcomed us so cordially to our missionary labors, and that we have hitherto experienced not a breath of that violent opposition which has so often and effectually hedged up the way of our missionary brethren, who have been sent to other Eastern churches. We arrogate to ourselves no superior wisdom, prudence or fidelity. The difference is owing to the character of the people among whom we labor. With the Nestorians, we have a broad field of common ground, in the acknowledged supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures and other peculiarities to which I have alluded, that exists among no other Oriental Christians. Upon this ground, the clergy rejoice to take their stand and lend us their hearty and efficient co-operation. The most influential part of them being brought thus under our immediate influence—ten or twelve of them are connected with our families—they advance in intelligence and evangelical views, and keep pace with our missionary operations. And with their ecclesiastics, the people will, of course, move forward, and treat us as brethren engaged in a common cause, regarding our object to be, what in truth it is, not to pull them down but to build them up. And difficult indeed would it be for us not to reciprocate the fraternal estimation in which we are held.

Too much, however, should not be inferred from these statements. The Nestorians are still, to a painful extent, under the influence of many childish traditions. They attach great importance to their periodical fasts—which are about as numerous as in the other Eastern countries—often to the neglect of purity of heart, and even of external morality. The vice of lying is almost universal, among both ecclesiastics and people. Intemperance is quite prevalent. The Sabbath is, to a great extent, regarded as a holiday, and profaneness and some other vices are very common. Indeed, the mass of this people seem literally to have “a name to live,” while they are “dead.”

We ought, however, in the spirit of charity, to make exceptions to this dark picture. There are ecclesiastics in our employ, and probably many other individuals both among the clergy and the laity, who are correct in their external conduct, and serious in their deportment, who sigh and pray over the deg-

radation of their people, and seem "waiting for the consolation of Israel." Such, if not really Christians,* are, we believe, "not far from the kingdom of God." And as "the word of the Lord," in the progress of our labors, shall "have free course and be glorified" among the people, the number of these Simeons and Annas will, we trust, be rapidly increased; until the whole church shall be enlightened, elevated and resuscitated by the spirit and life of the gospel.

Such is the venerable remnant of the Nestorian Christians—situated in the midst of the followers of the False Prophet—invaded on all sides by artful Romish emissaries—and stretching forth their hands to Protestant Christendom with the imploring cry: "Come over and help us!" Their position in relation to the enemies of Christianity, is alike trying and interesting. Over the broad chasm that divides their faith from Mohammedanism, they would doubtless continue, as a mass, extremely reluctant to leap, under almost any temptation or coercion. To the honor of the Persians, too, they are not, for Mohammedans, very overbearing in their efforts to proselyte their Christian subjects. Some hardened culprits are found ready, for the sake of evading merited punishment, to change their religion; and such the Mohammedans readily pardon.

But from the Papists, with the name and some of the forms of Christianity to conceal the deformities of their system, the Nestorians are in far greater danger. Had we not come to their rescue, we have reason to apprehend that the incessant working of the artful machinations of Jesuit emissaries—their endless intrigues—their promises of large sums of money, or favors proctured through their instrumentality from government as rewards of conversion—their threats to bring the arm of Mussulman displeasure against such as refuse to yield—and their actual oppression, wherever they can bring power to their aid for this purpose, would gradually have obliterated the Nestorians as a people, and attached the last man of them to the Romish standard. We are here, it would seem, just in season to prevent this result. But every inch of the ground is still to be contested. Papists know the importance of this field, and are coming into it like a flood. Here, as in almost every part

* There is much reason to hope that there are pious individuals in this church, and that there may have been such during the whole period of its existence.

of the world, the Protestant missionary must experience his greatest trials and difficulties from the agents of "the man of sin." No measure will be left untried for leading away the Nestorians from the religion of their fathers, and subjecting them to papal control. A few years ago, a Jesuit offered to the Nestorian Patriarch \$10,000, on condition that he would acknowledge allegiance to the Pope; to whom the Patriarch replied, in the emphatic language of Peter to Simon Magus: *THY MONEY PERISH WITH THEE*. And of late, emissaries from Rome have tendered to him the assurance, that if he will so far become a Catholic as to recognise the supremacy of their master, he shall not only continue to be Patriarch of the Nestorians, but *all the Christians of the East* shall be added to his jurisdiction! To this, the Patriarch replies: *Get thee hence, Satan*. The "newest measure" that has been reported to us is a recent order, fresh from the Pope, to the Catholics of these regions, to CANONIZE NESTORIUS, whose memory every Papist has been required, for so many centuries, to *curse*; and to *anathematize* the *Lutherans*, i. e., the Protestant missionaries, with whom they propose also to class such of the Nestorians as shall not go over to the ranks of the Papists. The Nestorians fully understand that this surprising change is intended only to decoy them; and they very naturally spurn the honor thus proffered. And as to being classed with the *Lutherans*, a brother of the Nestorian Patriarch, and his designated successor, who is now with us, told the Catholics, a few days ago, that he regarded it as an enviable exaltation.

As already remarked, Jesuit efforts have succeeded in accomplishing their object on the western side of the Koordish mountains—sometimes drawing individuals or families, and sometimes bishops, and in one or two instances a Patriarch, with parts of their flocks, over to the papal standard. But in the province of Ooroomiah and among the Koordish mountains, Catholic influence has hitherto been very limited. The Nestorians of these regions have nobly resisted, and our prayer and hope is, that they may thus continue to resist. But, destitute of vital religion, and subjected to strong temptation, their condition is perilous. Our confidence is in the Lord to keep them. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Is not the almost miraculous preservation of the Nestorian church from being crushed by the heavy arm of Mohammedan oppression on the one hand, and entangled and destroyed by

the wiles of Jesuit emissaries on the other, an animating pledge that the Lord of the church will continue to preserve this venerable remnant;—that he will even revive and build it up, for the glory of his name and the advancement of his kingdom? May he not have important purposes for it to accomplish—a conspicuous part for it to act, in ushering in the millennial glory of Zion? What position could be more important and advantageous, in its bearing on the conversion of the world, than that occupied by the Nestorians, situated as they are in the centre of Mohammedan dominion? And is it too much to believe, that this ancient church, once so renowned for its *missionary* efforts, and still possessing such native capabilities, as well as such felicity of location for the renewal of like missionary labors, will again awake from the slumber of ages, and become bright as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners!—that it will again diffuse such floods of light, as shall put for ever to shame the corrupt abominations of Mohammedanism, roll back the tide of papal influence, which is now setting in so strongly and threatening to overwhelm it, and send forth faithful missionaries of the cross, in such numbers and with such holy zeal, as shall bear the tidings of salvation to every corner of benighted Asia? We confidently look for such results, and that at no very distant period, from the humble efforts which the American churches are now putting forth, for the revival of religion among their Nestorian brethren. These efforts should be vigorously prosecuted; for a great preparatory work remains to be done, and a momentous crisis is near. The signs of the times in this eastern world, betoken the speedy approach of mighty political revolutions. The Mohammedan powers are crumbling to ruin. Christian nations are soon to rule over all the followers of the False Prophet. Mark the recent extension of British sway over the vast regions of Affghanistan! Turkey and Persia are tottering, and would fall at once by their own weight, were they not upheld by rival European governments. The universal catastrophe of Mohammedan dominion cannot, in all human probability, be much longer postponed. And as the religion of Mohammed was propagated and is sustained by the *sword*, so its overthrow, there can be little doubt, must quickly ensue, when the sword shall be taken from its hands.

The Nestorians, therefore, and other Oriental Christians, should be quickly enlightened and prepared to take advantage of these approaching changes,—ready to plant the standard of

the cross whenever the trembling fabric of Islamism shall fall, and push the conquests of the gospel still onward, as fast as so mighty a revolution in the circumstances and prospects of this continent shall open the way. This done, and how soon will the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ!

ARTICLE II.

BAPTISM :—THE IMPORT OF *Βαπτίζω*.

By Rev. Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois.

[Continued from Vol. III., page 371.*]

THE principles and leading positions of the argument in regard to the import of *βαπτίζω* have been stated. This argument involves three main points: 1. The clearing away of irrelevant or false positions, and definitely stating the point really at issue, and the proposition to be maintained—§§ 1—3. 2. The antecedent probability of the meaning claimed, according to the laws of language and of the mind, and from the nature of the subject—§§ 4—7. 3. Philological proof from the writers of Alexandrine Greek and from the fathers—§§ 8—21.

§ 22.

The philological argument is therefore complete, so far as is

* Our constant readers will recollect that this discussion was marked as *concluded* in the Repository for April last, at the page here referred to. This was occasioned by some delay of correspondence, which led to a misunderstanding of the writer's design. We are happy to afford space for the continuance of an argument so cumulative in its power, and the former portions of which have already called forth expressions of high satisfaction from several correspondents both in this country and in England. It will probably be concluded in our No. for April next.

The following *Errata* occurred in the preceding sections of

implied in a statement of its principles and leading positions. It is not, however, complete so far as its cumulative power is concerned. A large number of facts still remains, which, in their proper place, will strongly confirm every main position I have assumed. But here the regular operations of the mind are interrupted by the entrance of disturbing forces of great and bewildering power. In every fundamental investigation of the mode of baptism, three inquiries are commonly involved and combined. 1. The import of the word *βαπτισμ.* 2. The original practice of the church. 3. The full and perfect signification of the rite. The influences of these two last inquiries on the question of philology, I call bewildering and disturbing forces—not because they are not important and legitimate objects of inquiry in their proper sphere; and not because they have no bearing on the main question of the mode—but because they have exercised over the question of philology, an unauthorized though unsuspected power. No attentive observer of the operations of the human mind can have failed to notice, that the impression of an argument, true and sound in itself, is often destroyed by the secret influence of some fact or principle, which does not appear in the discussion. These deep under-currents have frequently a power entirely superior to the logical force of the argument presented, and produce a state of mind which, if expressed in words, would be in substance this: “All this looks well enough; it is quite plausible, to be sure; but still *it cannot be true*; there must be an error somewhere.” States of mind like this—felt but not announced—often do more to break the strength of an argument, than any direct perception of its falsehood. So now,

this discussion, in a part of the edition, which the reader is requested to correct, viz.

- Vol. III. page 41, line 1, after erect, add *each*.
 “ “ “ 42, line 8, for *models* read *modes*.
 “ “ “ 46, line 2, for *word* read *mode*.
 “ “ “ “ line 3, for *more* read *mode*.
 “ “ “ “ line 11, for *word* read *mode*.
 “ “ “ 47, line 35, for *rigorous* read *vigorous*.
 “ “ “ 51, line 38, for *ὑπερθεω*, etc. read *ὑπερθεω* etc.
 “ “ “ 63, line 28, for *natural* read *mutual*.
 “ “ “ 64, line 8, for *adopted* read *adapted*.
 “ “ “ 365, lines 18 and 30, for *βαπτισμ.* read *βάπτισμ.*
 “ “ “ 358, line 30, for *Rosenmuller* read *Kuinoel*.

that the philological argument has been stated, I have no doubt that the thought will arise in many a mind: "Well, after all, it is a fact that the early Christians did universally immerse, and did attach great importance to that form; *and they surely understood the import of the word as well as we.* Besides, the rite is designed to represent, not merely purification from sin, but purification in a way significant of the death and resurrection of Christ, as we are expressly told in Rom. 6: 2, 3, and Col. 2: 12. All these learned philological inquiries are no doubt very fine, and quite plausible; but the single expression, "*buried with Christ in baptism,*" is enough to dissipate them all. Now, while these under-currents of thought are overlooked, it is in vain to attempt to give to the philological argument, however sound in itself, any power at all. As some mighty stream, undermining banks, trees and houses, precipitates them together into the flood, and hurries them along in promiscuous ruin, so do these deep under-currents undermine and lay prostrate the walls of the best-compacted logical fabric. Considerations like these, indeed, produce a greater popular effect than reasonings, however profound. The ideas lie upon the surface, and are therefore easily stated and easily apprehended.

It is essential, then, to inquire what are the facts on the first of these points, and what is their bearing on the philological question? Having done this, we may resume and review our investigations.

§ 23.

What, then, are the facts, as it regards the practice of the earlier ages of the church? I am willing freely and fully to concede that, in the primitive church, from the earliest period of which we have any historical accounts, immersion was the mode generally practised, and, except in extraordinary cases, the only mode. I do not mean that these remarks shall apply to the *apostolic age*, but to the earliest historical ages of the uninspired primitive church. The practice of the apostolic age, I shall consider by itself. After all that has been said upon this point by learned men, it will not be deemed necessary for me to advance proof of the position, that, in the primitive church immersion was the general mode of baptism. No one who has candidly examined the original sources of evidence, will entertain a doubt. If any one does doubt, let him read the articles in Suicer on *ἀνάβυσις* and *κατάβυσις*; or, still better, some of the

Fathers themselves. For a comprehensive, clear and definite view of the great outlines of primitive practice in this respect, I know of no passages more full, and at the same time eloquent, than the sermons of Augustine to the Neophytes, pp. 97—99, vol. i., supp., Paris, 1555. I do not mean that the early practice included all which is stated by Augustine; for many superstitious usages had, by this time, become prevalent. It is the main outline to which I refer. But admitting these things to be facts, what then? Does it follow of course, that the Fathers were led to adopt this form by a belief that the import of the word *βαπτίζω* is to immerse? This I know seems very generally to have been taken for granted on both sides of the question. For example, Professor Stuart, after an able and clear exhibition of the proof that the early churches did baptize by immersion, says: "In what manner, then, did the churches of Christ, from a very early period, to say the least, understand the word *βαπτίζω* in the New Testament? Plainly they construed it as meaning immersion." "That the Greek Fathers, and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, *understood* the usual import of the word *βαπτίζω*, would hardly seem to be capable of a denial." Bib. Rep. Vol. III. 362. Now, all this is manifestly based on the assumption, that the practice of the Fathers in this case is an infallible index of their philology; i.e. if they did in fact immerse, they must of course have believed that *βαπτίζω* means to immerse. Indeed, this seems generally to have been regarded as a first principle, an indisputable truth. As long as it is so regarded, the facts already stated, as to early practice, will exert a strong, disturbing influence on the mind. The scholar in the region of philology and logic finds all plain; but he enters the dizzy and bewildering region of early practice, and his brain reels, his energy is dissolved, and some unseen power seems to be wresting his previous philological conclusions from his grasp. Indeed, if it is a sound principle that we must infer the opinions of the Fathers, as to the import of *βαπτίζω*, from their practice, I see not how he can avoid letting them go; for of the facts there can be no doubt. But it is high time to ask: Is the principle sound? is it logical? has it any force at all? It may seem adventurous to call in question a principle so generally received and so firmly believed. Nevertheless, I am compelled to say that I cannot perceive that the position is based on any sound principle of philology or logic; nay, it seems to me that there is abundant evidence that

it is entirely illogical and unsound. 1. Because, where a given result may have been produced by many causes, it is never logical to assume, without proof, that it is the result of any one of them alone. The proper course is, to inquire which of the possible causes was, in fact, the real and efficient cause of the result in question. 2. Because, on making the inquiry, it appears manifest to me, that the practice in question did not originate in a belief that the word βαπτίζω means immerse, but in entirely different and independent causes. Suppose now the word to mean *to purify*, it is neither impossible nor improbable, that certain local and peculiar causes may have led to some one mode of purifying rather than another, and that this mode may have been immersion; and if all these things may have been so, who has a right to assume, without proof, that they were not so? I believe that they were. If it is inquired: What causes they were? I answer: 1. Oriental usages and the habits of warmer regions. 2. A false interpretation of Rom. 6: 3, 4, and Col. 2: 12. 3. A very early habit of ascribing peculiar virtue to external forms. The first cause is sufficient to begin the practice; the other two to extend, perpetuate and confirm it. Now, if it can be shown that these causes did exist, and did operate, and had great power, then a sufficient account of the origin and progress of the usage *may be given by these alone*; and thus, all presumption against the meaning I have assigned to βαπτίζω, or in favor of the sense to immerse, will be taken away; and thus, the way will be prepared to resume the direct philological proof, that in the earlier ages the word βαπτίζω did mean purify. But of their existence or their power, can there be a doubt? Did not Christianity begin in the warm regions of the East, and in the midst of a people whose climate, habits, costume and mode of life were all adapted to bathing? and was not the practice nearly universal? Hence nothing could be more natural than its use on *convenient occasions*, as a mode of religious purifying; and if, as some maintain, the form had been previously used as a religious rite, nothing could be more natural than its adoption as a mode of purifying in the church. As to the interpretation of Rom. 6: 3, 4, and Col. 2: 12, as referring to the external form, all may not be ready to concede that it was false; yet that it was early prevalent and powerful, no one, I think, at all acquainted with the facts of the case, will deny. But of this, more in another place. As to a superstitious attachment to forms—who can deny it? nay, who

that is a Protestant does? Evidence of it throngs on every page that records the early history of the church. To omit all else, the history of this rite alone would furnish volumes of proof. Let the holy water—the baptismal chrism, to symbolize and bestow the Holy Spirit—the putting on of white robes after baptism, to symbolize the putting on of Christ—the baptism of men and women perfectly naked, to denote their entire moral nakedness before putting on Christ—let the anointing of the eyes and ears, to denote the sanctification of the senses—let the eating of honey and milk—the sign of the cross; and finally, let baptismal regeneration—the sum and completion of all these formal tendencies—bear witness to the mournful truth. Now, when the tendencies to formalism and superstition were so all-pervading and almost omnipotent, what could avert a blind and superstitious devotion to an early form—one especially in which so much was supposed to be involved, both of emblematical import and of sanctifying power.

§ 24.

Having now pointed out causes, amply sufficient in extent and power, to account for the early prevalence of immersion, and thus removed all presumption against the sense I claim, I will resume, and exhibit more fully the philological evidence, that the early understanding of the church was, that *βαπτίζω*, as a *religious* term, did signify to *purify*. I shall, 1, notice more at large those cases in which it is not only in the highest degree probable that *βαπτίζω* has the sense to purify, but, in which it is positively absurd to assign it any other meaning. For examples of such cases, see § 21: 2, 3. 2. Show that a very large number of coincident facts sustains and gives verisimilitude to this view. The argument already presented is, to my own mind, perfectly conclusive. For it has been shown that the sense to purify is, a priori, probable according to the laws of language and of the mind, and from the nature of the subject. See §§ 4—7. It has also been shown that the fair and obvious import of a large class of passages demands the sense; that the coincidence of so many separate probabilities brings together an array of proof that cannot be broken; and also, that no opposite probabilities exist. See §§ 8—21. Still, it may be felt, if not said, how much better, in a case so important, to have proof so clear, unequivocal and decided, that the opposite sense shall not only be highly improbable, but

absolutely impossible. Though I by no means admit the justice of this demand—because hundreds and thousands of senses are daily admitted on evidence far less ample than that already given, and to admit the necessity of such proof to establish a meaning would subvert all principles of sound philology—yet, as the materials for such proof exist, it seems appropriate here to present them.

§ 25.

To perceive fully the force of these, it is necessary to notice, 1. The source whence they are derived, which is ancient usage, as it regards the baptism of blood: 2. The cases to which they relate, which are two; (1) the bloody baptism of Christ; (2) the bloody baptism of the martyrs: 3. Their views in relation to this subject. They apply the word baptism merely to the *act of making an atonement by shedding blood*, even where no one is spoken of, either as sprinkled by it; or immersed in it, and when the only external act spoken of is totally at war with the idea of immersion. In cases of this kind, no sense is possible but *καθαρismus*, which is the established sacrificial term for an atonement, as I have already shown, § 12. Let us then begin with the case of our Saviour, of whose bloody baptism they so often speak. He shed his blood for sins, and this is called *καθαρismus* in the word of God. Heb. 1: 3. Now, if they call the mere act of shedding his blood a *βάπτισμα*, it is *totally impossible* that it should be taken in any except the sacrificial sense, *καθαρismus*. But in Origen, Hom. 7, on Judges 6, occurs a long passage on the baptism of blood, in which this very usage of language occurs. Speaking of Luke 12: 50, he says: “*Pertendit enim nostra probatio non usque ad verbera solum, sed usque ad profusionem sanguinis pervenit. Quia et Christus, quem sequimur, pro redemptione nostra effudit sanguinem suum, ut inde exeamus loti sanguine nostro. Baptisma enim sanguinis solum est, quod nos puriores reddat, quam aquæ baptismus reddit. Et hoc ego non præsumo, sed Scriptura refert, dicente domino ad discipulos: Baptismum habeo baptizari, quod vos nescitis; et quomodo urgeor ut perficiatur. Vides ergo quia profusionem sanguinis sui, baptismum nominavit.*” Here observe, 1. That the eye of the mind is fixed intently and alone on the *effusion of blood to make atonement*. 2. He expressly states, that Christ calls this *shedding of blood*, irrespective of its actual application in any mode, a *baptism*. 3. The only

external act spoken of is *outpouring* ; and surely, to call this an immersion is absurd. Here, then, an *impossibility* of the sense immersion is clearly proved. 4. But, give to baptisma the sense καθαρισμός and all is harmonious and plain ; for an outpouring of blood is a καθαρισμός in the sacrificial sense, i. e. an atonement. In Heb. 1 : 3, καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν is applied to Christ in this very sense. Let now the passages from Chrysostom, Gregory Naz., and Theophylact be re-examined, and carefully compared with this. § 21 : 2, 3. Those from Chrysostom and Theophylact both relate to the baptism of blood, and refer to passages in Matthew and Mark, parallel in sense to that in Luke, to which Origen refers—Mark 10 : 38, 39, Matthew 20 : 22, 23. So that their usage of βάπτισμος to denote καθαρισμός, is certainly and undeniably the same with that of Origen. By Gregory Naz. this same sacrificial sense is just as clearly extended to the baptism of water ; for he says : “He did not need purification, i. e. forgiveness of sins, who taketh away the sins of the world.” Two points are now perfectly established. 1. Βάπτισμος has the sacrificial sense καθαρισμός. 2. In the description given of the rite by Gregory Naz., not only are καθαίρω and κάθαρσις used in the place of βαπτίζω and βάπτισμος, but they are used as perfectly synonymous. Here, then, a flood of light is thrown over the whole subject, not only as it regards the baptism of blood, but of water also ; and we may now consider it as indisputably proved, that βαπτίζω is a perfect synonyme of καθαρίζω, in the sacrificial sense. With this compare the argument in § 8, and see how every position there assumed is irresistibly verified and sustained. Not only in the days of John was καθαρισμός regarded as a synonyme of βάπτισμος, but the same usage is found running down, in a stream of light, for many centuries. Indeed, it goes beyond the period commonly assigned to the Fathers, even as low as the eleventh century.

§ 26.

But let us look once more at this same usage, not only in the case of Christ, but also of the martyrs who followed his steps. In order to do this the more clearly, let us for a moment consider the feelings of the early ages as it regards martyrdom. The following points are here to be noticed. 1. The religion of Christ began with a solemn act of martyrdom—even that of the Son of God. 2. Christ knew that multitudes of his disci-

ples were soon to be called to endure the same fate. 3. Both by his example and also by his spirit-stirring words, he provided great and powerful motives to excite his disciples to meet death, in its most terrific forms, without weakness or fear. 4. These motives were not only effectual to produce the desired result in multitudes of instances, but the minds of the early Christians were so deeply affected and so highly excited on this subject, that soon they went even to the extreme of undue eagerness for such a death. 5. This disposition was increased by a false construction put on the words of Paul: "I am ready to be offered."—2 Tim. 4: 6. "Yea, and if I be offered up," etc.—Phil. 2: 7. Also on the words of Christ: "Can ye be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized?" which, as we have shown, they understood as: "Can ye be purified with the purification wherewith I am purified?" and regarded as an inquiry, whether they were ready to be purified in their own blood, as he was in his. See, in the preceding passage of Origen: "*loti sanguine nostro.*" Hence they ascribed to the death of a martyr a kind of atoning power, and spoke of it as a *καθαρισμὸς* or *βάπτισμος*, in the sacrificial sense. 6. This purification was supposed to avail especially for the martyr; so that, if he had never been purified in water for the remission of his sins, they were remitted by his purification in his own blood. Hence, the universal idea of a bloody baptism was, that the martyr was purified, or purged from sin, by his own blood. 7. It was also supposed, that the deaths of martyrs had a purifying power in behalf of others. Now the correctness of these views is not the question. They were evidently false. Our only inquiry is: In what language were they expressed? And the answer is as before; *βαπτίζω* and *βάπτισμα* are freely used to denote the act of purifying, or purging from sin by the shedding of blood; and that in such circumstances, all attempts to introduce the idea of immersion are vain. Origen, on John 1: 29, speaking of Jesus, the Lamb of God, says: "Et sane hujus victimæ cognatæ sunt cœteræ, quarum notæ sunt legales: per cœteras vero victimas huic victimæ cognatas, effusiones intelligo sanguinis generosorum martyrum;" and after a few lines he adds: "Quæ purgant eos pro quibus offeruntur." Again, in his notes on Matthew 20: 22, 23, he says: "Quod autem quis in passione remissionem accipit peccatorum baptismus est." He assigns this reason: "Si enim baptismus indulgentiam peccatorum promittit, sicut accepimus de baptismo

aquæ et spiritus, remissionem autem accipit peccatorum, et qui martyrii suscipit baptismum, sine dubio ipsum martyrium rationaliter baptismus appellatur." Here note, 1, the expression "martyrii baptismum." Now, as martyrdom is not a fluid, so immersion in it is impossible; purification by it is the only possible sense. 2. Previously, as we have seen, he has said of Christ, profusionem sanguinis baptisma nominavit. Here he conveys the same idea in other words, when he says, "Martyrium baptismus appellatur." 3. He gives us express reasons for this use of terms. The martyrs are victims like Christ; like his, their death has an atoning or purging power, and because of this power their death is to them a baptism, i. e., a purification. Indeed, had Origen designed to give a concise definition of the sacrificial sense which I have assigned to the word βάπτισμος, he could not have been more exact. "Quod autem quis in passione remissionem accipit peccatorum baptismus est." Because any one through his suffering receives the remission of sins, it is a purification—a καθαρισμός—a βάπτισμος. *It is not called a baptism, because the martyr is immersed*, for in fact he is not. This is not even thought of; it is totally out of the mind. But it is so called simply because, by suffering, by effusion of blood, he secures the forgiveness of sin. But that effusion of blood, which secures the forgiveness of sins, is always called καθαρισμός, and never an immersion, because in fact there is no immersion in the case. An expiatory offering is never called an immersion. The making an atonement by blood is never called the making of an immersion. He who pardons through blood is always said to purify, to purge, to cleanse by blood, but never to immerse by, or with, or in blood. Now, though the idea that the blood of martyrs has an atoning or purging power is false, yet it does not in the least diminish the force of the argument. We are inquiring how Origen expressed his belief that the blood of martyrs was a purgation from sin, and not whether his opinions were correct. In perfect accordance with these ideas, Chrysostom says of the martyrs in the hour of death, "that they have the Spirit copiously," that "their sins are taken away," that "there is a wonderful purification of the mind," καθαρός, and "as others are purified, βαπτίζονται, in water, these are washed, λούονται, in their own blood."

So Gregory Naz., speaking of the baptism of blood, says: "it is more august than the rest," those of water, tears, etc.—

because, after it, the martyr is polluted no more (*οὐ μολύνεται*). The same ideas are also found in the writings of Augustine, and in those of his antagonists, thus proving themselves to be the prevailing ideas of the age. See his *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 13. cap. 7, also lib. 2. cap. 23, contra literas Petiliani, where Petilianus uses the expression: "Similes Christo martyres, quos post aquam veri baptismi, sanguis baptista perfundit," i. e., whom their own blood, as a purifier, cleanses or washes. So far indeed was this idea carried, that, as we have seen, the purification by blood was even more desired than the purification by water, though to this also they attached an exaggerated, and almost miraculous power. Nor have I found any evidence that the passages in Luke 12: 50, Mark 10: 38, 39, Matt. 20: 22, 23, were ever understood by any of the Fathers in the sense either of immersion or overwhelming. They seem universally to have referred them to the baptism of blood, and to have taken the words *βάπτισμος* and *βαπτίζω* in the sacrificial sense—to purify. Now I do not think that in these passages the words have that sense. I regard them as instances in which the word is used in the sense to overwhelm with cares, and agony of body and mind, as illustrated in § 4 and § 10. But this only shows how deeply fixed and strong was the *usus loquendi* for which I contend; for it was so powerful as even to overrule the true sense, in cases where the word obviously departs from the sense to purify. And if it was sufficiently powerful to force the sense to purify on the word, even when it does not belong there, are we to suppose that it was not powerful enough to retain it, in instances where all the facts of the case show that it truly belongs? In view of these facts, which are a small part only of those which might be adduced, I am utterly unable to resist the conviction, that to *purify*, was clearly, and so far as I have observed, universally the religious sense of the word *βαπτίζω* among the Fathers.

§ 27.

I do not indeed affirm that they did not, any of them, at any time, use it as a religious term to denote *immersion*. To say this intelligently, would require a certainty that every usage of it by the Fathers had been seen, which, in my case, certainly is not true. But I must say, that even if such cases can be found, they will not disprove my position. They can only prove inconsistent usage; and this I have already admitted would be

nothing strange, and might even be expected in writers so numerous and so various. Still, when I consider the extreme power of the usage which I have proved, when I find it clearly and decidedly, even in the eleventh century, I am inclined to believe that a general perception of the true sense was lost or not observed, till the Greek language itself sunk in the ruins of the Eastern empire; and that the present state of opinion has been produced by party spirit, and by the mistakes of learned men to whom the Greek was a dead language, and who, being familiar with the style and usage of classic Greek, as that which holds the earliest and primary place in the modern systems of education, have allowed it to expel the true spiritual and sacred sense of the word, and in place of it, to introduce a merely physical, and, too often, barren and profitless external act.

In opposition to this, the opinion of the Greek church is often alleged as decisive in favor of the meaning immerse. Being by *name* the Greek church, it is inferred that they must, of course, be good judges of the import of a Greek word. In reply to this, I would ask: Is modern Italian ancient Latin? If not, neither is modern Greek ancient Greek. That modern Greek resembles its parent stock, more than modern Italian does the Latin, I do not deny. But the resemblance is not such that the opinion of a modern Greek scholar, on a point like this, is worth any more than that of a modern German, Italian or English scholar. No man can form an opinion on this subject except by a study of the facts found in the ancient writers who exhibit the usage in question; and his opinion is worth most who most carefully investigates, compares, classifies and judges in view of the whole case. And if this be so, the opinions of the modern Greek church, unsustained by argument, ought to have no peculiar weight. Their proficiency in philological studies certainly does not exceed that of other European scholars, to say nothing of those of America.

The passage in 2 Kings 5: 14, is often alleged as decisive proof that βαπτίζω means immerse. The facts are these. The prophet commanded Naaman to wash seven times in Jordan, using בָּרַחַץ. In obeying the command it is said בָּרַחַץ, Sept. *ebaptisato* seven times. It is said to be universally conceded that בָּרַחַץ means immerse only. I reply, it is not so conceded. Even Mr. Carson allows that it has passed to the sense to *dye*, without respect to mode. Why then could it not pass to the sense to *wash*, without respect to mode? Scholars of the first emi-

nence believe and affirm that it did. Of these it is enough to mention Suicer. He affirms that the word is here the equivalent both of $\gamma\eta\eta$ and $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$, in the sense to wash. Nor can it be disproved, for it is in perfect analogy with other known facts in language. Even if the sense immerse is here admitted, it only proves the coexistence of the secular sense immerse with the religious sense purify, and that in this case there was a desire to fix the mind on the mode of washing. Take a parallel case. Mr. Carson admits the coexistence in $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ of the sense to dye and to dip. Suppose now an order to dye a cloth is given, and in narrating its execution, it is said, a man dipped it seven times in a dye-tub, and in each case $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ is used. Does the fact that it means dip in the last case prove that it does not mean dye in the first? Cannot two different meanings of a word coexist even in the same sentence? Can it not be said, I drank out of this *spring* last *spring*? How then could the use of the word $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ to denote an act *here*, prove that it does not mean purify *elsewhere*? On neither ground, then, has the passage any force. For first, it cannot be proved that the word here means to dip; and secondly, if it could, it would be nothing to the purpose.

§ 28.

It only remains that I adduce, as I proposed, a large amount of coincident facts, sustaining and giving verisimilitude to the whole.

1. The early and decidedly predominant idea of the rite was, that it was the appointed, and almost the only means of obtaining the remission of sins. How natural, now, that its name should indicate this idea. It does, if $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is taken in the sacrificial sense $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, but not if taken in the sense immersion. A proof that $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is taken in the sacrificial sense is found in its equivalents in Latin and Greek; remissio peccatorum, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$. These and similar phrases are used as the names of the rite, and are obviously mere equivalents of $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Instances of this usage abound in Tertullian and Augustine; they occur also in Gregory Nyss. and other Greek Fathers.

2. The words with which $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ is interchanged, in giving variety to the style, and preventing the too frequent repetition of the same word, show that it is used by the Fathers in the sense of purify. In such interchanges, we always expect the

fundamental idea of the leading term to be retained ; or some one into which it easily passes, and with which it has a natural affinity. The class of words that has an affinity to the idea καθαρίζω, is very large. In Greek they are λούω, ἀγιάζω, ἀγνίζω, ἀναγεννάω, etc. ; in Latin, purgo, mundo, emundo, lavo, abluo, diluo, eluo, perfundo ; together with the nouns and participles derived from them, as λουτρόν, ἀγνισμός, etc., purgatio, lavatio, lavacrum, emundatus, ablutus, etc. The class of words that has an affinity to the idea immersion is small, as it is a mere external act. Now let three facts be noted. 1. The range of equivalents, or substitutes for βαπτίζω, is in fact large. 2. They are all of the class having affinity to καθαρίζω ; and there is a great readiness to pass into any mode of speech equivalent or analogous to it, or derivable from it. 3. There is no readiness to use equivalents of immersion, except in cases in which, for some particular reason, it is intended to give prominence to the form of purifying. Let anyone read Augustine's controversies with the Donatists, and his various works on baptism, the works of Origen as translated, and any of the Greek Fathers who have written much on the subject, and he will easily find the same thing. It is impossible by a few quotations to give an idea of the impression produced by noticing such facts in passages of considerable extent.

3. When it is desired to speak definitely of immersion as an act, βαπτισμός is not generally used, but κατάδυσις ; and for immersion, ἀνάδυσις. See Suicer on these words. Why is this, if βαπτισμός never means any thing but immersion ?

4. On the other hand, in the Apostolic Constitutions, Can. L., the expression τρία βαπτίσματα μίας μύησης occurs, in which τρία βαπτίσματα denotes three acts of immersion, but not the name of the rite ; for in trine immersion, three immersions are necessary to one purification. And if the expression were understood to mean three purifications, the idea would be false ; for three immersions make but one purification. Lest any misunderstanding should arise, a note was deemed necessary by Zonaras, informing the reader that βαπτίσματα here means καταδύσεις, and μύησης denotes the rite as a whole, i. e. is used for βάπτισμα. He therefore says, τρία βαπτίσματα, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇς τρεῖς καταδύσεις φησὶν. As much as to say βάπτισμα is not here used in its common import, but denotes the act of immersion, so that the passage means, not three purifications, as you might suppose, but three immersions and one purification. Why

this care to explain and to state that *βαπτίσματα in this case—ἐνταῦθα*—means immersions, if it never has any other meaning? But if its common meaning is purification, all is plain. We see too the use of the word *κατάδυσις*. It was univocal: *βαπτισμός* was equivocal, and in its common religious sense denoted purification.

From this case in the Apostolic Constitutions, and from the closing remarks on *βαπτίζω* in 2 Kings 5: 14, the following general principles may be derived, which will be of great use in a critical investigation of the meanings of this word in the Fathers.

1. In speaking of baptism, the two senses, immerse and purify, are sometimes both used.
2. They are applied to the rite in different ways, and for different ends. Taken in the sense of purify, *βαπτίζω* denotes the real import of the rite and the thing enjoined, and is used in the sacrificial and religious sense; but when it denotes the act of immersion, it is not used to denote the real import of the rite, nor in the religious sense, but simply to denote a physical act, i. e. a mode in which purification may be performed. For example, suppose an ancient bishop to have ordered a priest to purify, i. e. baptize a man. The priest obeys and immerses him three times according to the principles of trine immersion; and in describing this trine immersion, uses the word *βαπτίζω* in the sense of immerse. Here both senses of the word are used in relation to the same rite. In the first instance it is used in the sacred sense of purify, in the second, in the secular sense to denote a *mode* of purifying.
3. Whenever *βαπτίσματα* is used with the numeral three, in describing a single baptism, of course it is used in the secular sense, as the name of an act; because in such a case, the *purification* is but one, whilst the *immersions* are three.
4. To prove the existence of the secular sense as indicating the mode of a religious washing, does not disprove the existence of the religious sense as the name of the rite itself. This shows the fallacy of all arguments based on 2 Kings 5: 14.
5. To guard against the ambiguity produced by applying the same word to the rite in two senses, *κατάδυσις* was used to denote immersion, leaving to *βάπτισμα* the religious sense of purification.

5. Although immersion was deemed of immense importance, yet its necessity was never defended on philological grounds; and leave was conceded to sprinkle in extraordinary cases, on such grounds as plainly show that they did not feel bound by the import of the word. Hear Cyprian: "Neque enim sic in

sacramento salutari delictorum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali et seculari sordes cutis et corporis, abluuntur, ut aphronitris et cæteris quoque adjunctis et solio et piscina opus sit quibus ablui et mundari corpusculum possit. Aliter pectus credentis abluatur, aliter mens hominis per fidei meritum mundatur." Notice now that this whole passage, designed to prove that a man may be baptized by sprinkling, depends for its force entirely on as-signing to the word the sense of purify. His argument in brief is this; the power of baptism to purify from sin, does not depend on the quantity of water used, but upon the internal faith of the person baptized. "In baptism," he says, "the pollution of sin is not washed away, as the pollution of the body and skin is washed away in an external, physical bath, so that there is need of saltpetre (or nitre, see Jer. 2: 22), and other auxiliary means, and a bath or a pool, in which the body can be washed and purified. Far otherwise is the breast of the believer washed; far otherwise is the mind of a man purified from sin by the merits of faith." From all this he inferred that a man might properly be baptized, if necessary, by sprinkling. But how could he do this if he knew that the command was not to purify but to immerse? On this ground all such reasoning would be vain. Any one could have replied: "The command is not to purify, but to immerse; and you cannot immerse without immersion; and sprinkling is no immersion at all." But such an idea does not seem to have entered Cyprian's mind. To him plainly the only command was a command to purify. The word baptize does not indeed occur; but evident synonymes of it are used, as abluo and mundo. I know not how we can obtain stronger testimony to the prevailing opinion of the age than this; and it is the stronger because indirect and undesigned.

6. In explaining the similitude between baptism and the salvation of Noah in the ark, also between baptism and the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea—1 Pet. 3: 20, 21, and 1 Cor. 10: 1, 2—Noah and the Israelites are not looked on as immersed, but merely as purified, or saved; and that too by the same element which overwhelmed and destroyed the enemies of God. They even go so far as to speak of the wicked as immersed, by way of antithesis to the righteous, who are not immersed, but only purified and saved. This view is based on the expression in Peter, "saved by water," as applied to the eight souls who were saved by water in the ark. To be purified, with

them was equivalent to being sanctified, or being saved; and in looking at baptism, their minds were fixed on this idea. "Now," said they, "as in baptism water saves, so in the flood it saved, and so in the Red Sea it saved; not by overwhelming Noah or the Israelites, but by dividing them from the enemies of God, and by overwhelming and immersing those enemies. And its similarity to baptism lies only in the fact, that it *saves* or *purifies* the people of God. Augustine (Sermo de Cataclysmo, Vol. 9, p. 320, Paris, ed. 1586) speaks of the Israelites delivered out of Egypt, as hastening to the Red Sea, "*that they may be saved by water;*" the Egyptians follow, the sea opens, the Israelites pass through, the Egyptians enter, then, "Unum elementum aquarum, auctore totius, creatore jubente, judicavit utrosque; separavit enim pios ab impiis. *Illos abluit, istos obruit; illos mundavit, istos occidit.*" "One element, water, by the command of the Creator, judged both; for it separated the righteous from the wicked. The former it washed, the latter it overwhelmed; the former it purified, the latter it destroyed." He then speaks of Moses as a type of Christ, his rod as a type of the cross, and the Red Sea as a type of the waters of baptism, *purpled* by the blood of Christ. Now compare with this the anxious efforts of our Baptist brethren, to prove that in some way the *Israelites were immersed*. Augustine says, they were *washed* and *purified*, and the Egyptians overwhelmed (and of course *immersed*) and destroyed.

It is quite certain that no man, who believed and was anxious to prove that immersion was the sense and the only sense of βαπτισμός, would ever have used this language. In like manner, comparing the salvation of Noah and his family to the salvation effected by baptism, he often calls the flood a sacrament; and compares its effects to those of baptism. He compares the church to the ark; and one out of the church, and unbaptized, to one out of the ark; and his fate to the fate of one so excluded. Concerning the one who perishes out of the ark, he says: "*submersus est diluvio non ablutus.*" Hence he regarded those in the ark, who were saved, as *abluti*, i. e. *purified* or *saved*, and those out of it, as *submersi*, i. e. *submersed*, or *immersed* and *destroyed*. All this he says in commenting on 1 Pet. 3: 20, 21. See Lib. 1. Cap. 21, Vol. 6. p. 253. Here then he opposes the righteous who were *purified*, but *not immersed*, to the wicked who were *immersed*, but not purified;

and regards one as *saved by purification*, and the other as *destroyed by immersion*. Would any modern advocate of immersion have ever written so? For the true sense of 1 Pet. 3: 20, 21, see § 18.

7. Elias is spoken of by Origen as baptizing the wood in the sense of purifying it. In this case I was misled by not noticing that Origen regarded the act of pouring on water as designed to purify the wood. Obviously this was not its end, but to drench it with water, so that when God should burn it by fire the miracle might be more undeniable. Nor did it occur to me that Origen could take any other view of the case. But I find that he did. Dr. Wall and others have quoted this as a case in which βαπτίζω means *pour*. But, being convinced that when it denotes an external act it never means pour or sprinkle, I resorted to the idea to *envelope* or *overwhelm*, as in § 3. That opinion I am obliged now to retract, having found evidence that Origen looked on the transaction as a purification of the wood, however strange and incorrect such an idea may be. The passage is this. Origen is commenting on John 1: 25: "Why baptizest thou, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor the prophet?" He is aiming to show that they had no reason to suppose that Elias would baptize in person when he should come. The reason is this. Although the wood needed *purification*, yet he did not baptize, *purify*, it himself, but told others to do it. His words are: Οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ θυσιαστήριον ξύλα, κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀγαθὸν χρόνους, δεόμενα λοντροῦ ἵνα ἐκκαίθῃ ἐπιγατέτος, ἐν πρὸς τοῦ κυρίου βαπτίσαντος; ἐπιτελείεται γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. "Who did not baptize—*purify*—the wood upon the altar in the days of Ahab, although it needed to be purified, in order that it might be burned when the Lord should be revealed in fire; for he commanded the priest to do this." In this case the words ξύλα δεόμενα λοντροῦ, beyond all dispute, fix the sense, and show that he regarded the pouring as a rite of *purification*, and used βαπτίζω in its usual religious sense. In this view the passage remarkably falls in with and confirms the reasoning in § 9; and proves that Origen understood them to inquire in John 1: 25: "Why *purifiest* thou?" This passage also is in perfect accordance with those already quoted from his writings.

8. It was a natural inquiry of old, as now: "Why was Christ baptized?" In answering this question, the Fathers do not say, as does Prof. Chase, he was immersed "as a fit and striking

emblematical declaration of his voluntarily yielding himself up to his sufferings, with the confidence of emerging ;” because, “to represent one as overwhelmed in the water was a well-known figure to indicate deep affliction.” See Chase’s Sermon on the Design of Baptism, p. 13. They do not try to answer the question : “Why was he *immersed* ?” but solely the question : “Why was he purified ?” And in those passages where βαπτίζω really means overwhelm, they retain, as we have seen, the sense of purify. Various answers were given. In general they all denied that he was purified because he had any sin ; and most commonly they added, that he was purified in order to give to the water of baptism a purifying power. See § 21, δύναμιν ἐνθίνειν καθαρτικὴν. Augustine says : “Aquæ quæ cætera mundare consueverant, Domino nostro lavante, mundatæ sunt.” He also says it was to give an example of humility, and to honor the rite so that others should not despise it. Their difficulties were caused by the idea *purify*, as applied to Christ ; to this their answers correspond ; and they do not correspond with the views of those who believe that the word means *immerse*. Can we doubt, then, what was the general understanding of the word ? Had they regarded the word as our Baptist brethren do, would they not have given their solution of the question ?

9. In speaking of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they do not speak of it as an inward *spiritual immersion*, but as an inward spiritual purification. Gregory Nyss. calls baptism διττὴ καθαρισμός. As we have a body and a soul, so we need a twofold cleansing, δι’ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος τὰ βάρη καθαίροντος. To denote the internal baptism here, he uses καθαίρω, and calls the external and internal together διττὴ καθαρισμός, a twofold cleansing. Augustine says : Baptizatur a Joanne in carne ; sed ipse Joannem in Spiritu lavat. “He is purified by John in the flesh, but he washes, or purifies John in the Spirit.” So he says : “Quod enim dicimus ipse baptizat, non dicimus ipse tenet et in aqua corpus credentis tingit ; sed ipse invisibiliter *mundat* et hoc universam prorsus ecclesiam.” “When we say that Christ baptizes, we do not say that he holds and washes in water the body of the believer, but that he invisibly purifies him, and not only him, but the whole church. Lib. iii. c. 49. In the Fathers, such passages are of constant occurrence ; but in none of them is found the strange, incongruous and modern idea of an internal and spiritual immersion into the Holy Spirit and fire. Comp. § 10.

Origen contrasts those who are *loti aqua*, with those who are *sancto spiritu loti*.

10. In speaking of the *διαφόροι βαπτισμοί*, Heb. 9: 10, they invariably regard them as *purifications* of *persons*, not as immersions of things. See § 14. In an enumeration of the various kinds of baptism, often ascribed to Athanasius—an unexceptionable witness as to the *usus loquendi* of that century—it is said, as an explanation of the *διαφόροι βαπτισμοί*, πᾶς γὰρ ἀκάθαρτος εὐόετο ὕδατι. Theophylact says, more particularly, that a man was washed in water, and thus purified, καὶ νεκροῦ ἦψατο, καὶ λεπροῦ, καὶ γογορήνης ἐγένετο τις. With this comp. βαπτίζομενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, § 16. Macarius says: ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς βάπτισμα σάρκα ἀγιάζον, παρ' ἡμῖν βάπτισμα ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ πυρός. In this he manifestly refers to Heb. 9: 13: "the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh;" for his use of ἀγιάζω and σὰρξ is clearly taken from Paul. Of course, he regards this sprinkling as a βάπτισμα. Tertullian says: Judæus quotidie lavat, quia quotidie inquinatur: quod ne in nobis factitaretur, propterea de uno lavacro definitum est.

11. In § 16, following Jahn and others, I have admitted that washing, as well as sprinkling, was a part of the rite of purification from a dead body. But I find that not only Philo speaks of sprinkling alone, but Josephus, in a minute account of the same rite, does the same. Antiq. B. iv., C. 4. He accurately describes the heifer, how slain, how burnt, and how her ashes were used. No superfluous rites are added (as Mr. Carson suggests might have been done before this time), but Moses is followed with minute anxiety. He not only omits washing, but so describes the purification of the people as to imply that washing was no part of the rite—ἐρράϊνον τρίτη καὶ ἐβδόμη τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. "They sprinkled them with it on the third and on the seventh day, and after that they were clean." Now, if it was necessary to wash also, then it is not true, that after *sprinkling only*, they were clean—τὸ λοιπὸν—for washing still remained. But he says, καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. Josephus was a Pharisee, a priest, and a man of learning. Have we not, then, the best reason to suppose that he is correct, and that washing was no part of the rite? Paul also, Heb. 9: 13, says nothing of a washing, and speaks of sprinkling as the whole. If we reflect now that both Philo and Josephus, in professed and minute descriptions of the rite, say

nothing of washing, can we hesitate to believe that no washing was involved? And if so, βαπτίζόμενος must refer to the sprinkling alone; and no sense but purified is possible. If any one should ask: Who then is commanded to wash himself in Num. 19: 19? I reply, he who sprinkles the unclean person; not the unclean person himself; he needs sprinkling alone. See Num. 19: 13, where it is clearly implied that sprinkling alone was demanded. See also Num. 19: 21, where it is said that he who toucheth the water of separation shall be unclean; and he that sprinkleth shall wash his clothes, and of course his body; for one involved the other, as the Jews testify and reason shows. Observe also that this is in perfect analogy with all other parts of the transaction; for the priest who sprinkled the blood of the slain heifer, the man who burned her, and he who gathered her ashes, were all rendered unclean, and were obliged to wash both body and clothes. Num. 19: 2—10. A fortiori, would he be rendered unclean, who actually sprinkled the polluted person with the water? And were this conclusion less certain than it is, reasoning on Num. 19: 2—10 alone, yet this passage, taken in connection with the usage of Philo, Josephus and Paul, makes the case perfectly plain. And if no washing was involved, but sprinkling alone, then the argument on βαπτίζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ is decisive and complete; for a man can be purified by sprinkling, but not immersed. Here, as in the case of purifying the wood in Origen, the more minute the examination of all the facts, the more certain the conclusion that βαπτίζω, in its religious use, means to purify.

12. In speaking of the baptism of fire, the Fathers regard it, not as an immersion, but as a *purification* or *purgation*; and from this use the idea of a future purgatory came. A few regarded the fire spoken of in the words, "he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," as referring to punishment, as some do even now. But most of them regarded it as the purifying fire of the Holy Spirit. Others believed in a literal fire of purification after death, particularly Origen. In Hom. 24, on Luke 3: 16, he speaks of Jesus as purifying in a river of fire, each one who, after death and before entering heaven, needs to be purged, "qui purgatione indiget." Hom. 2, on Jer., he says: "Forsitan et Jesus baptizat spiritu sancto et igne, non quia eundem in spiritu sancto atque igne baptizet: sed quo sanctus baptizetur spiritu sancto, et is qui post fidem et magisterium Dei rursum ad scelera conversus est, cruciati purgetur incen-

dii. Beatus qui *lavacrum* accepit spiritus sancti, et ignis *lavacro* non indiget. Miserrabilis autem, et omni fletu dignus, qui, post *lavacrum* spiritus, *baptizandus* est igni." A little after he speaks of "peccator qui ignis indiget *baptismo*, qui combustionem *purgatur*." In his Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. 8, he says: "Ut ignis gehennæ in cruciatibus *purget* quem nec apostolica doctrina, nec evangelicus sermo *purgavit*, secundum illud quod est scriptum, *purificabo* te igni ad *purificationem*." Here, baptizo, purgo, purifico, and lavo (involved in *lavacro*) are all used as synonymous terms in describing the baptism of fire. If Gieseler is correct (Vol. 1., § 119, note 14), this purification of Origen is not to be confounded with the Roman Catholic purgatory, first suggested, as he says, by Augustine. Neither the opinion of Origen or of Augustine is correct; yet they show as clearly as if true, that by the baptism of fire, a *purgation* by fire, and not an *immersion*, was meant. Clearly they had in mind the words of Malachi: "he is like a refiner's fire," and, "he shall *purify* and *purge*." These words gave rise to the expression in the gospel: "He shall purify you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Taking the word *βαπτίζω* in this sense, we can clearly see how the various and erroneous forms of the doctrine of *purgatory* grew out of it. Compare §§ 9, 10.

13. In speaking of the baptism of tears, the Fathers regard it as a *purification* by tears, and not as an *immersion* in tears. The very nature of the case shows that it must have been so, and the language of the Fathers proves that the purifying power of tears did not depend on having a quantity sufficient for an immersion. Says Nilus, a disciple of Chrysostom, *Λουτὴρ ἀγαθὸς τῆς ψυχῆς, τῆς προσευχῆς τὸ δάκρυον*. "The tear of prayer"—not a flood, or river, or ocean of tears—"the tear of prayer is a good wash-basin of the soul." For this use of *Λουτὴρ*, see § 16, and the idea there given of washing the hands of the soul. So Gregory Nyss. calls tears *λουτρὸν κατοικίδιον καὶ πρὸνους ἰδίους δι' ὧν ἐστὶ τὰς κηλίδας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπονίψασθαι*, "a domestic washing place, and fountains of your own, by means of which you can wash off the spots, or pollution of your soul." *Ἀπονίπτω*, as no one can deny, never denotes immersion, but commonly the washing of hands and feet. From the nature of the case then, as well as from the language of the Fathers, we are certain that they regarded the baptism of tears, not as an immersion, but as a purification.

14. The Fathers applied passages of the Old Testament commanding washing, or predicting purification, to the rite of baptism in such a way, as evinces a belief that βαπτίζω means to purify. In Is. 1: 16, is a command to wash and make clean—Heb. וַיִּצְוֵהוּ לְרַחֵץ, Sept. *Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένησθε*—Vulg. *lavamini, mundi estote*. Justin Martyr and Hippolytus regard this as an anticipation, or prophetic injunction of baptism. Hippolytus says: *Propheta Isaias Baptismi vim purgativam prædixit, cum ait, lavamini, mundi estote.* Cyprian, Jerome and others apply to baptism the prediction: "I will *sprinkle* clean water upon you and ye shall be clean." Now, if they regarded βαπτίζω as a synonyme of καθαρίζω all this is plain and natural; for in one of these cases *purification* is commanded, in the other it is predicted, but in neither is immersion mentioned. The only external act alluded to is sprinkling. I desire that here may be noted the use of וַיִּצְוֵהוּ, in Isa. 1: 16. By this word all the commands for personal ablution in the Mosaic ritual are given, and to it, I remarked, § 14, βαπτίζω would naturally become a synonyme. Here is proof that it did so become. And this word always denotes washing, without respect to mode, and never immersion.

15. From the time of the clinic baptism of Novatian down to the Reformation, there were cases of baptism by affusion or sprinkling, defended on grounds similar to those stated by Cyprian (No. 5), and totally inconsistent with the idea that they felt bound by the word βαπτίζω to regard nothing as a baptism that was not an immersion. All this is plain, and easily accounted for, if they regarded βαπτισμός merely as a purification, to be performed in common cases by immersion, and in extraordinary cases by affusion or sprinkling. It shows that their attachment to the mode did not depend on βαπτίζω, but on a regard to general practice and its supposed significance. Constantine the Great was baptized by sprinkling on his bed. In 499, Clodovius, king of the Franks, was baptized by affusion. Gennadius, of Marseilles, A. D. 490, says, that the baptized person is either sprinkled or immersed—*vel aspergitur, vel intingitur*. For other clear and striking cases, see Pond, pp. 42—50; where he clearly proves that immersion was never considered as essential to baptism till after the Reformation. The bearing of all these facts on the meaning of the word is irresistible. Had it been regarded as demanding immersion when there was such a universal attachment to that mode, a

deviation would have been resisted on philological grounds; but, though frequent and extensive deviations took place, they were never so resisted. The conclusion is inevitable—they could not be so resisted; it was universally known that βαπτίζω, as a religious term, meant to purify, not to immerse.

16. To conclude, the idea of purification is, in the nature of things, better adapted to be the name of the rite than immersion. It has a fitness and verisimilitude in all its extensive variety of usage, which cause the mind to feel the self-evidencing power of truth, as producing harmony and agreement in the most minute, as well as in the most important relations of the various parts of this subject to each other. This is owing to three facts: 1. The idea of purification is the fundamental idea in the whole subject. 2. It is an idea complete and definite in itself in every sense, and needs no adjunct to make it more so. 3. It is the soul and centre of a whole circle of delightful ideas and words. It throws out before the mind a flood of rich and glorious thoughts, and is adapted to operate on the feelings like a perfect charm. To a sinner, desiring salvation, what two ideas so delightful as forgiveness and purity? Both are condensed into this one word. It involves in itself a deliverance from the guilt of sin, and from its pollution. It is a purification from sin in every sense. See § 12. It is purification by the atonement, and purification by the truth,—by water and by blood. And around these ideas cluster others likewise, of holiness, salvation, eternal joy, eternal life. No word can produce such delight on the heart, and send such a flood of light into all the relations of divine truth; for purification, in the broad Scripture sense, is the joy and salvation of man, and the crowning glory of God. Of immersion none of these things are true. 1. Immersion is not a fundamental idea in any subject or system. 2. By itself it does not convey any one fixed idea, but depends upon its adjuncts, and varies with them. Immersion? In what? Clean water, or filthy; in a dying-fluid, or in wine? Until these questions are answered, the word is of no use. And with the spiritual sense the case is still worse; for common usage limits it in English, Latin, Greek, and, so far as I know, in all languages, by adjuncts of a kind denoting calamity or degradation, and never purity. It has intimate and firmly established associations with such words as luxury, ease, indolence, sloth, cares, anxieties, troubles, distresses, sins, pollution. We familiarly speak of immersion in

all these, but with their opposites it refuses alliance. We never speak of a person as immersed in temperance, fortitude, industry, diligence, tranquillity, prosperity, holiness, purity, etc. Sinking and downward motion are naturally allied with ideas which, in a moral sense, are depressed, and not with such as are morally elevated. Very few exceptions to this general law exist, and these do not destroy its power. Now, for what reason should the God of order, purity, harmony and taste, select an idea so alien from his own beloved rite, for its name, and reject one, in every respect so desirable and so fit? Who does not feel that the name of so delightful an idea as purification must be the name of the rite? And who does not rejoice that there is proof so unanswerable, that it is?

The philological argument is now closed. Whatever may be the interpretation of Romans 6: 3, 4, and Col. 2: 12, the question of philology must remain untouched. All that they can prove, at most, is the fact that those to whom Paul wrote were immersed, and that he deemed immersion a significant act. Neither of these do they prove in my opinion; for which I propose soon to give my reasons. But if they did, it is impossible, as we have shown, to settle the question of philology by early practice. Even if they did immerse, it was only a mode of purification; and it was baptism, not because it was immersion, but because it was purification.

[*To be continued.*]

ARTICLE III.

THE ANCIENT COMMERCE OF WESTERN ASIA.

By Rev. Albert Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa.

[*Concluded from Vol. IV. page 328.*]

THE natural sea-port of Western Asia, and the centre of the commerce of the East, was Tyre, or rather perhaps the ports of Phenicia, for Tyre was but one of them. Phenicia early grasped this commerce, and retained it until the rise of Alexandria. Sidon first rose to opulence; and then Tyre, her "daughter," better situated for commerce, soon eclipsed her glory, and became the mart of the world. I must not detail its history, or speak

of its splendor. Volney says : " It was the theatre of an immense commerce and navigation, the nursery of art and science, and the city of perhaps the most industrious and active people ever known." *Travels*, II. 210. I need scarcely speak of the voyages and discoveries of the Phenicians. They had no needle to guide them on the deep ; but they were compelled to creep along the shore, or if they ventured abroad, they did it at their peril. Yet the influence of Phenicia was felt afar on the literature and prosperity of nations. From her Cadmus carried letters to Greece ; and far in the west, colonies were founded that spake her language and that imitated her commercial enterprise. Carthage was a colony of hers ; Carthage, that resisted the legions that conquered the world—that sent her Hannibal across the Alps to thunder at the gates of the eternal city ; Carthage, that built fleets almost as fast as winds, and storms, and Roman power could destroy them. The Phenician fleets paused not here. They passed through the straits of Hercules, now Gibraltar,—and attempted to sail round the continent of Africa. Far down its coast they stretched their way, without chart or compass, until increasing difficulties and dangers compelled them to return. Not so, however, if we may credit the unbroken voice of antiquity, was it with another effort of the Phenicians to encompass Africa on the east. Herodotus (IV. 42, 43) says of Necho II. king of Egypt, that he fitted out a fleet of triremes in the Red Sea, and having engaged some expert Phenician pilots and navigators, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Africa. " They were ordered to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the pillars of Hercules into the North Sea—the Mediterranean—and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the Gulf they passed into the Southern Ocean ; and when autumn arrived they laid up their ships and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest time : and having reaped the corn they continued the voyage. In this manner they occupied two years ; and the third having brought them by the pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related, what to me appears incredible, however others may be disposed to believe it, that they had the sun on their right hand, and by these means was the form of Africa first known." The fact mentioned by Herodotus, and which appeared so remarkable to him, " that they had the sun on their right hand," is one of those circumstances, explained by time, which go to demonstrate the authenticity of a narrative—circumstances with which both sacred and profane history abound. *We know that if*

they passed the Cape of Good Hope the sun when rising must have been on their right hand. This same voyage, if we may credit ancient history, was performed by other descendants of the Phenicians. Pliny states (Lib. II. 67, v. 1), that "Hanna, a Carthaginian, circumnavigated the continent of Africa, from Gades to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, and wrote all the details of the voyage, which was undertaken at the period when Carthage was most flourishing, and that he founded several towns on the coast."* If this be so, then it follows that the Cape of Good Hope was passed more than 2000 years before it was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, in 1487. These were voyages of curiosity; and they made no perceptible change in the commerce of the world. Still they show the adventurous character of the Phenician mariners. It excites our wonder that without compass or chart such a voyage should have been made. I may add here, as an interesting fact, that Cadiz in Spain was one of the colonies of Tyre; and from this country an expedition went out which discovered the new world.

The great importance of Tyre as a place of trade, and the prominence which the mention of its commerce has in the Scriptures, as well as the remarkable facts which have occurred to annihilate that commerce for ever, and to fulfil the prophecies respecting it, require a somewhat more extended notice than we have given to other places.

Of all ancient cities, Tyre was probably the most favorably situated for navigation. No situation could be more favorable for forming a navy,—situated as it was in the vicinity of Lebanon, and having the forests of Senir and Bashan also accessible. Bashan was celebrated for its oaks (Isa. 2: 13, Zech. 10: 1, 2, Ezek. 27: 6), and Lebanon could furnish a great quantity of timber, not only to be exported as an article of commerce, but to be used in the construction of ships. Ancient vessels were often constructed of fir; cedar supplied masts; while oak was used for those long and powerful oars, which were the chief instruments of navigation. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee; of oaks of Bashan have they made

* A brief but satisfactory account of the ancient voyages around Africa, and to different parts of it, may be seen in the *Ency. Gæog.* Vol. I. p. 18—30.

thine oars." Ezek. 27: 5, 6. Tyre was adjacent also to fruitful countries. It was the natural *outlet* of Judea, the only port on its coast of much importance. But its chief distinction arose from the fact, that it was the port to which naturally tended the rich productions of India; and when this commerce was diverted or ceased, it lost its importance and sunk into decay. For a long time it was the place through which that traffic passed on its way to Europe; and the rich commodities that were brought by the way of Babylon, Palmyra and Damascus here found their centre.

Tyre, at one time, possessed the best harbor on the coast of the Mediterranean; and it was this fact which gave it so much importance. The change which it has since undergone in this respect, as I shall show in another part of this article, is one of the most remarkable circumstances in history, and demonstrates that the prophecies *must* continue to be fulfilled. Tyre was at first built on the coast or main land, and is commonly known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus* (*Παλαιτύρος*), or ancient Tyre, to distinguish it from insular Tyre, subsequently built on the island. There is abundant evidence that the former was first built; though it is probable that the island was early occupied as a place of anchorage. Insular Tyre was built on an island or *rock* that was about three quarters of a mile from the coast. The passage from the coast to the island was probably in boats only, until the time of Alexander; who, in order to reduce the city, by a mole two hundred feet in width joined it to the main land. This was built mainly of the rubbish and stones of the old city, and became a permanent embankment or breakwater; and thus, it is probable, added much to the natural advantages of the harbor. Alexander was occupied eight months in reducing the insular city; and it became a subject of contention among his followers after his death. That the harbor of Tyre had uncommon advantages, is not only demonstrated by the unbroken current of testimony, but by the fact, that it so long maintained the dominion of the sea, and eclipsed every rival.

We have in the Scriptures a more full account of the traffic of Tyre than of any other ancient city; and it will throw light on our subject to consider more minutely the articles of its commerce.

The foundation of the prosperity of Tyre was laid, in part, in its vicinity to valuable materials for ship-building. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir." Ezek. 27: 5.

Senir (סֶנִּיר) is usually supposed to be the same as *Sirion*—סִירִיֹן, the Phœnician name for Hermon. Cant. 4: 8. 1 Chron. 5: 23. According to Abulfeda, it denotes a ridge of mountains near Damascus. In regard to the word *fir* (פִּיר), it is not easy to determine precisely the sense in which it is used in the Scriptures. It is probably, however, the same as *cypress*; and constituted, along with the cedar, the glory of Lebanon. It was employed for the floors and ceilings of the temple (1 Kings 5: 22, 24), and also for the sheathings and decks of ships. It was used for spears (Nah. 2: 4), and for musical instruments (2 Sam. 6: 5). Probably the word פִּיר was not confined to one species of timber, but was a general name denoting several kindred trees, as is the word *fir* or *pine* among us. The cedars of Lebanon were used for masts. Ezek. 27: 5. The LXX have understood the *cypress* as the tree intended. The word אֲרָז commonly denotes the cedar of Lebanon. From the account in the Scripture it would seem that this tree was uncommonly tall (Isa. 2: 13, 37: 24), and wide-spreading (Ezek. 31: 3). The cedar of Lebanon was very large, but at some period of its growth it was undoubtedly well fitted for masts. The oak of Bashan was also used for oars. Ezek. 27: 5. Much of the ancient navigation was conducted by oars. Ignorant, to a great extent, of the art of navigation, not knowing how to take advantage of the winds, and often drifting along where they had no charts, and no knowledge of the dangers which they would encounter, they were frequently obliged to make use of oars.

Two things that with us would seem to be articles of luxury and needless splendor, are mentioned in the navigation of the Tyrians. The first is, that they made use of "fine linen with brodered work from Egypt" for their sails. Ezek. 27: 7. That finely-wrought linen was employed for this purpose occasionally, may not seem improbable, when the magnificent appearance of the barge of Cleopatra is recollected. It must have been, however, rather for show than for use. The other item in the decoration of their ships (Ezek. 27: 6) is, that "the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim." There has been much difficulty in understanding who are meant here by the Ashurites, or what is the exact meaning of the phrase. The word rendered "company" (בָּר) usually means a *daughter*, and why it has been translated "company," it is difficult to see. The word rendered "Ashurites" (אַשּׁוּרִים) is from אָשַׁר, a *step, going*;

and is probably here synonymous with שרבין, meaning *sherbin*—a species of cedar that grew on Mount Lebanon. Using the word בַּר in its common signification, the passage may mean, according to Gesenius, “thy benches they made of ivory (בָּרִי), the daughter of Sherbin cedars;” that is, they *inlaid* the cedar of the benches with ivory; they ornamented the seats of the rowers with ivory—a fact which is by no means improbable, though it seems incredible that they should make the benches wholly of ivory. Jarchi proposes to arrive at the same interpretation by reading בַּר-אֲשִׁירִים as one word; and then it would mean, ‘with cedars;’ that is, “they made thy benches ivory with cedars brought from the land of Chittim.” Chittim is a name of large extent, like the word *Levant*, and is applied to the cities and coasts of the Mediterranean, without denoting any particular part. Josephus makes it Cyprus; the first of Maccabees applies it to Macedonia; the Vulgate to Italy; Bochart makes it the same with the islands around it; Jerome ascribes it to the islands of the Ionian and *Ægean* Seas. Any of these places may be understood as included in the word “Chittim;” and as Tyre traded with them all, there can be no difficulty in understanding that either the ivory or the box that was used, was brought from them. *Pict. Bib. on Ezek. 27: 6.*

The articles of commerce mentioned by Ezekiel, in which Tyre traded, together with the countries with which its traffic was conducted, are the following:

1. Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah.” *Ezek. 27: 7.* *Elisha* אֵלִישָׁה was one of the sons of Javan (*Gen. 10: 4*), and settled a part of Greece. The word here denotes a region situated on the Mediterranean, most probably *Elis*, or *Hellas*—a part of the Peloponnesus. In the Samaritan it is written אֵלִישָׁה. It seems remarkable that the Tyrians, who were so celebrated for their own purple, should have imported the article from Elisha. But the purple of Laconia was the finest dye next to the Tyrian; and the purple cloth of that province was possibly employed because it was cheaper than that of Tyre, which was reserved for the use of kings.” Vincent. That this purple of Laconia was an article of luxury, is apparent from Horace:

Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honestæ purpuras clientæ.

Odes, II. 18. 7.

The blue and purple referred to in Ezekiel seem to have

been used for awnings and coverings. It will be remembered that the famous galley in which Cleopatra went to meet Anthony, had an awning made with cloth of gold. According to the description of Ezekiel, the appearance of the Tyrian vessels, whether in the harbor or at sea, must have been exceedingly magnificent.

2. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad traded with Tyre. Ezek. 27: 8. "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners." This passage proves, that while the Tyrians were devoted to commerce, the Sidonians furnished them with mariners. Arvad or Aradus was the name of a Phœnician city upon an island of the same name, not far from the coast, founded, according to Strabo (XVI. 2, §§ 13, 14), by Sidonian deserters. Its name now is *Ruad*, and the island is about two hundred paces from the continent. Compare Gen. 10: 17. Among the places which are mentioned as trading with Tyre, besides the above, were Gebal, Persia, Lud, Tarshish, Javan, Tubal and Meshech, Togarmah, Dedan, Syria, Judah, Damascus, Dan, Arabia, Sheba and Raamah, Haran, Canneh, Eden, Asshur and Chilmad. Ezek. 27: 9—25. The whole object of the enumeration of these places is, to show the countries to which Tyre traded, that is, to nearly all the known parts of the world. Most of these places are well known; and little would be contributed to the design of this article, were we to designate the others. A remark or two is all that is necessary. Tarshish here is probably the same as Tartessus, in Spain; but I shall advert to it again when I speak of the commerce of the Jews. Javan is used to denote Greece in general, perhaps Ionia in particular. Tubal and Meshech probably denote countries situated near the Black and Caspian Seas. Dedan is supposed to have been on the southern coast of Arabia; or, as Michaelis thinks, it may have been an island, or commercial town in the Persian Gulf, established by the Tyrians to secure the trade of the Indies.

3. In regard to the articles of commerce in which the Tyrians were engaged, much light may be derived from the chapter in Ezekiel above referred to. Silver, iron, tin and lead were brought from Tarshish.—From Javan, Tubal and Meshech, they obtained "the persons of men—i. e. slaves—and vessels of brass." Tubal and Meshech are supposed to be Caucasian regions, and slaves from thence have always been in the highest repute in the countries which now constitute the Turkish

empire. The inhabitants have always been distinguished for personal comeliness. The rich Turks and Persians have always filled their harems with female slaves from Georgia and Circassia. The passage before us proves, that when Tyre was at the height of its splendor, this kind of traffic was common.—Horses and horsemen from Togarmah are mentioned. Formerly, the country of Armenia—supposed to be the same as Togarmah—was celebrated for producing horses for the kings of Persia; and in later times the people have paid their tribute in horses.—Ivory and ebony are mentioned as obtained from Dedan. If Dedan here means a part of the country adjacent to the Persian Gulf, then these articles were probably obtained from India. That ebony is intended by the word עֵבֶרֶט, seems to be indubitable. The Hebrew word has passed into the ἔβερος of the Greeks, the *ebenum* of the Latins, and our *ebony*. It occurs only in the plural, probably, according to Gesenius, because the wood was obtained only in planks, or split into pieces for exportation. Ebony is the heart-wood of a tree called, in botanical language, *diospyros ebenum*, or the ebony tree—a native of India. Its great hardness made it an article of value.—“Emeralds, purple, brodered work, fine linen, coral and agate” are mentioned as obtained from Syria. Probably they were brought by land from the Gulf of Persia, through Syria. It is not known that they are productions of this country; but they are procured in abundance in India. The word rendered “coral,” כִּדְדִי, more probably means a *ruby*. It is enumerated among precious stones, and was undoubtedly one of them.—“Wheat, honey, oil and balm” are enumerated as articles obtained from Judah. These are well-known productions of ancient Palestine; and Tyre derived no small part of its importance from its vicinity to this rich agricultural region.—“Wine of Helbon and white wool” are mentioned as obtained from Damascus. Wool was procured in the fleece, and dyed and manufactured at Tyre. The wine of Helbon—חֶלְבֹן—was celebrated in ancient times. Helbon was a Syrian city—the *Xalvān* of the Greeks. The table of the Persian kings was supplied with this wine, and they drank no other. Strabo XV., p. 1068. The city was famous in Arabian history in the middle ages, under the name of *Haleb*. It is now Aleppo. See Bochart's Hieroz., 1: 543.—“Bright iron, cassia and calamus” are mentioned as obtained from Dan and Javan. Cassia and calamus are supposed by Dr. Vincent to have been

undoubted productions of India; and this passage is regarded by him as an important historical proof that the intercourse with India was carried on through Arabia. Cassia—קָסְיָה—was a species of aromatic bark resembling cinnamon, but less fragrant and less valuable. Like cinnamon, it was obtained from India. Calamus—קָלָמוֹס—was a sweet cane, or an aromatic reed, growing in marshes—the *xárva*, *xárvn*, or *xárv* of the Greeks. It was used as an article of perfume, and the Hebrews employed it in public worship. According to Pliny (12: 22), it grew in Arabia, Syria and India; according to Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 9, 7), it grew in the vales of Lebanon.—“Precious clothes for chariots” are mentioned as procured from Dedan. Dedan here referred to was probably in Arabia. But this verse is very obscure. The word rendered “chariots” may mean “riding,” and the “clothes,” or garments, may have been for horsemen, for chariots or for charioteers. Whether they were manufactured in Dedan or not, it is impossible now to determine.—“Lambs, rams and goats” are mentioned as procured from Arabia.—“Spices, precious stones and gold” are mentioned as procured from Sheba and Raamah; and “blue clothes, and broidered work,” from Haran, Canneh, Eden, etc.

This enumeration shows that a large part of the commerce of Tyre was in articles of luxury; though it was the grand mart for all the trade of the Eastern and Western world.

In the consideration of this subject, it is natural to inquire to what extent the Jews embarked in the commercial enterprises of ancient times. With a somewhat extended sea-coast, and such a location that some part of the traffic between India and Europe must of necessity pass through their territory, it was to be expected, perhaps, that they would seek to share in the immense profits which had made Tyre so splendid an emporium. Yet the idea of engaging in foreign commerce seems never to have occurred to them until the time of Solomon; and the plan was never extensively prosecuted after his reign. They were essentially an agricultural people. Till the time of David, they were extensively occupied in wars, and had little leisure for more peaceful employments. They shrunk from all communication with foreign nations; even from that temporary intercourse which was needful in commercial pursuits. They were a peculiar people—designed to have within themselves all that was necessary for their welfare, and intended to be kept distinct from all the nations of the earth. Indeed, the commercial

enterprises of Solomon were a decided departure from the spirit of the national institutions. They were a part of that system of luxury and splendor and extravagance in which, unhappily, he indulged ; and which was so much the object of the divine displeasure.

The accounts of the Scriptures respecting the commerce of Solomon are brief ; and perhaps no other part of the Bible has given rise to so many speculations. 1 Kings 9 : 26—28 ; 2 Chron. 9 : 21. The amount of the statement is, that the port of Ezion-geber was selected ; that a traffic was carried on with Ophir and with Tarshish, consisting in gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks.

1. The port selected was Ezion-geber. This was a city of Arabia Deserta, on the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea. It was selected by Solomon with a view to his securing the India trade, and as a part of the enterprise for which he had built Tadmor. The idea seems to have occurred to him, that by passing to the sea, and thence departing by vessels, it would be easier to reach the East than by overland journeys through Babylon and Persia. According to this plan, it was necessary to pass through Petra ; and probably Petra derived some of its importance from this enterprise. There is now at the head of the Red Sea, a castle or fortress, called the fortress of Akaba, which is the usual stopping-place for pilgrims on their way to Mecca ; though it is entirely undistinguished as a place of commerce. "In the region of Akaba," says Riippell, who visited it in 1822, "there is not a single boat or water-craft of any kind ; the Arabs in fishing use only rafts made of the trunks of palm trees tied together." It could never have been a very advantageous place for commerce, and seems early to have been abandoned. Its selection was only a part of that great experiment, pursued for ages, to devise the best means of securing the rich commerce of the East. The articles which were brought by vessels to Ezion-geber, or Akaba as it is now called, were conveyed by caravans through the long valley, now known as the El Ghor or the El Araba, and which is a continuance of the valley of the Jordan, and thence to Hebron and Jerusalem.*

2. A more important, and much more difficult question is : Where was the Ophir situated to which the vessels of Solomon

* See the Travels of Burckhardt, who was the first among the moderns to discover this valley.

traded? Few inquiries have been more perplexing, and more unsatisfactory than this.* The *places* where Ophir has been sought are the following.

(1.) Arabia, particularly the southwestern part, or the country now called Yemen. This was the opinion of Prideaux, and many others. To this opinion, the objection so often urged is, in my view, unanswerable. It is incredible that a *fleet* should be fitted out with so much care and expense to convey productions by water which could have been conveyed in a very few days, and with much less risk and expense by land. The whole account in the Scriptures, indicates that the ships were fitted for a *distant* voyage. Indeed it is expressly stated that the voyage lasted three years.

(2.) The more common opinion is, that the Ophir of the Scriptures was eastern Africa. This was the opinion of Bruce, and on his map it is located a little south of Abyssinia. This opinion has also been defended by *Huet*. In support of this, he adduces seven arguments, which are drawn from the name Ophir (from which he supposes Africa to be derived); from the fact that eastern Africa was a region which produced gold in abundance, and indeed all the articles enumerated in the account of the commerce of Solomon; from the fact that various inscriptions are found in Sofala on the eastern coast of Africa, which he supposes to have recorded the voyages made by the ships of Solomon; from the facility of the navigation to that place, etc. This opinion was first broached, it is believed, by the friar John don Sanctos, who resided in Sofala. It is but justice to let the friar speak for himself. "Near to Massapa is a great hill, called *Fura*—supposed to have derived its name from Ophir—whence may be discerned a great part of the kingdom of Monomotapa; for which cause he (the king) will not suffer the Portugals to go thither, that they should not covet his great country and hidden mines. On the top of that hill are yet standing pieces of old walls and ancient ruins of lime and stone, which testify that there have been strong buildings; a thing

* Those who may be disposed to read what has been written on the subject, may consult the following dissertations in Ugolin: *Thesau. Ant. Sac.* vii. pp. 276—419; Dan. Huetti *Commentarium de navigatione Salomonis*, Martini Lipenii *Dissertatio de navigatione Salomonis*, and Johannis Christophori Wichmanshausen *dissertatio de navigatione Ophiritica*.

not seen in all Caffraria ; for even the king's houses are of wood, daubed with clay, and covered with straw. The natives, and especially the Moors, have a tradition from their ancestors, that those houses belonged to the queen of Saba, who carried much gold thence down to the Cuama to the sea, and so along the coast of Ethiopia to the Red Sea. Others say that these ruins were Solomon's factory, and that this Fura, or Afura, is no other than Ophir, the name not being much altered in so long a time. This is certain, that round about that hill, there is much fine gold. The navigation might in those times have been longer, for want of so good ships or pilots as now are to be had, and by reason of much time spent in trucking with the Cafares, as even in this time the merchants often spend a year or more in that business, although the Cafares be grown more covetous of our wares, and the mines be better known. Much time is also spent in the voyage by the rivers, and by that sea, which hath differing monsoons, and can be sailed but by two winds, which blow six months from the east, and as many from the west. Solomon's fleet had, besides those mentioned, this let, that the Red Sea is not safely navigable but by day, by reason of many isles and shoals ; likewise it was necessary to put into harbors for fresh water and provisions, and to take in new pilots and mariners and to make reparation ; which considered, with their creeping by the shore for the want of compass and experience in those seas, and their Sabbath rests, and their truck with the Cafares, might extend their whole voyage, in going, staying and returning, to three years. Further, the ivory, apes, gems, and precious woods (which grew in the wild places of Tebe within Sofala), whence they make *almaidias*, or canoes, twenty yards long of one timber, and much fine black wood grows in the coast, and is carried thence to India and Portugal ; all these may make the matter probable. As for peacocks, I saw none there, but there must needs be some within land ; for I have seen some Cafares wear their plumes on their heads. As there is store of fine gold, so also is there fine silver in Chicon where there are rich mines." These circumstances are so striking and so full of probability, and the difficulties respecting any other place have been so great, as to appear conclusive to many in regard to the situation of Ophir ; and accordingly this opinion has been embraced by D'Anville, Huet, Montesquieu, Bruce and Robertson ; and even Dr. Vincent allows that Ophir must there be sought for by those who object to Arabia.

(3.) Others have supposed that the Ophir of Solomon was in the Persian Gulf; and that the commerce extended down the Red Sea, and around Arabia to the Gulf. Calmet adopted the singular theory that Ophir was in Armenia, and that the fleet of Solomon proceeded up the Persian Gulf, and thence up the Euphrates or the Tigris as far as those rivers were navigable, in order to receive the productions of Armenia. In this opinion, he is probably destined to stand alone. Nor has the opinion that the Ophir of the Scriptures was within the Persian Gulf much to recommend it. The articles enumerated are not those which would naturally be found in the islands of that Gulf, or on the adjacent shore. The gems and spices, the precious stones and aromatics of the Indies would be the productions which would naturally find their way to the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf.

(4.) India has been commonly regarded as the country where Ophir was to be found. To this opinion the large majority of authorities refer the Hebrew-Phœnician voyage. But it is almost needless to say, that there has been an almost infinite number of opinions as to the part of India where Ophir was to be found; and that scarcely two persons have fixed on the same place. But the objections to India as the country of Ophir are, in my view, insuperable. The material one is, the difficulty of the navigation. Those who have read Dr. Vincent's account of the voyage of Nearchus from the river Indus to the Persian Gulf, will be satisfied that it is highly improbable that a voyage to India was undertaken and accomplished more than six hundred years before that time. Arrian denies that any voyage had ever occurred from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf by sailing around Arabia; Eratosthenes (apud Strabo lib. xvi. xvii.) also denies that any vessel proceeding from the straits of the Red Sea (Babelmandel) had ever gone more than about six hundred miles. Strabo says that before his time scarcely twenty ships had ever dared to adventure beyond the straits into the open ocean. See Huet in Ugolin, tom. vii. p. 302.

(5.) The editor of the Pictorial Bible (on 2 Chron. 20) supposes, that no particular country is intended by the Ophir of the Scriptures; but that the term is used, like the word *Thule* in the classics, to denote some indefinite, distant region, or a certain region of the world—like the East or West Indies. In confirmation of this opinion, Tychsen, after Heeren, observes that the word *Ophir* signifies in Arabia, “the rich countries.”—To

me, however, it seems most probable that the country designated was on the eastern coast of Africa; and to this the opinions of most writers now converge.

3. The articles of commerce which Solomon conveyed to his dominions by his fleet were the following. (1.) Gold. How it was procured or paid for, or what constituted the articles of *export* for which Solomon received this in return, is nowhere intimated. (2.) Silver—an article which he made exceedingly abundant in Jerusalem. (3.) Ivory—also, as we have seen in speaking of the commerce of Tyre, an important article. (4.) *Apes*, אַפִּיק. What *species* of those animals was imported cannot be determined. The word אַפִּיק is applied to any species of the simia or monkey race. *Why* they were imported, is not known. As they were objects of curiosity, then as now, it is possible that it was a mere matter of speculation. As Solomon gave much of his time to Natural History (1 Kings 4: 33), it may have been with some reference to that study. (5.) *Peacocks*, תִּרְזִיק. It has been doubted whether peacocks are intended or *parrots*,* and it is not very material. Both are produced in Africa and in India; and both would have answered the purpose contemplated by Solomon. If the object was gain, they would be valuable objects of merchandise, as curiosities in the land of Palestine. If the object was the study of natural history, the fact is more interesting. Other kings and princes, we may suppose, would collect foreign quadrupeds and birds as objects of curiosity or wonder—to beautify a park or decorate a garden. But as we know that Solomon was devoted to study, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, while his main object was gain, he might have instructed his navigators to bring home, whatever they might meet with that was unusual or rare, which would serve to enlarge the empire of science. If so, the fact shows that amidst all that was splendid and luxurious in that reign, the useful was not forgotten, and that while Solomon sought to increase the works of art, he, at the same time, sought to extend the bounds of knowledge, and to diffuse an acquaintance with the works of God.

This commerce was, however, of short duration. The civil wars which succeeded the death of Solomon turned the attention of the nation away from such pursuits; and no effort appears

* See Huet as quoted above. Comp. also Bochart, Hieroz. T. II. p. 135, seq.

to have been made to recover the advantages of foreign traffic until the time of Jehoshaphat—more than seventy years later. This prince formed a commercial treaty with Ahaziah, king of Israel, for the purpose of renewing the trade to Tarshish; but the fleet which they constructed at the port of Ezion-geber was destroyed in a storm; and the attempt was never renewed. 2 Chron. 20: 36, 37.

It is proper, in describing the commerce of Western Asia, to notice another celebrated city that was founded to secure it; I allude to Alexandria, in Egypt. Alexander, in his pursuit of Darius, was led to the northeastern part of Persia, and he terminated his career on the Hydaspes, a branch of the Indus. Here his conquests ended; and here he wept that no other world was to be subdued. He had carried his arms over the regions that had once constituted the most powerful monarchies of the earth; and had vanquished the very kingdoms which had once poured their legions on the plains of Leuctra and Marathon. But the mind of that great man was too restless to remain satisfied with his past achievements. To consolidate this vast region into one government, required not less energy than to conquer it; and without delay the work was undertaken. The commerce of the East was an object that attracted his attention, and laid the foundation for a new plan. The passage, from the place where he then was to the ocean, had never been made but once—by Darius; and Alexander fitted out a fleet under Nearchus, to attempt the dangerous way. Alexander, with his army, moved along the shore, while Nearchus and the fleet performed the voyage. It was demonstrated that the commerce of the East, instead of being borne over land, *could* be conveyed on the ocean; and the plan was formed to convey it around Arabia, up the Red Sea, and thence to Europe. The site of Alexandria was selected to aid in this purpose. The plan of a magnificent city was formed; and it shows the forecast which planned it, that, while Tyre declined, and Babylon sunk to ruin, Alexandria, for 1800 years, continued to command the commerce of India.*

This commerce, too, gave importance to Venice, Genoa, and the states and cities of Italy. Venice rose from the waves be-

* See Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* and Dr. Vincent on the Commerce of the Ancients, for a full account of the voyage of Nearchus.

cause of her convenient position between Alexandria and Europe. She maintained her pre-eminence until the direction of that commerce was changed, in the revolutions which followed the discoveries of Vasco de Gama.

This detail, perhaps dry and uninteresting, has conducted us to an important general conclusion. The great prize which was so eagerly sought by ancient enterprise, was the commerce of India,—that vast indefinite region, so little known to the ancients, stretching on without known limits, from the river Indus, comprising modern Hindoostan and China,—the land of spices, and pearls, and diamonds, and gold, and silks,—the source of all that was deemed desirable to contribute to the luxury of the West. To obtain this, caravans crossed and re-crossed pathless deserts; voyages of discovery were undertaken at imminent hazard; cities rose up amidst pathless sands and barren rocks, to afford a resting-place to the weary and heavy-laden traveller; and to secure this, too, in subsequent times, Columbus embarked on the bosom of the mighty deep, and prostrated himself on the earth with gratitude and praise, when he supposed that, by a new course, he had reached that land of splendor and of wealth.

We are now to contemplate Western Asia as presenting a different aspect; and to consider the changes which have occurred there, and the causes of those changes. We have seen splendid cities, whose size and wealth, as reported by ancient historians, almost exceed belief, and whose ruins now amaze the traveller, rise and flourish there as the fruit of a busy commerce; and it is natural to ask, why they have ceased to exist, and why, if they were destroyed by the calamities of war, they have not risen again from their ruins. To the commerce of the ancients they were, what London, and Havre, and Liverpool, and New-York, and Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati, and New-Orleans are to the moderns. Some of them equalled the greatest of these modern cities, in size and wealth—perhaps surpassed them in splendor, and stood as confident of permanency. There was as little prospect of their decay and ruin as there is now of the marts of commerce in Europe and America. In the height of their glory, however, when the caravan was moving towards them with the wealth of the East; when they resounded with the din of business and the cheerfulness of song; when splendid palaces were building, as the fruits of that commerce; when they were encom-

passing themselves with high and massive walls, and towers, and gates; and when the fleets, bearing the wealth of distant nations, were crowding around their wharves, one thing was as remarkable as it was ominous. A succession of men, clad in a humble garb, dwelling in the little territory of Judea—a country never distinguished for commerce, and cut off by its constitution from forming extended foreign relations,—a class of men without literature, or profound knowledge of international laws, were addressing these cities in language fearfully foreboding. To Tyre—that splendid commercial emporium—these foreigners said, speaking in the name of the God of cities and of nations: “I will make thee like the top of a rock. Thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon.” “They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water. I will also scrape her dust from her. I will make thee a terror; and thou shalt be no more. Thou shalt be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again.” Ezek. 26: 4, 12, 14, 15, 21. To Babylon they said: “Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee’s excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.” Isa. 13: 20, 21. Of Mount Seir, or Petra, they said: “I will stretch out my hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate.” Ezek. 35: 1—4. “The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high.” Obad. 3: 8, 17, 18. “From generation to generation shall it lie waste, none shall pass through it for ever and ever. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls.” Ezek. 35: 3. Obad. 3. Isaiah 34: 10, 13. When these, and a multitude of similar predictions were uttered, there was the same human prospect of their fulfilment that there would be now, if uttered of London or Liverpool, of Havre or Paris, of Philadelphia or New-York—AND NO MORE.

I need scarcely say that great changes have occurred in that whole land. To the traveller, it is now a sad and lonely part of the world. The sceptre of empire has passed away. Des-

olation has spread over regions once "flowing with milk and honey." The traveller passes by day over scenes of ruin ; by night he finds a damp and dismal lodging in the ruined palace of some ancient nobleman or monarch ; or, more likely, lies down by his side in the tomb, and sleeps among the dead. The music that once resounded in the splendid hall, has given place to the cry of the jackal ; and the gay forms, that once flitted in the mazy dance, are seen there no more. Silence now reigns, where once was the din of business ; and the commerce of the world has found new channels ; and these splendid cities have fallen never to rise again.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way ;"

and westward, too, moves the star of commerce, and science and the arts. Civilization seems "rather to have changed its abode than to have extended its dominion." In those places where it formerly flourished most, nothing now remains but barbarism and deserts ; but in lands scarce known when Babylon and Tyre were in the height of their splendor ; in countries so little known as not to attract the attention of Alexander, or suggest that in the *West* he might find the world which he wished still to conquer, have arisen commercial cities that outvie all that was known in Western Asia ; and in a new world, then wholly unknown, Boston, and New-York, and Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, have taken the place of Sidon, and Tyre, and Babylon, and Petra, and Carthage. The circle of science and the arts seems to be *removed*, not *enlarged*. The centre of civilization is fluctuating and changing. The grove where Plato and Zeno taught, the city where Phidias lived and Demosthenes roused his countrymen to arms, have been trodden by the feet of those who spurned the elegant arts of life ; but the record of the eloquence, the philosophy, and the arts of those immortal men have found their permanent abode in the West.

I have said that the man who now travels over Western Asia, travels amidst ruins. In Babylon, should he perchance find the place where it stood, he would see a vast and gloomy pile, without order, or verdure, or comeliness. Around it, he would see a vast marsh, where no mark of culture appears. Such is the testimony of all who have visited that lonely region. "The abundance of the country," says Sir R. Ker Porter, "has vanished as clean away, as if the besom of destruction had

swept it from north to south; the whole land, from the outskirts of Babylon to the farthest stretch of sight, lying a melancholy waste.* Palmyra too is a scene of ruins. "On which side soever we look," says Volney, "the earth is strewn with vast stones, half-burnt, with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by the dust." Once ten miles in circumference, now,—such is the desolation,—the boundaries can scarcely be traced and determined. The thousands of Corinthian columns of white marble, erect and fallen, covering an extent of about a mile and a half, offer an appearance which travellers compare to that of a forest. "Here," says Volney, "stand groups of columns, whose symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them; then we see them ranged in rows of such length that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight, and assume the appearance of continued walls."

The situation of Petra I need not describe. The travels of our own countryman, Stephens, have made it better known to us than any of the ruined cities of the East. It is a city of tombs, cut from the solid rock. Its busy population has gone. The living are not there; and not a solitary being is now found there, save when the wandering Bedouin, or the passing traveller, spends a night among its sepulchres. Long its very site was unknown; and now that it is known, it is revealed, not to be raised to its former magnificence, but to excite the wonder of the world, that a city, once so splendid, should have become the scene of such utter desolation;—thus to confirm the words of the ancient prophets of God, and become a proof of the truth of revelation, engraved on the eternal rock. "I would," said Stephens, when speaking of these ruins, "I would that the skeptic could stand as I did among the ruins of this city, among the rocks, and there open the sacred book, and read the words of the inspired penman, written when this desolate place was one of the greatest cities in the world. I see the scoff arrested, his cheek pale, his lip quivering, and his heart quaking with fear, as the ancient city cries out to him, in a voice loud and powerful as one risen from the dead; though he would not believe Moses and the prophets, he believes the hand-writing of

* For an extended description of the site of Babylon as it appears at present, see an article in the *Biblical Repository*, Vol. VIII. pp. 158—189.

God himself, in the desolation and eternal ruin around him." *Incidents of Travel, etc.*, Vol. II. p. 76.

Nor need I describe Tyre. Volney shall tell what it is. "The whole village of Tyre contains only fifty or sixty poor families, who live obscurely on the produce of their little ground, and a trifling fishery. The houses they occupy are wretched huts, ready to crumble into ruins." Bruce describes it as "a rock on which fishers dry their nets." The only merchant which Tyre could boast when Volney was there, was a solitary Greek, who could hardly gain a livelihood. In one word, that whole region is now desolate, and it lies under some evident, but mysterious malediction.

What are the causes of these changes? That there must have been some cause, is past a doubt; and the answer is of more importance than to amuse an idle hour. Great principles have been developed in these changes, and important lessons taught in regard to the mode in which the affairs of the world are administered. Why, when those cities fell, did blighting pass over a once proverbially fertile land? and why, in the lapse of ages, has it never risen to its former glory? Is it destined for ever to lie waste? or, in the circling movements of civilization and prosperity, shall that land rise again and become the patron of science and the arts, while the countries, on which the light of learning and the true religion now shines, sink to night?

In suggesting the causes of the changes above described, I mention, first, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. I have said that this cape is reported to have been passed by the ancients; but there was then no western world known to which the commerce of the East could be borne; and having been once or twice passed, the ancient navigator seemed to be contented with his achievement. The discovery of the magnetic needle by an obscure citizen of Amalfi in Italy, in 1302, gave a new direction to commerce. The power of the needle, the jealousy of the Italian states labored to conceal from other nations. But it was in vain; and this important discovery "opened to man the dominion of the seas;" and to the discoverer, if he chose to profit by it, the dominion of the world.* The great object was still to secure the commerce of India. Alexandria, for 1800 years, had enjoyed that commerce undisturbed;

* Qui mare tenet, eum necesse est rerum potiri. Cic. ad Att.

and the plan of Alexander, in founding the city which bore his name, had made Seleucia, and Babylon, and Palmyra, and Petra, a scene of wide desolation, and, together with the thunder of his arms, changed Tyre to a barren rock. New competitors now came into the field. Man had found out the art of leaving the shore, and of going out on the broad ocean. The mariner now felt safe whether he saw the land or not; and whether the sun shone on his pathless way, or whether he moved forward in a cloudy night. The needle pointed in one direction; and he knew the way to his home. Spain and Portugal now came into the field. Columbus launched into unknown seas, and expected to reach India by sailing to the west; and Diaz directed his course to the south and the east. The one discovered the new world, and called it INDIA;—the other reached the Cape, and called it the Cape of Storms. Yet not thus did the monarch of Portugal regard it. To his sagacious view it was the point indicating *hope*—the hope of reaching a splendid prize—and he called it the “Cape of Good Hope,” and again fitted out a fleet, which moved on to India. The great discovery was made. A new world was revealed, rich and vast, and capable of sustaining hundreds of millions of civilized men; where cities and towns might rise that would more than equal the splendor of the East; and from whose mines gold might be carried that would yet enrich the East; and from whose shores, too, there might be borne the press, and the Bible, and the lessons of science, and civilization, and law, to change the aspect of the whole Oriental world. The commerce of the East was now to be borne away upon the waves. Hence those cities which once flourished by its possession, have fallen to rise no more. And this was distinctly predicted by the prophets. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope alone would have ruined them. And *since* their downfall, causes have been at work, beyond the power of man to arrest, to render the desolation permanent. There are not on earth now, perhaps, any sites more unfavorable for commerce; and whatever changes may occur in the East, it is certain that *those* cities can never rise to their former affluence.

Petra is a city of the dead. It has not a single commercial advantage. It has no sea-port; no fertile region around it; no stream on which the steamboat may glide. Nor is there any sea-port near, which can ever make it an important place. It had its consequence only from the fact, that the commerce of

the East was borne by caravans; nor would any thing, but the destruction of ships and steamers, and the restoration of caravans, ever make Petra what it was. *Tyre*, too, is a place of ruin; nor, on the whole coast of the Mediterranean, is there a single place that would not be as commodious a haven as this once celebrated port. Robinson says of its harbor in 1830: "It is a small circular basin, now quite filled up with sand and broken columns, leaving scarcely space for small boats to enter. The few fishing boats belonging to the place are sheltered by some rocks to the westward of the island." *Travels in Palestine and Syria*, Vol. I. p. 269. Shaw, who visited *Tyre* in 1738, says of the harbor: "I visited several creeks and inlets, in order to discover what provision there might have been formerly made for the security of their vessels. Yet, notwithstanding that *Tyre* was the chief maritime power of this country, I could not discover the least token of either *cothon* or harbor, that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships, indeed, still find a tolerable good shelter from the northern winds, under the southern shore, but are obliged immediately to retire when the winds change to the west or south; so that there must have been some better station than this for their security and reception. In the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we see the traces of a safe and commodious basin, lying within the walls; but which at the same time is very small, scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever have enjoyed a larger area, unless the buildings which now circumscribe it were encroachments upon its original dimensions. Yet even this port, small as it is at present, is notwithstanding so choked up with sand and rubbish, that the boats of those poor fishermen who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, can, with great difficulty only, be admitted." *Travels*, pp. 330, 331. Ed. fol. Oxf. 1738. Of *Babylon* it would be easy to show the same thing. The earth does not contain a more unpropitious site for a city than this; and whatever other places may flourish, *Babylon* is destined to be a heap of ruins.* Some other place on the *Euphrates* may rise to affluence and splendor, but *Babylon* has lost all its advantages. The steamboat may

* I refer those who may be desirous of seeing a full proof of this to the *Bib. Repos.* Vol. VIII. pp. 158—189; Keith on the *Prophecies*, pp. 182—237; and *Notes on Isaiah*, Vol. I. pp. 435, seq.

be launched on the Tigris and the Euphrates; the railroad may be laid across the plains and sands of Arabia—and who can tell what changes *it* may make in the affairs of men?—and Alexandria may renew its beauty and splendor. But though the steamboat and the railroad may again divert that commerce, they will not conduct it where the caravan conducted it; and the cities which owed their splendor to commerce, as it then was, have fallen to rise no more.

Men may account for these changes as they please. The *facts* are not to be denied. The result was foreseen and described. Men, claiming to be prophets of God, said how things would be. More than 2500 years ago, they described the scene as if they had been now on the ground, and were fellow-travellers with Volney, and were portraying what they saw. Their permanent records were not the result of natural sagacity. There were no causes then that tended to make Babylon, and Tyre, and Petra what they are, any more than there were causes which could be foreseen to produce the malaria in the neighborhood of Rome, or to pour burning ashes and lava on Herculaneum and Pompeii; or than there are causes in existence which can be foreseen, that will make Philadelphia or London pools of water and habitations of owls. Mere political sagacity could never, in Palestine or anywhere else, have foreseen the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, or the effects following from the use of the magnetic needle, or the changes produced by the railroad or the steamer;—nor could political sagacity have predicted the flowing in of the sands that were to block up the harbor of Tyre. The Burkes and the Cannings of the political world do not thus look into future times, and discern far on, in advancing generations, what shall be the condition—the permanent, unchanging condition—of the capitals of nations.

I have stated one cause of the remarkable changes which have occurred in the commerce of the East, and of the desolations which are now seen there. But why, it may be asked, do those desolations continue? Why do those cities lie in ruins? Why is that region, once the Paradise of the earth, now desolate? Why do not steamboats go up the Euphrates as well as the Hudson; why not swarm on the Euxine and the Caspian, as well as on Lake Erie; and why do not fleets find an anchorage, laden with the avails of commerce, along the coasts of Palestine and Asia Minor, as well as along the shores

of the Atlantic ? I will state, therefore, another cause. *Liberty there is dead* ; and the sceptre of despotism, paralyzing to commerce, to agriculture, and to the arts, is swayed over all that once fertile land, and it keeps prostrate the walls of its cities, and turns its fields into desolate wastes, and represses the aspirings of human genius, and bows down the bodies and the souls of men. Liberty is essential to successful commerce. The latter cannot live without the former. It must be protected at home ; and it must feel that the power of a free nation, respected by the kingdoms of the world, will be stretched out to defend it abroad. There must be *safety* ; there must be *stability*. But over all those lands there is now a government weak, capricious, flexible, tyrannical ;—and commerce dies, and enterprise is paralyzed. Success in any enterprise depends on *stability* in the government, and in the principles by which it is administered. In commerce, as in all things pertaining to human affairs, we must know what to expect ; we must be able to calculate on something definite and certain—even when there is much that is apparently fluctuating. Even the restless tides of the ocean may be depended on, and made tributary to commerce ; for we know when they rise and fall. The regular monsoons—though blowing half the year against those who would seek a particular direction—may be made tributary to commerce, though they baffled and perplexed Nearchus so much ; for we know what to depend on, and we understand their laws. But if the tides and the monsoons were governed by caprice, who could confide in them ? So of the passions that rage in the bosom of a capricious monarch ; of a government where liberty has fled ; of kingdoms that are controlled by caprice. Give us the laws of the Medes and Persians, “ that change not,” unreasonable though they may be, and the enterprises of men can be directed with certainty. The caravan is safe—for it will be protected. But how can it be safe when it may be plundered to support the government, or to maintain a luxurious and effeminate court ? Liberty is connected with all that is good, and great, and sure on earth ; and is essential to commerce. What nations are now most distinguished for commerce ? Whose sails whiten the seas, and find their way to the ends of the earth ? They are those which bear the flags of England and America—mother and daughter—the freest nations on the face of the globe ; nations not governed by caprice, nor yet by mobs—but by law ; nations, the thunder

of whose navies would be heard in the farthest part of the ocean, to protect the humblest sloop or schooner that should seek to secure a part in an honorable traffic. Every vessel that leaves our port is dependent on liberty and law at home for success ; and can be sure of success only when it is certain that, when she returns, no matter how long her cruise, the same liberty, the same morals, the same laws, the same public virtue will be found, as when the receding sail disappeared from the shore.

I could state another cause of the sad and long desolations of that once busy and fertile land—the land that once flowed with milk and honey. In one simple fact in *our* land I would find that cause. *Here* every man is secure of the avails of his labor. The ground which he cultivates is his own. The *fee-simple* to the soil makes a broad and impassable line in wealth, and virtue, and intelligence, and moral worth—in all that makes a man—between him and the tribes that roam over a savage land, or the nations that live under the caprice of a despot. Here, the harvest that is reared, the book that is made, the article of manufacture that is wrought, is *ours*. No one can seize it ; no one can tell us how to dispose of it ; no one can wrest it from us. It is ours, in such a sense, that the whole energy of 15,000,000 of freemen is pledged to defend it. He walks abroad in the conscious dignity of a freeman ; and though himself obscure and unknown, he may have *this* consciousness, that armies and navies, the sword of battle and the thunder of war would protect his feeblest rights against the world. Give but this consciousness to the wandering Bedouin ; let this be felt on the plains of Chaldea, and along the hills and vales of Palestine, and the desert would again blossom there as the rose, and the wilderness and the solitary place would be glad. It is this consciousness of protection in *our* rights, that makes us what we are ; this, that under the favor of heaven has built the cities and towns that stand so thick in our land ; this, that speeds the vessel on its way across the ocean. The want of this has strewed the Oriental world with broken pillars, and crumbling walls, and prostrate temples ; and this lost, our own land would soon be desolate.

The conclusions to which we have come in this article, are, that the commerce of the world is under the control of an intelligent, and all-wise director of events—who presides over winds and waves, over monsoons and pathless sands ; and that

it is changing its place and its form in accordance with laws which may be understood, and that the past furnishes important lessons in regard to those laws; that prosperous commerce is connected with high moral character and public virtue;—that it exists only in the spirit of liberty, and of mutual confidence; and particularly, that commerce tends to equalize all nations, and to diffuse to all the blessings enjoyed by few. On board the vessel that we send from our ports there may be the elements of all that is fitted to change the face of nations. There is science, directing its way across the ocean; there is the mariner's compass, that has produced so many changes on the earth; there is the quadrant; and there may be the press; and there may be those who are imbued with the love of liberty; and there may be the heralds of salvation, bearing that gospel to which we owe public virtue and civil liberty, to distant and barbarous climes.

I have said that the great prize sought in ancient and in modern times has been the wealth of the Indies. In seeking that prize, the New World—more rich in its native resources, and in all that contributes to human happiness than the East—was disclosed. That moment, when Columbus placed his foot on St. Salvador—supposing that he had reached the Indies—changed the destiny of commerce and of nations. With what purpose, with what heart did he come? With what feelings did he place his foot on the long-sought land? He came as a Christian. He came to give thanks to God. “No sooner did he land,” says his elegant biographer—Irving—“than he threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude.” “O Lord God, Eternal and Almighty,” said he, “thou hast by thy sacred word created heaven, and earth, and sea; blessed and glorified be thy name; lauded be thy majesty, who hast deigned to grant, that by thy humble servant thy sacred name should be known, and proclaimed in this the other part of the world.” Irving’s *Columbus*, Vol. I. p. 150. With these views he trod the New World; for the honor of the name of the Creator he had crossed the ocean; with a desire that the true religion should spread all over that new world, he lived and died.

Just one hundred and twenty-eight years after this, another frail bark approached the western world. It was in the cold of December—having crossed the ocean after a long and per-

ilous voyage. The storms of winter howled along the coast; the rivers and bays were frozen; the interminable, leafless forests spread before them. No light-house then told them of the place of danger or of safety; no city, no town, no sweet and peaceful village invited them to a place of repose. The smoke ascended indeed on the hills—but it rose from the cabin of the wandering and barbarous savage; and the sound of welcome was not heard on the shore. They came to the bleak and barren coast of New England. Heaven-directed, they entered—not by accident—the only place where safety then *could* have been found—where the everlasting mountains seemed to decline towards them, and to stretch out their arms far into the sea to embrace them. On board that vessel—the *May-Flower*—was the germ of this great nation—of that nation whose vessels now whiten every sea, and to whom every river and lake and bay and ocean of the world are open. Like Columbus, they came with hearts filled with gratitude to God—and on the rock of Plymouth *they* erected the altar and the cross. On board that humble bark was formed the solemn compact which has since gone into all our constitutions—and which contains the elements of liberty. They came, a race of hardy, and virtuous, and holy men; they came bearing the elements of liberty, and science, and law, and pure religion, that they might here have a home. They came with the Bible; with the love of sound learning, and of public faith and morals. Like that humble bark—with the same principles, and feelings, and views which reigned there, let our vessels—driven by the wind, or impelled by storms—visit all the world. Let them go as fit representatives of the land discovered by Columbus, and planted by the Pilgrims. Let them take the Bible, and the press; let them go to scatter the blessings of religion and liberty; let the pennant at the head of the tall mast, as she is seen on the deep, be hailed as the har-binger of all that can bless the nations. Back to Western Asia and to India; to the mouths of the Ganges, the Indus, and the Euphrates; to the Red Sea and the Nile; let American vessels yet bear the fruits, not only of our industry, but of our virtue, literature and religion. Let them carry the principles, by which all that now devoted region may be clothed with fertility; by which freedom shall visit the land of oppression; by which its cities may rise beautiful like our own, and far surpassing in moral worth and loveliness those which time has crumbled into ruins—making it again the Eden of the world.

ARTICLE IV.

SELF-CULTIVATION.

By Rev. Tryon Edwards, Rochester, N. Y.

Self-Culture : an Address introductory to the Franklin Lectures, delivered at Boston, September, 1838. By William E. Channing. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1839.

"I HAVE a shelf," said the sententious Cecil, "I have a shelf in my *study* for tried authors—one in my *mind* for tried *principles*, and one in my *heart* for tried *friends*." Had we the first of these shelves, this volume of Dr. Channing's should at once go upon it. Though far inferior, as a literary production, to many of his works, it is one of the most excellent and useful of them all. It abounds in that somewhat rare article, plain good sense; and is pervaded throughout, as by an elemental fire, with that uniform trait of a powerful mind—a mind made to *influence*, and *ever influencing* others—that it constantly rouses the reader to think, to *feel his own might*, and strongly /to resolve, if not to do. Happy the hearers of such lectures! Thrice happy if they act upon his counsels!

But favorably as we think of the Lecture before us, it is not all that we could wish. Self-culture, as bearing upon our *physical* system, is not even alluded to; and "that great means of self-improvement, Christianity," the author professes to leave "*untouched*," because "its greatness forbids" him "to approach it" at the close of his other remarks. And in addition to these things there are some points that are not set forth with that proportion which is due to their importance, and which might well be expected even in the hasty efforts of so able a writer as Dr. Channing. With these things in view, our *first* thought was to *review* the *Lecture*. The *second* (and perhaps the more becoming, where an author like Dr. Channing is concerned) was to throw out the thoughts which the *subject itself* suggests—thus endeavoring to give that fulness and proportion to it which it so richly deserves. This last course we propose to take;—dwelling upon the *subject* of SELF-IMPROVEMENT, or more strictly, of SELF-

CULTIVATION—often availing ourselves of the thoughts, and sometimes of the expressions of the valuable lecture before us.

The subject is one of immense importance. If language contains one word that should be familiar—one subject we should wish to understand—one end on which we should be bent—one blessing we should resolve to make our own—that word, that subject, that end, that blessing should be, in the broadest sense of the expression, *self-improvement*. This is alike the instinct of nature, the dictate of reason, the demand of religion. It is inwoven with all to which it is possible, either to aspire or to rise. It appeals to us as men—calling us to the highest and noblest end of man—reminding us that God's image is upon us, and that as men we may be great in every possible position of life. It tells us that the grandeur of our nature, if we will but improve it, turns to insignificance all outward distinctions; that our powers of knowing and feeling and loving—of perceiving the beautiful, the true, the right, the good—of knowing God, of acting on ourselves and on external nature, and on our fellow beings—that these are glorious prerogatives, and that in them all there is no assignable limit to our progress. It reminds us that each one of us is a diamond; and that while, with cultivation, we may attain our highest value and most splendid perfection, without it we shall remain in our roughness, never disclosing our own beauty or worth, never reflecting the glorious light that God is pouring around us. It impresses the thought, that we have something to do for ourselves; that knowledge and wisdom are not to be *poured* into us, without effort on our part; that we are more than mere *receptacles*; that we are to reflect as well as read or hear, to ponder what may come before us, and to think for ourselves, and judge for ourselves whether it be right or wrong, and what may be its value and its uses. Books, lectures, social intercourse, appeals from without—these may rouse us to exertion, when without them we might have slumbered for ever, unconscious of our own capacities; but they will be worse than useless if we rely on them alone, if we feel as if they were to *carry* us forward instead of rousing us to go ourselves; worse than useless if we do not *digest* what they bring before us, thus inweaving it, like food to the body, with our mental and moral life and growth. Depend upon any external means or aids without the exercise of our own powers, and we shall make them but as crutches to us, and ourselves intellectual and moral cripples, and when these are taken away, we shall fall by our own weight, and to our own injury.

But to pass to the subject. Self-cultivation may be noticed in its *prerequisites*, or what it implies; its elements, or rather the departments for its scope; and its *means* of growth and progress, or how we may advance in it.

I. *Its prerequisites, or what it implies.* Three things may be noticed as implied in self-cultivation—self-knowledge, self-rule, and self-formation. For each of these we have the capacity;—each is possible to us.

1. *Self-knowledge.* This is indispensable. To know what we are is the first step to becoming what we should be. And one reason why there is so little of self-cultivation is, that there is so little self-knowledge;—that so few ever know themselves, or penetrate or even look into their own natures. To most men, the *outward* is every thing, while the *inward* is vague and indefinite and unreal. Consciousness, that telescope of the heavens within them, is rarely used. Their highest and noblest powers, the stars of those heavens, rarely attract their attention, much less their serious thought, and they live and die as truly strangers to themselves, as they are to countries of which they have only heard, but on which they have never trod. But if we would *cultivate* and *improve* ourselves, we must inspect and know ourselves—where we are weak and where strong—where deficient and where the reverse. We must know, in short, what we are, and what we would be. Self-knowledge is the first stepping-stone to self-improvement. The next prerequisite to self-cultivation, is,

2. *Self-rule.* This, also, is indispensable to self-culture. Before we can greatly improve ourselves, we must be able to subject and govern ourselves—to bow the will and the entire life to the judgment, and at any moment to fix the attention, and direct the thoughts, and control the feelings. Like the centurion of his soldiers, we must be able with truth to declare of every faculty and power within us, that to each we say: “go, and it goeth—come, and it cometh—do this, and it doeth it.” He that rules his spirit—that has *conquered* himself—may well be strong in the confidence that he can *improve* himself, while he that is without system, or rule, or fixed and correct habit, can never be sure of doing it; but like the feather on the wave, or the leaf in the whirlwind, is at the mercy of every passing impulse. Connected with self-rule, or rather as a higher department of it, is,

3. *Self-formation.* Not only are we able to *know* ourselves,

and negatively to *control* and *rule* ourselves, but positively to *form* ourselves—to guide and impel our powers, and to apply to them the means and influences which shall forward their growth and might. With perfection in our view, we can more and more conform ourselves to it. This trait we can cherish or suppress; that habit, cultivate or subdue; this propensity, direct or eradicate. Fixing our glance on the standard before us, we *can* press toward it, gaining fresh strength by every conquest—making every attainment but the foundation of a future and a higher growth—like the steward of the parable, so using the one, or the five, or the ten talents that we have, as to gain by them as many more. Such are the prerequisites to self-cultivation, all of which are possible to us. Their very possibility makes that cultivation to us a solemn and imperative duty.

II. *The ELEMENTS of self-cultivation, or rather the departments of our nature in which it finds its scope.* To cultivate any thing, as the unfolding flower, or the tender shoot rising to the tree, is to watch it, and attend to it, and apply to it the aids and means of growth. And so to cultivate self, is to do all that we can to unfold our powers and capacities, especially our higher and nobler ones, and to make ourselves well proportioned and vigorous, and excellent, and of course happy in all things. This cultivation we may consider in its various departments, each having its foundation in some distinct department of our nature. Not that these departments are entirely distinct and independent, each of the other;—not that they do not advance together, and each have its influence upon every other; but noticing each by itself, the subject may be more distinctly before us.

1. *Self-cultivation should be PHYSICAL.* Accustomed as we are, to associate self-culture with the *mind* and *heart*, to some it may seem singular that the *body* should be mentioned as the *first* object of its attention. But we are physical as well as mental and moral beings; and self-cultivation is the improvement of all that we are. God has given us the body as the residence and the servant of the soul, as the mediator between it and the external world, as that which we are to carry with us through life, and which, being purified by the touch, or at least after the process of the resurrection, may be worn for ever in glory. Every vein he designed as a channel of comfort, every sense as an inlet of joy, every nerve as a minister of delight. And more than this, he intended that by having sound and healthful bodies, we might also have sound and healthful minds.

And the latter can hardly be expected, except in the former, any more than the jewel can be safe in its case, when that case is broken and crushed about it. And yet how often do we entirely overlook and forget this subject ;—thus preparing for ourselves years of suffering, or at least greatly limiting our mental and social and moral growth. This is true, for example, of parents. This one, from mistaken tenderness, confines his child almost entirely to warm apartments; as though the pure air of heaven were never intended to be breathed till it had been shut up within walls and heated by a furnace. That one allows his child freely, and at any hour, whatever is most agreeable to the palate; as though the digestive system were one vast and devouring whirlpool, into which, at all times, every thing was expected to be swept, and might be with safety. That one, with an honest but mistaken desire to improve the mind of his child, permits it to be cooped up in the ill-ventilated school-room, or bent down to studies three-fourths of its time, at an age when it is all important that the chief care should be given to the physical system ;—to studies, too, which are often varied and difficult enough to task the powers of a full grown intellect. From the pride of having a superior child, he inconsiderately sacrifices its health, and of course a large share of its happiness, to its premature, precocious mental growth. And from such causes it is that we have, in modern days, so many cases of wilted and feeble and sickly children, or of remarkable and wonderful children, who grow up, by this forced and hot-bed action of the brain, to be prodigies by their second or third year, and die by the next ! And by the continuance of this neglect, as we ourselves go on in life, by ignorance and heedlessness of physiology, by the neglect of water in its purity, and of air in its freshness and abundance, and of exercise in its vigor and regularity—from stooping with the shoulders till the lungs from very friction might well become diseased—from eating at all times, and all things, and almost in all quantities—from these things is it not that there are so many cases of nervous and hypochondriac disease, and spinal and consumptive affections, and ruined digestive organs ? And is it any wonder that, from the strong healthfulness of our English sires, we have become a feeble, complaining, sickly race ;—any wonder that there are so many whose muscles are like sponges, and their nerves like aspen leaves ;—any wonder that, from the number and frequency of our diseases, our first method of saluting a friend has become

the fixed one of inquiring as to his health ;—any wonder that so many go through life, literally burdened with a body of disease and death ? At length and in earnestness could we dwell upon this point, urging its deep, and serious, and growing importance. Would that we could sound it through the land “with the voice of a whirlwind and the throat of an earthquake.” Would that we could impress it upon all, never to be forgotten, that physical health is not only the highest duty, and the greatest earthly blessing, but that it is the first and one of the most important items of self-cultivation. Well has it been said that “if the mind, which rules the body, ever so far forgets itself as to neglect or trample on its slave, that slave never forgets or forgives the injury ; but at some time will rise in fearful retribution, to smite and sting its oppressor.” Well has it been said that “it is hard to cultivate the mind and soul, if the body which contains them is in anguish or in ruins.” A sound mind in a sound body—if the former be the glory of the latter, the latter is indispensable to the former.

2. *Self-cultivation is also* INTELLECTUAL. Man was made for thought, for intelligence, for endless mental growth. The instinctive desire for knowledge is like an ever burning fire within us ; and to every well-balanced and well-directed mind, its attainment, (though paleness and sickness may come with it) is not only a *passion*, but a *rapture*.

“The wish—the dream—the wild desire,
Delirious, yet divine, to know”—

Who has not felt it, burning like a living flame into his inmost soul, and like an inspiration firing him on to all that is beyond and above him ! And, as God has given us this thirst, we are to cherish and rightly direct it. Since he has given us minds by which we are raised above the brutes, and allied to angels, it is ours to see that they do not run to waste, but that they are improved to the utmost. Especially is this true in this country, where facilities for the attainment of knowledge are so multiplied ; where every station is open to well-directed talent, no matter how humble its origin ; where our theory, like that of heaven, is to recognise no distinctions but those of talents and moral worth ; where a Franklin may rise from the printing-office to the highest rank of philosophers and statesmen ; and a Sherman from the shoemaker’s bench to the halls of congress ; and where pre-eminently knowledge is power—power for happiness—power for influence—power for good of every kind.

And not only are we to *acquire* knowledge—this is but the food for mental growth—but we are to *use* it. We may fill our minds with facts—with mere information—as full as the shelves of the largest library; but after all, like the volumes on those shelves, we shall be dead to the world, and strangers to self-cultivation, unless, at the same time, we learn to think, and weigh, and compare, and reason, and judge for ourselves; unless all our information is so digested and used as to make us wise and judicious, as well as intelligent and well-informed. Here is the difference between two great divisions of mankind. The one only *knows*—the other *thinks*. The one looks only to details, and particular facts, and there stops; and thus is but an intellectual receptacle or channel: the other uses all these facts only as the foundation of higher and wider truths, and he is a philosopher. All the world had seen the apple fall when shaken from the tree, and seen it a thousand times; but only Newton, reasoning from the particular to the general fact, rose to the grand idea that gravitation was the mighty bond of the universe. One man reads history, or the conduct of his neighbors, to be interested in it, and then perhaps, like the parrot, to repeat, and then to forget it; another, to combine actions and events, to trace the moving causes of conduct and change, and the tendencies of society, and to gather from them all, larger and juster views of human nature, and broader and better rules of conduct. One sees every thing apart and in fragments; the other sees all as parts of one vast whole, and as a habit, rises from them to fix on general principles, on universal truths. Now this elevation and expansion of mind, and the consciousness of growing strength in it—this is one of the highest ends of mental culture. We are to gather knowledge—everywhere and without limit to gather it—and then to use it to enlarge, and liberalize, and expand our minds, and to make ourselves constantly *wiser*, that we may be *better*. And to our progress in this there is no assignable limit. There is nothing so elastic, so mighty as the mind within us. Like imprisoned steam, the more it is pressed the more it rises to resist the pressure; and the more we demand of it the more it performs. Unlike the mechanical powers, which are exhausted and spent by their own action, the power of the intellect is but strengthened by effort. Leave it to idleness and repose, and, like the sleeping sword, it will rust in the scabbard. But bring it into exercise—task it to the utmost, and it rises and gathers

strength, and rushes onward with ever-increasing force, and widening sweep—searching all the avenues of truth, gathering from them all its appropriate food, tracking the earth and scaling the heavens in search of God's footsteps, and burning with quenchless thirst for all the treasures of knowledge and truth. The more we know the more we desire to know, and the more we shall know. The more we cultivate our minds the more shall we delight in them; creating, as it were, a new world within us. The more we store them with knowledge, the more food have we laid up for their growth. The more we discipline and train them, and think and judge with them, the wiser and happier shall we be—the wider our influence for the good of others. By mental cultivation, we may make our own eagle-wings, and on them mount for ever!

3. *Self-cultivation should also be SOCIAL.* By nature we are social beings, made for the minglings of the world, ever to be in intercourse with our fellow-men, and at every contact with them to give and take impressions that are to last for ever. And to this trait of our nature we should have respect in the great work of self-improvement. We should guard against being unsocial; we should cultivate the power and the habit of expressing our thoughts, and of imparting and receiving both benefit and pleasure in social communion. If we are but mutes in society, it were as well at once to be in an asylum; and if we speak only to give pain to others, or to display our own folly, it were far better to be silent. We should, then, cultivate an intelligent, a cheerful, a sociable and a friendly spirit—the spirit of sympathy with our fellow-beings—sympathy in their employments, in their improvement, in all their joys and sorrows. We should put away scandal and suspicion, and harsh judgment, having faith in others till compelled to withdraw it. Selfishness we should subdue, and patience and forbearance cherish as the habit of life. By the look, and the word, and the deed of kindness—by anticipating the wants and studying the welfare of others—by ever seeking their happiness, and that in little things—in all these ways we should ever strew around us “the charities that cheer, and sooth, and bless.” It is a touching thought, that soon the grave will be upon all those who are dearest to us, and who are now mingling with us in every-day life; and that then all our intercourse with them will rise to the mind, either as a star of joy and peace, or as a source of the deepest bitterness and grief, and

self-reproach. And we should see to it that our social character is such, that we shall feel it to have been a blessing and not a curse to others, when they are gone from us, or we from them, for ever. To this end, then, as well as for our own sake, we should seek to unfold and enlighten, and purify the social affections—those that bind us to the parent whom we almost worship, to the brother and the sister so fondly beloved, to the family, to the friend, to the neighbor, to the land of our birth-right, to the world. Those affections we should elevate from instincts to principles, from impulses to deep and eternal attachments; inweaving them with all that is right and faithful, and generous and true; making them, as far as possible, like the love of God to his own children. Growth and improvement as social beings—this is alike due to our nature and enjoyment, and to our fellow-beings.

4. *Self-cultivation should also be MORAL and RELIGIOUS.* Let it be physical without this, and it does but make us finer animals, with no regard to the great end of our being. Let it be intellectual without this, and its intelligence may be perverted, like that of devils, only to blight and destroy. Let it be social without this, and it may be used, or rather abused to the vilest ends, sneering in secret at the moralities of life, and trampling them all in the dust for the sake of self-indulgence. There is too great a tendency with many to separate these things—to cultivate the physical, the social and the intellectual, while the moral and the religious are neglected. Not without reason has it been said, "that the tendency to exalt talent above virtue and religion is the curse of the age." And for this very reason it is, that we the more need to cultivate our moral, our religious part, as the guide and the check, the perfection and the glory of our nature. Not that our religion should be, as too many seem to think it was designed to be, morose and gloomy, and divorced from common life. On the contrary, it should gather the spirit of heaven only that it may walk the more cheerfully, and gracefully, and usefully, on earth. As sacred and spiritual, and as principled it should be, as the very spirit of the Redeemer himself. But it should also be such that we can take it with us to the glorious scenes of nature or art—to the flower-garden, and to the top of some goodly hill, and in the sail over the quiet lake, and into the saloons of music, and to the galleries of the painter and the sculptor, and to the minglings of social joy, and to all those humanizing scenes where virtue holds her sway, not

merely as the generic and abstract "love to being in general," but also as the more familiar grace of "love to some beings in particular." It should be drawn not merely from "systematic treatises on theology, written in schools and garrets and cloisters, many of them by those bearing the title of bachelor in divinity, and the character of bachelor in humanity too;" but from the Bible, which is full of sympathy with common life, and which not only permits but directs us to all things which are pure and lovely and of good report—to all in social life which makes the intellect more pliant and versatile, the manners more polished and affectionate and winning, the man more human, and the entire life more joyous and blessed.

And besides all this, we should mount still higher in the scale. Truth and duty—for these we should ever and earnestly seek, that we may know the one and do the other. Every wrong propensity we should strive to subdue—every evil habit to lay aside—every good one to cherish. Conscience and principle we should enthrone within us, and ever hearken to their voice. Often should we ask as to our nature and destiny as immortal beings; and, bound as we are to a future and invisible world, and to a deathless existence, we should seek, as the gospel directs, to prepare for the scenes that are before us. Nowhere has self-cultivation so glorious a field as when she whispers of our destiny—as when she reminds us that we are to live for ever—as when she unfolds the idea of God and of duty, clearly and livingly within us; moving us to reverence and love and obey him, to hunger and thirst after his likeness, to be a blessing to ourselves and to all around us, and thus to make progress in the noblest growth whether of human or angelic natures. And never do we appear so noble, so like the bright intelligences of heaven, as when we are thus bound to God in deep and holy affection, in joyful obedience and heavenly hope; when religion sits enthroned on our brow, and pride has given way to meekness, and benevolence reigns within us, and glows in our looks, and breathes in our words, and lives in our conduct;—when our whole life is one continual process of self-elevation and improvement—when principle regulates every act, and all our plans take hold on eternity,—and when all around us feel that religion has made us nobler and better and happier. Such we may be; and to our progress here, by God's grace, there is no assignable limit. The pathway before us takes hold on eternity; and in it we may eternally ascend, rising with a holier

ardor and a swifter progress, and moving with a diviner energy for ever and for ever!

Such is a brief and imperfect glance at the various departments of self-cultivation. It should commence with self-knowledge, self-rule and self-formation; and by it we should seek to improve and perfect ourselves as physical, intellectual, social, moral and religious beings. In all these self-cultivation is possible; for in all these we have capacity for growth; and in all it is demanded by our nature, that we may be useful and happy here, and worthy of our high destiny both here and hereafter, that we may meet the high obligations which God has placed upon us, fully to rise to which, demands the highest possible perfection of our being.

III. *Some of the MEANS of self-cultivation—some of the aids to progress in it.* Here the field is well nigh endless. A brief glance is all that will be attempted.

1. *We must feel that all of which we have spoken, and even more than this, is possible.* Impossibility is the death of effort. But when a prize is before us, the possibility that it may be ours, should rouse us to the greater effort to grasp it. We are to feel then of self-cultivation, that it is not a dream, but that it has its foundation in our own natures; that others have made vast progress in it, and that we may do the same. We are not to permit our minds, like the caged-up eagle, to pine away and starve by being confined to that which is just about us and already ours; but we are to feel as a reality, that we may make progress to the very end of our being; that we may for ever be growing in the high and inspiring consciousness of constant self-improvement. Faith in our own powers, and in the possibility of their growth—faith in the power of effort—faith in God's assistance, that he will ever help us if we help ourselves—this faith, living in the atmosphere of truth, and ever catching glimpses of a distant and divine perfection, will give wings to the soul, on which she may rise for ever. We are to feel, then, as a first principle, that there is no limit to the range of our growth—no goal to the progress of the immortal spirit within us.

2. *We are also to feel that self-cultivation is important.* We are to feel that our dignity and usefulness, and influence and happiness, that our all is involved in it; that without it we are nothing; that with it we may be every thing. Well hath the philosopher remarked of man, that "if he neglecteth himself,

if he forgetteth the mighty spirit and the godlike soul within him, he stoopeth himself from the converse of angels, to the insects of a day, and the brutes that perish." And applicable to *all* is the remark made by the poet respecting *woman*, that when in her he thought he had found

The fulness of that holy light,
That makes earth beautiful and bright,

he has

—— turned and wept to find
Beneath it all a trifling mind.

3. *We must resolve upon it.* "Resolution," says another, "is omnipotent." And if we will but solemnly determine to make the most and the best of all our powers and capacities, and if to this end, with Wilberforce, we will but "seize and improve even the shortest intervals of possible action and effort," we shall find that there is no limit to our advancement. Without this resolute and earnest purpose, the best aids and means are of little worth; but with it, even the weakest are mighty. Without it, we shall accomplish nothing; with it, every thing. A man who is deeply in earnest, acts upon the motto of the pick-axe on the old seal: "Either I will find a way, or I will make one." He has somewhat the spirit of Buonaparte, who, when told on the eve of battle that circumstances were against him, replied: "Circumstances! I make or control circumstances, not bow to them." In self-cultivation, as in every thing else, to think we are able is almost to be so; to resolve to attain is often attainment. Everywhere are the means of progress, if we have but the spirit, the fixed purpose to use them. And if, like the old philosopher, we will but take as our motto: "*Higher —for ever higher,*" we may rise by them all. He that resolves upon any great end, by that very resolution has scaled the chief barrier to it; and so he who seizes the grand idea of self-cultivation, and solemnly resolves upon it, will find that idea, that resolution, burning like living fire within him, and ever putting him upon his own improvement. He will find it removing difficulties, searching out or making means, giving courage for despondency, and strength for weakness; and, like the star in the east to the wise men of old, guiding him nearer and still nearer to the sum of all perfection. If we are but fixed and resolute—bent on self-improvement, we shall find means enough to it on every side, and at every moment; and even obstacles

and opposition will but make us like the fabled "spectre ships, which sail the fastest in the very teeth of the wind."

4. *We are to go to it by degrees—with patient and persevering effort.* Many, when circumstances have turned their attention to self-improvement, and while the glowing picture is before them, often make excellent and sometimes prodigious resolutions. But because they do not, as by a leap, at once become perfect, they are soon ready to give up the effort in despair. For such, for all, it were well to remember, that self-cultivation is a matter of slow progress, of patient and persevering effort, and that in little things, from day to day and from hour to hour. It is the fixed law of the universe, that little things are ever the elements—the parts of the great. The grass does not spring up full grown. It rises by an increase so noiseless and gentle, as not to disturb an angel's ear, and not to be seen by an angel's eye. The rain does not fall in masses, but in drops, or even in the breath-like moisture of the fine mist, as if the world were one vast condenser and God had breathed upon it. The planets do not leap from end to end of their orbits; but in their ever onward progress, inch by inch, and line by line it is that they circle the heavens. And so with self-improvement. It is not a thing of fits and impulses and explosions, but of constant watchfulness, and patient and unwearied effort, and of gradual and ceaseless advancement. There is no royal road to it,—no vaulting to it by a leap. Like the wealth of the miser it must be heaped up piece by piece; and then at length, like the wealth of the miser, it may almost be without limit. Like the coral reefs of the ocean, it must grow by small but constant additions; and then it will finally be like those reefs, admirable in all its parts, and rivalling the very mountains in size. Here is the secret of what are technically, and we had almost said nonsensically known as self-made men:—as if they had made themselves without means or opportunity; when the truth is, every one of them, will be found on investigation to have improved all his time, to have made the most of every opportunity, to have been making effort, and of course making progress at every passing moment. "Never to have an idle moment," was the motto of one of this character, and probably of most like him.

5. *We should reverence our own nature.* We should remember that we were made for every thing that is high, or noble, or excellent. We are to feel that our rational and immortal

nature is worth more than all the material universe, and that we may make it worth far more than it now is. We are to feel that we are *men*, and that God's image is upon us ; and we are to cultivate ourselves, because we are men, and because that image is upon us—because we are for ever to exist, and because we may rise higher and shine brighter for ever.

6. *We should seek the intercourse of superior minds.* Not that we should depend on those ; for our own activity and effort are essential to our progress. But we should rouse, and inform, and stimulate our own minds by frequent contact and intercourse with those whose minds are superior to our own. Many such we may find in the walks of every-day life, in the lecture-room, or the social circle. But especially may we have communion with the great, and the wise, and the good of every age, in books, where their voices echo to us down through the stillness of time. Here it is that we may hold converse with the mightiest minds of the past—with Milton, "in his glorious old age, when his thoughts, like the ravens of the prophet, brought him heavenly food ;" and Shakspeare, with his lofty imaginings, and his deep knowledge of the human heart ; and Bacon, with his profound and far-reaching thought, "like the old Greek poets, half sage and half seer ;" and Cowper, with his sweet and tender instructions. And far more, here it is that the prophets, and apostles, and the Redeemer himself are our companions ; giving us their most precious thoughts—pouring their very souls into ours—making us the daily associates of the noblest, and wisest, and best, that earth has ever seen. By the habit of well-directed reading we may shut out the present bustling world ; and, as by a touch of the resurrection, may wake up from our book-shelves the dead of every age, and gather them to our companionship and instruction. And this habit, if we will but cherish it, will ever be to us, not only a strong safeguard from folly and vice, and a source of the highest enjoyment, but the sure means of self-improvement. Nothing can supply the place of books. The wealth of the Indies should not tempt us to be without them. We should seek, then, not always those that the wise recommend, because *they* have found them good, but those that best waken and rivet our attention and interest ; those that best unfold ourselves, and lead us to think, and rouse us to the consciousness of our own powers. We are not, however, to depend on books, but to exercise our own judgment freely and manfully upon all that comes before

us. Self-culture no more demands the sacrifice of our judgment, than of our individuality. We are not to feel as if we were all to be cast into the same mould, and conformed to the same likeness; as if perfection could be the same to all. Each is to develop himself and perfect himself as he is, not as the imitator of others. And to do this, each must think for himself, and judge for himself, in all his readings. Otherwise, whatever the extent of his information, his character will be spiritless and tame, as if he were but a fragment of the mass, rather than an individual man. We should commune with thinkers, not to adopt all that they may say because they say it, but that we may learn to be thinkers too. In all our reading, we should cherish the art which is one of the highest attainments of self-cultivation—that of uniting that childlike docility which thankfully welcomes light from every human being who can give it, with the independent and manly rejection of every opinion which does not commend itself to our own deliberate judgment. Ever should we strengthen our reason by that of others, but never should we blindly bow to them, however high their talents or reputation. Ever should we be true—sacredly and firmly true to our own convictions; and then shall we be conscious of “a spiritual force, and independence and progress unknown to the vulgar, whether in high or low life, who march as they are drilled to the step of their times.”

7. *We must in all things and ever be intent upon it.* We are not to feel, as we are too prone to do, that self-improvement is a thing of books and studies merely, but rather as something to be prosecuted everywhere; as if life, in its every aspect, and in its every contact with us, were the intended means to it. Every condition—every position and employment of life is, as already remarked, full of the means of progress, if we will but seize and use them. Our business, our reading, our social intercourse, our minglings with our fellow-men, our political relations and duties, our joys and sorrows, the aspects of nature, the movements of Providence, and the means of grace, all bear to us the elements and means of self-development and growth. And as the digestive system lays hold on every variety of food, and makes life out of it, so of all these things will the true spirit of self-cultivation lay hold, and use them as *its* food, and make out of *them* mental and social and moral life. It is said of Sir Walter Scott, that he never met with any one—even the

most stupid servant that watered his horse by the way-side, from whom, in a few moments conversation, he did not learn something that he knew not before, and which was valuable to him. And of one of the most distinguished men of New England it is strikingly said, that "he went through life with his eyes and ears open," and that when asked how he obtained his immense information (which was such that he seemed to have almost an intuitive knowledge of every thing), he answered, that he "was ever attentive and watchful, and never ashamed to ask about that of which he was ignorant." This is the spirit—these the habits, that make the difference between the untutored savage, whether of the forest or of civilized life, and men like a Franklin, or a Bacon; and these, if they are ours, will make the sum total of life but the minister to our improvement, like the fabled touch of the Phrygian king, turning every thing, even the sands of life to gold.

8. *We must look to God's truth—to Christianity—as the highest and noblest means of self-improvement.* Never can we cultivate ourselves as we ought, unless we have respect to our entire nature—to our entire and endless existence. And in this light, as well for this world as for another, Christianity, viewed simply as a system of philosophy, is the highest and noblest, and best principle of self-cultivation and improvement. No other system so shows us our defects, or holds before us a perfect standard, or gives us the rules and means of self-improvement, or points out its true ends, or inspires its motives. No other so meets the radical defect of our nature, that of our moral depravity, or offers us pardon and spiritual renovation and strength, and the sympathies and aids of God in every divine attempt. No other so chimes in with reason and conscience, and our best affections, all of which are with us in the work of self-improvement. No other so holds us up from being weary in well-doing, and bears us onward from victory to victory, training us on earth for glory and honor, and immortality in the heavens, where, though perfect in nature and degree, we shall still, from our ever expanding natures, be improving for ever. No, it is but the voice of the highest and purest, and noblest philosophy, which tells us, that never do we live worthily of our own nature till we are Christians—till we remember that we are *men*, and act as men, and *cultivate* ourselves as men, for God's service, and for our entire existence. Let us, then, lay hold on Christianity, on true views of

our own nature, and of all our relations, as starting-points—as first principles in the work of self-cultivation; and then, in the confidence, and in the consciousness of progress, we shall become as it were new creatures. Aspiration shall ever be rising, and power ever be growing within us. Obstacles shall give way at our approach. A mighty and constant inspiration shall be upon us, and with the immortal Kepler, we shall be able sublimely to say: “*O Lord! thy thoughts I think—thy ways I follow.*” Self-improvement we shall feel to be whatever is larger than ourselves, whatever is higher and nobler and better. And for all this we shall ever be panting—to all this we shall ever be pressing onward. The ceaseless habit of looking upward, and reaching upward, to all that is above and beyond ourselves, this, in our own experience, we shall find an elevating and expanding process. Faith in our own improvement, and faith in God’s assistance, these will be with us; and the entire range of faith is one of godlike communings, and of lofty and tireless efforts. Ever shall we be acting, not merely on what we are, but on the faith of what we may and should be. And by this we shall be borne onward to all that is vast in conception, and noble in effort—high though it be as the heaven of heavens. “Perfection” will be our standard; and “higher—for ever higher!” this will be our motto—our daily principle of action. Self-improvement we shall feel to be the utmost that we can do, with all our own efforts, and all the offered aids of heaven; and that in it there is work enough for all our powers, and to all eternity. Difficulties will indeed meet us; but these are meant to rouse, not to discourage; and the more manfully we fight them, the stronger shall we grow. Weary we may sometimes be in well-doing; but the sympathies of heaven are with us, and the prospect of the end should ever cheer us. Weak though we are in ourselves, if we look to God he will be with us; and in his strength we may thresh the mountains. In his strength we may ever press onward, until, in a brighter and a better state, *we shall be perfect, even as he is perfect.*

ARTICLE V.

ON TYPES AND THE TYPICAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

By Joseph Muencher, Prof. Bib. Lit., Prot. Ep. Theol. Sem., Gambier, Ohio.

THE history of biblical interpretation furnishes abundant and painful evidence of the tendency, in all ages, and in every section of the Christian church, to allegorical, typical and mystical expositions of the word of God. The practice of giving to the Scriptures manifold senses, according to the fancy and taste of the interpreter, commenced with the Jews. In the earlier periods of Christianity it obtained to a very great extent; and although in recent and more enlightened times, it has received a salutary check from the prevalence of more sober and correct principles of interpretation, yet there are not wanting instances at the present day of a wide departure from those sound exegetical maxims, which are suggested by enlightened reason, and confirmed by the general tenor of the Sacred Scriptures. The imagination has been allowed, in very many instances, an unlimited range in the explanation of the Bible. Not only fanatics and visionary enthusiasts, but men of sound judgment, extensive erudition and eminent piety have permitted themselves to be led astray, and have given the sanction of their names to principles of interpretation, the tendency of which has been, under the appearance of honoring the word of God, to undermine the foundations of the Christian faith. There has ever prevailed, to a greater or less extent, among a large and influential body of biblical expositors, an apparent unwillingness that the Holy Spirit should be the interpreter of his own word,—a fixed determination to be wise above what is written, a restless desire to make the Bible, by the exercise of man's ingenuity, a more edifying and instructive book than, understood in its plain and obvious meaning, it is supposed to be. Hence the extravagant lengths to which the system of mystical exegesis has been carried, and the consequent difficulty of ascertaining, amid the multitude of senses which have been given to almost every verse of the Bible, what is its true meaning.

On the subject of *types* and *typical interpretation*, the imagina-

tion of man has not been idle, and human ingenuity has been taxed to the utmost to discover resemblances and point out typical relations. Ponderous volumes have been filled with types and antitypes, which, it is believed, never had any existence but in the fancy of the writers. Scarcely an individual of note is mentioned in the Old Testament, no matter what may have been his character, that has not been held up as a type of Christ or of Satan, of the church or the world, of the friends or the enemies of God. Hardly an ordinance or a circumstance is spoken of in the Jewish Scriptures, which has not been regarded as an adumbration of something in the Christian Scriptures. The Jewish Rabbies held that nothing would occur under the new dispensation which had not its corresponding outline in the old. Christian expositors have not only admitted the correctness of this principle, but they have gone much farther, and maintained that nothing actually transpired under the earlier dispensation which has not its counterpart under the later. Hence events, persons and things, without number, have been regarded as prefigurations. The comparison has been extended to the minutest particulars, and, in some cases, even to acts confessedly immoral and wicked. That there is nothing of exaggeration in this statement will be evident from the following examples, selected from a mass which may be found in the various works that relate to this subject.

We are told that the extraction of Eve from the side of Adam, while he was in a deep sleep, was typical of the Roman soldiers piercing our Saviour's side, while he slept the sleep of death. Abel was a type of Christ; Cain, of the Jews who crucified him. Pharaoh and the Egyptians were types of sin and Satan. All the victories of the Jews over their enemies were typical of the victories of the church over infidelity; and, of course, the various defeats of the Jews were typical of the defeats of the church and of the triumphs of infidelity. Jacob supplanting Esau prefigured Christ supplanting sin and Satan. Samson typified Christ, not only in the fact of his being a Nazarite and the success of his skirmishes with the Philistines, but his carrying away the door and posts of the gates of Gaza to the top of a hill signifies Christ's resurrection; and his attachment to Delilah was typical of the affection of Christ for the Gentile church.* The lion which met Samson in the way.

* Ridgley's *Body of Divinity*, Vol. II. p. 204.

to Timnath was a type of Paul.* Even the adultery of David and the incest of Lot and of Ammon have been explained as types of the salvation procured for us by Jesus Christ.† Justin Martyr makes the tree of life in Paradise a type of the cross; others conceive it to be a type of the Lord's Supper. Justin also discovered that Moses with his arms extended (Ex. 17 : 12) was a type of the cross. The dove which Noah sent out of the ark was a type of the Holy Spirit sent down from above.‡ The waters of the Red Sea signify affliction and death. The strong east wind which, by its violence, drove the waters before it for the benefit of the Israelites, was a type of the spirit of Jesus. The ark of the covenant (says Witsius), being partly of wood and partly of gold, aptly represents the two natures of Christ.§ The oak on which Absalom hung by the hair of his head was a type of the cross of Christ. Hanging was itself typical of the cross; consequently Absalom, together with every Jewish malefactor, who happened, whether justly or unjustly, to suffer capital punishment in this way, was a type of the crucified Saviour.|| Theophylus of Antioch tells us that the three days preceding the creation of the two great lights (Gen. 1 : 14) were *τύποι τῆς τριάδος*.¶ Speaking of the sun and moon (p. 105) he says, *ταῦτα δὲ δείγμα καὶ τύπον ἐπέχει μέγαλον μυστηρίου ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἐν τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ σελίγη ἀνθρώπων*. Innocent III. discovered that the sun which ruled the day was a type of *papal* authority, and the moon which ruled the night, a type of *regal* authority.** Haldane and others find in the sun a type of Christ, and in the moon a type of the church.†† The promise made to David: "I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever," has been adduced as predictive of the endless duration of the *papal* power, of which Solomon and even Christ himself are assumed to be types.‡‡ The tribe of Levi is

* Vitranga, Obs. Sac.

† Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. pp. 525, 531., 7th Lond. ed.

‡ Witsius on the Covenants, Vol. II. p. 208.

§ On the Covenants, Vol. II. p. 208.

|| Keach's Scripture Metaphors, Vol. II. p. 44. Horne's Introd. Vol. II. pp. 231, 532.

¶ Ad Autolycum, Lib. II. p. 106, ed. Oxon. 1684. Bishop Marsh's two Lectures on the Hist. of Bib. Interp. p. 7.

** Marsh's Lectures in Div. Lec. XVIII. p. 164.

†† Haldane's Evid. of Div. Rev. Vol. I. p. 305.

‡‡ Keach's Metaphors, Vol. II. p. 32.

asserted to be a figure of the Roman hierarchy. The universal dominion given to man by his Creator over irrational beings is declared to be prefigurative of the unlimited supremacy of the papal power.* The Hebrew monarch, Saul, whose name is interpreted to signify *death*, is a type of the moral law, which Paul terms the ministration of *death*. The period, which transpired between the anointing of David and the death of Saul, typified the time of our Saviour's ministry on earth.†

Brown, in his Dictionary of the Bible, enumerates twenty-nine typical persons, fourteen typical classes of persons, nineteen occasional typical things, twenty miscellaneous typical institutions, six typical places, ten typical utensils, fourteen typical offerings, ten typical seasons, and eight typical purifications,—making an aggregate of one hundred and thirty types; and his enumeration is far from being complete. One person, institution or event is made prefigurative of any other person, institution or event, to which it is supposed to bear even the slightest resemblance, just as may suit the purpose or fancy of the interpreter. Hence the same event is made to stand as the designed representative of half a dozen other distinct events; for no other conceivable reason than because the ingenuity of man has discovered some similarity between them. But even this is not the full extent of the evil. Some have maintained that not only all the *acts* of typical persons, whether good or bad, had reference to the antitype, but that every thing which was *spoken* by the type had a like reference. On this principle the entire contents of the Psalms have been explained as relating to Christ and the church. And all the prophecies uttered by typical prophets, which referred to the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, have been regarded as admitting of an ultimate application to their spiritual antitype the church.

Again: there are those who, not content with the types, real and imaginary, which are alleged to exist in the *Old Testament*, have advanced the opinion that on the principle of analogy we ought to expect types in the *New Testament*. By the application of this principle, it has been discovered, among other things, that the original employment of the apostles as fishermen, was

* Antoninus, Bishop of Florence, on Ps. 8: 7; Chevallier's Lectures, p. 51.

† Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. p. 531.

typical of their profession as preachers of the gospel; and their taking many fish typical of their success in winning souls to Christ.* Such extravagant opinions are calculated to expose the whole doctrine of types to ridicule, and to lead many to doubt whether there is any foundation whatever for this doctrine in the inspired volume. And such has actually been the result. Some modern theological writers have denied altogether the existence of prophetic types; while others have either studiously avoided all allusion to the subject in their systems of divinity, or in their efforts to reduce the types of Scripture to the least possible number, have stripped persons and institutions of their typical character, which have been regarded as prefigurative by the most enlightened interpreters in every age of the church.

No valid objection, we apprehend, can be alleged against the existence of types abstractly considered. The declared connection of two persons or series of events in the relation of historical type and antitype, is simply one of the various modes employed by the Deity to convey information respecting future events, and record their accomplishment. Now, it is surely no more impossible for the omniscient God to *prefigure* events than to *predict* them. And if it is not impossible, how can it be shown to be improbable that he would avail himself of this method of imparting instruction to mankind, and of strengthening the faith of believers in the truth of his word! The only question then, is, whether, in point of fact, God has employed this method of conveying truth; in other words, whether one person or thing is taken as the representative or type of another person or thing, in the Bible? To this question, it seems to us, but one answer can be given. The perusal of the Epistle to the Hebrews is alone sufficient to convince every candid and unprejudiced mind, that the New Testament lays claim to a preconcerted connection with certain events and persons recorded in the Old; and that this connection, although in some cases obscure, and perhaps in none fully understood by the ancient Hebrews, is in other instances clear and unequivocal.† The same mode of ex-

* Townsend's New Testament chronologically arranged, Vol. I. p. 143, London ed., note.

† Comp. Heb. 8: 2, 5; 9: 7—9, 23, 24; 10: 1, 9; 11: 8—10, 16.

pounding the Old Testament, which we meet with so frequently in this epistle, is occasionally employed in other parts of the New, as well by our Saviour as by his apostles. Indeed, we do not see how any one can thoroughly understand the revealed scheme of divine truth in its completeness, and perceive the intimate connection and beautiful harmony subsisting between the several dispensations of God, who overlooks the typical relation which exists between them. It is not the *principle*, therefore, of typical interpretation, which we conceive to be liable to objection, either on the ground of reason or of revelation, but the *excess* to which it has been so often carried. Hence the importance of safe and scriptural criteria by which to determine what are types and what are not, and suitable rules to guide us in their interpretation.

It cannot be doubted by those who have examined the subject with care, that the revolting extreme, to which the doctrine of types has been carried, has arisen, in a considerable degree, from the loose manner in which the word *types* has been employed by theological writers; from indistinct and confused ideas respecting their *nature*, and from the want of judicious rules for their *interpretation*. The term has been applied indiscriminately to any resemblance, real or fancied, between two things. Types have been frequently confounded with allegory, symbol, symbolical action and metaphor. It is necessary then, in the first place, that we should ascertain their true nature, and in what respects they differ from other things to which the term has been improperly applied.

The word *type* is employed, not only in theology, but in philosophy, medicine, and other sciences and arts. In all these departments of knowledge, the radical idea is the same, while its specific meaning varies with the subject to which it is applied. *Resemblance* of some kind, real or supposed, lies at the foundation in every case. In the science of theology, it properly signifies, *the preordained representative relation which certain persons, events and institutions of the Old Testament bear to corresponding persons, events and institutions in the New.** The

* Dr. John Dick defines a type to be "a person or thing by which another person or thing is adumbrated." Theology, Vol. I. p. 144. Bishop Van Mildert says: "A type is a prefigurative action or occurrence, in which one event, person or circumstance is intended to represent another similar to it, in

classical and biblical usage of *τύπος*, from which *type* is derived, is for the most part the same. It occurs sixteen times in the New Testament and several times in the Septuagint; where it corresponds to the Hebrew words *חֶזֶק* and *חֶזְקָה*. Hesychius, explains it by *χαρακτήρ* and *εἰκών*, and Cyril by *χαρακτήρ* and *υπόδειγμα*. It denotes, 1, a *mark*, or impression made by percussion or in any way. Thus, Scapulá cites from Athenæus (xiii. p. 585. c.), *τοὺς τύπους τῶν πλιγγῶν ἰδοῦσα, she seeing the marks of the strokes*. In this—its proper sense—the word occurs twice in the New Testament, where it is applied to the *print* or *mark* of the nails in our Saviour's hands and feet. John 20: 25.—2. A *form, figure, image*. Polybius, cited by Raphaelius, has *θεῖον τύπον* for images of the gods: and in Herodian, L. 5. s. 11., the phrase *τὸν τύπον τῶν θεῶν* occurs in the sense of a painted figure of a god. By Josephus (Antiq. 1. 19, 11), the images which Rachel took from her father and secreted in her tent, are called *τύποι*. In the LXX they are called *τὰ εἰδωλα*; and by Aquila, *μορφώματα*. Philo uses *τύποι* and *εἰδωλα* interchangeably; and Josephus also (Antiq. 15, 9, 5) employs *ἀγάλματα* and *τύποι* as of equivalent import. The word occurs in this sense in Acts 7: 43. Tropically, as *form, manner*, it is applied to the contents of a letter, Acts 23: 25, 3 Macc. 3: 30; and to a doctrine, Rom. 6: 17, *τύπον διδαγῆς*. Comp. Rom. 2: 20, *μορφώσεως τῆς γνώσεως*; 2 Tim. 1: 13, *υποτύπωσις ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων*. So, Jamblicus Vita Pythag. c. 16., *καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς παιδεύσεως ὁ τύπος τοσοῦτος, he had such a model (or form) of discipline*; and *ἔνεκα τῶν σαφέστερον γενέσθαι τὸν τύπον τῆς διδασκαλίας, to render more conspicuous the form of instruction*. Macknight, Doddridge, Terrott and others understand *τύπος* in Rom. 6: 17, in the sense of a *mould*, a meaning which the word sometimes, though very rarely, has. The metaphor, however,

certain respects, but future and distant." Bampton Lectures, p. 237. Horne says: "In the sacred or theological sense of the term, a type may be defined to be a symbol of something future and distant, or an example prepared and evidently designed by God to prefigure that future thing." Introd. Vol. II. p. 527. Prof. Stuart defines a type to be "a person or thing, which, by special appointment or design of an overruling Providence, is intended to symbolize or present a likeness of some other and future person or thing." Com. on Romans, p. 234.

in this passage, seems not to be taken from the art of *founding*, as these critics suppose. The prevailing idea is the emancipation of slaves, or at least, an improvement in their condition,—equivalent or rather superior to an emancipation,—by a change of masters: Rosenmueller and Bretschneider think it signifies a *stamp* or *impression*, alluding to the doctrine as being impressed on the mind (comp. James 1: 21), a sense, however, which is not in accordance with the usage of Paul, nor does it so well suit the passage in question, as the meaning given to it above.—3. *Prototype, pattern*, after which any thing is made—applied to a building, Acts 7: 44, Heb. 8: 5. These passages refer to Ex. 25: 40, where the LXX has *τύπος*, answering to the Heb. תבנית. Tropically, it signifies *an example*. Phil. 3: 17. 1 Thess. 1: 7. 2 Thess. 3: 9. 1 Tim. 4: 12. Tit. 2: 7. 1 Pet. 5: 7. 1 Cor. 10: 6, 11.—4. It is applied to a person *as bearing the form and figure of another person*, i. e., as having a pre-ordained resemblance and connection in certain relations and circumstances, Rom. 5: 14, where Adam is called *a type* of Christ. This signification belongs generically to the second meaning given above; but the specific idea attached to it in the passage here referred to, is peculiar and exclusively biblical. Here, then, the biblical and theological meaning coincide. The same idea is expressed by other terms in the New Testament—as *ομιά*, Col. 2: 17, Heb. 8: 5, 10: 1, and *παραβολή*, Heb. 9: 9, which is well explained by Chrysostom and Theophylact, *τύπος και ομιαγραπία*, and by Hesychius, *πραγμάτων ὁμοίωσις*. The correlative term—that which corresponds to the type and is represented by it—is *αντίτυπος*, *antitype*. See 1 Pet. 3: 21, where the water of baptism is represented as, in a certain sense, the antitype of the waters of the deluge, i. e., it is that which the waters of the deluge were designed to typify in the work of man's salvation. According to the definition we have given, one person is the historical and prophetic type of another, when some one or more of the actions of the former designedly prefigure or adumbrate the actions of the latter. An event or institution is typical of some future event or institution, when the first has the same designed connection with the second. Some writers employ language adapted to produce the impression that they hold to a typical sense of words. Thus, Horne says that the words in Ps. 95: 11,—*they should not enter into my rest*,—"literally understood, signify the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land, but spiritually and *typically*, the enter-

ing into the rest and enjoyment of heaven.* Properly speaking, however, there is no *typical* sense of words. Types are not words, but *things*, which God intended to be significant signs of future events. "When we explain a passage typically (says Pareau), we only subjoin one sense to the words: the typical sense exists in the things."† Persons and things only can be types: the language of the Old Testament, relating to typical persons or prescribing typical things, has no double sense,—the one literal and the other typical; nor is it to be interpreted in a manner different from any other part of the Bible.

Types have not unfrequently been confounded with the moral *allegory*, or *parable*; but they are obviously dissimilar, and should be carefully distinguished. An allegory or parable is a *fictitious* narrative; a type, on the contrary, is something *real*. The former are pictures of the imagination; the latter is an historical fact. A parable, like a modern romance or novel, may be founded on fact; but historical verity is essential neither to an allegory nor to a parable. They may be, and usually are entirely fictitious. Of this nature are the parables of our Saviour, Bunyan's allegory of the Pilgrim's Progress, and Hannah More's allegory of Parley the Porter. Not so a type. This must necessarily be an historical verity. Whatever it be which is designed to prefigure something future, whether a person, thing, institution or action, the first not less than the second must have a real, and not a merely imaginary existence.

"The essence of a type," says Holden, "consisting in its fore-ordained similitude to something future, requires it to be a reality; otherwise it would want the first and most important kind of resemblance, viz., truth. Fiction may resemble fiction; one ideal personage may be like another; but there can be no substantial relationship between a nonentity and a reality. If that which is prefigured be a fact, that which prefigures it must be a fact likewise. Hence, between the type and the antitype there is this correspondence, that the reality of the one presupposes the reality of the other."‡

There are, it is true, some points of similitude between a type and an allegory. The interpretation of both is an interpretation of *things*, and not of words; and both are equally founded on

* Introd. Vol. II. p. 359.

† Interp. of the Old Test. See also Stuart's *Ernesti*, p. 12.

‡ Diss. on the Fall of Man, p. 313.

resemblance. The type, moreover, corresponds to its antitype, as the protasis, or *immediate* representation in an allegory or parable, corresponds to the apodosis, or its *ultimate* representation. A material difference, however, exists in the *quality* of the things compared, as well as in the design of the comparison. When, for instance, Joshua, conducting the Israelites to Canaan, is described as a type of our Saviour conducting his disciples to heaven; or when the sacrifice of the passover is described as a type of the sacrifice of our Saviour on the cross; the *subjects* of reference have nothing similar to the subjects of an allegory, though the comparison between them is the same. And though a type, in reference to its antitype, is called a *shadow*, while the latter is called the *substance*, yet the use of these terms does not imply that the former has less of historical verity than the latter.* But while there is a material difference between a proper type and a proper allegory, there may be supposed to exist a close affinity between *typical interpretation* and the *allegorical interpretation of historical facts*. The custom of giving to the incidents of Scripture, especially in the Old Testament, a secondary application to other facts, in some respects similar, for the purpose of illustration or instruction, was introduced at a very early period of Christianity, and is warranted to some extent by the authority of the sacred writers themselves. Thus Paul allegorizes the history of Hagar and Sarah, in his Epistle to the Galatians.† But this species of allegorical interpretation does not necessarily destroy the historical verity of the narrative. It by no means converts the facts into emblems. The allegorical, figurative or secondary interpretation is merely superinduced on the historical. Thus, the history of the creation and the fall of man has, by some, been allegorized for the purpose of moral instruction, who still regarded it as historical truth, and gave it a literal interpretation. "It was usual," says Holden, "in the early periods of Christianity, with the ministers of religion, with a view to excite the piety and devotion of the

* Marsh's Lectures in Div., Lec. XVII. p. 89.

† Chap. 4: 24. *Ἡ τινὰ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα*, "which are [thus] allegorized [by me]", i. e., accommodated for the purpose of illustration to the case of the Law and the Gospel. Philo often employs the verb *ἀλληγορέω* in the same sense. He allegorizes this very history of Sarah and Hagar, although in a different manner from Paul. Allegor. II. p. 135, 29.

hearers, to extract spiritual meanings from the sacred history. They expounded Scripture facts in a mystical or allegorical manner, which, by awakening attention, facilitated the way for a moral application to the hearts of the people. Such expositions were adopted as the best means of warming the affections and inflaming the devotion of the faithful; and they may now occasionally be employed in Christian assemblies with effect; but they were never meant to vacate the literal sense of the Scriptures. The reality of the facts was unimpeached, and was, in truth, the only firm foundation upon which their allegories were raised, and without which they would have been no better than empty fables, and baseless creations of the fancy.”*

We may then, as Bishop Marsh has remarked, *allegorize* an historical narrative, and yet not *convert* it into an *allegory*. This method of deducing spiritual instruction from particular passages of Scripture, when employed with sobriety and discretion, may be productive of no evil, provided there is no claim of divine authority for such interpretation, and no impression on the mind of the reader or hearer that the accommodated sense is the true sense of the passage. But how often are the bounds of propriety transgressed in this matter, especially by preachers of limited information? And how frequently is the caution which we have suggested disregarded? For that which is purely the work of human invention there is claimed, not unfrequently, the authority of Scripture; and the mystical or allegorical meaning takes the place of the literal and only proper meaning. Thus the Bible is converted into a mere collection of allegories.

Typical interpretation, however, stands upon different ground, and, when properly understood and explained, produces very

* Diss. on the Fall, p. 296. “Our argument,” says Berri-man, “from the typical interpretation of the ancient rites, and the allegorical explication of ancient history, must depend upon the supposition of their having been literally prescribed and transacted; and in vain shall we look after the hidden meaning, if the fact, under which it is said to be concealed, be fictitious and without foundation. If the history of the creation or the fall of man be themselves supposed to be fictitious, no allegory that is built upon them can have any weight or importance.” Berriman’s Sermons at the Boyle Lectures, Vol. III. p. 767.

different effects. The relation of the type to the antitype is not a matter of fancy and human invention, but of divine authority ; and the application of the one to the other leaves the truth of history unimpaired. Many excellent commentators, we are aware, have understood Paul to assert, in the passage in Galatians already referred to, that the historical facts to which he alludes were proper types. If this opinion be correct, still it would not justify us in attaching to any portion of Scripture an allegorico-typical sense, without the express authority of an inspired writer for so doing. But the correctness of this opinion, we think, may well be doubted. Paul, in applying the history of Sarah and Hagar to the Jewish and Christian covenants, certainly does not call it a type, but merely affirms that, in giving such an application, he had allegorized the history. And if to allegorize a portion of history does not necessarily convert it into an allegory, neither does it necessarily convert it into a type.

Again: Types have been often confounded with mere *symbols* or *emblems*. A type is indeed a kind of symbol, but differs in certain respects from every other species. The term symbol is equally applicable to that which represents a thing past, present or future. The images of the cherubim over the mercy-seat, for example, were symbols ; the water in baptism and the bread and wine in the eucharist are symbols ; but none of these are types. A type has reference in every case to something future, and hence is virtually a *prediction* of its antitype. But there is nothing predictive in the bread and wine, or in the baptismal water. They are merely *emblems*, not types: symbols and types, therefore, agree in their *genus*, but differ in their *species*. An ordinance, however, may at the same time be commemorative and prefigurative ; it may have both a retrospective and a prospective reference, and consequently exhibit the specific character of an emblem and also of a type. Such was the case with the Jewish passover. It was partly intended to perpetuate the remembrance of the miraculous deliverance of the Hebrews from Egyptian servitude. Thus it had a retrospective reference. It also prefigured the propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God. Here we perceive its prospective and typical reference.

Once more: The mode of conveying information by types has been frequently confounded with prophetic instruction delivered by *significant actions*. The following examples will show

what are intended by significant actions. When Ahijah was commissioned to predict that the kingdom of Israel should be taken from Solomon, he clad himself with a new garment and met Jeroboam in the way. Taking hold of the new garment he rent it into twelve pieces. Ten of these he gave to Jeroboam, to signify by *action*, as well as by word, that the kingdom would be rent out of the hand of Solomon, and that ten tribes would acknowledge him as their head. 1 Kings 11: 30. Again: when Elisha the prophet became sick with the disease which terminated his life, King Joash made him a visit and wept over him. The prophet by divine direction informed him, by means of a symbolical action, of events which were about to take place. He commanded the king to take a bow and arrows, and put his hands upon them, to indicate his war with Syria. Then the prophet placed his own hands upon the king's hands to intimate that victory cometh from God alone. He next directed the king to open the windows facing the country east of the Jordan, which was at that time in possession of the Syrians, and to shoot. The king having done as directed, the prophet said to him: "The arrow of the Lord's deliverance and the arrow of deliverance from Syria; for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek till thou hast consumed them. And he said, Take the arrows; and he took them. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground; and he smote thrice and stayed. And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldst have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it; whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice." 2 Kings, 13: 14—19. We have another example of the same nature in the case of Jeremiah, when, by breaking a potter's vessel in the valley of Hinnom, he intimated to the Jews the destruction of their chief city. Jer. 19: 10—13. By making bonds and yokes, and putting them first upon his own neck, and then sending them to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon and Tyre, he declared their subjugation to the yoke of the king of Babylon. Jer. 27: 2—8. In the New Testament the same method of conveying prophetic intimations occurs. Agabus took Paul's girdle, and, binding his own hands and feet with it, said: Thus saith the Holy Ghost; So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. Acts 21: 11.

These and similar acts of the prophets have been called *typ-*

ical, and unquestionably they have a striking resemblance to such as are typical. In common with types, they are *actions* as distinguished from words; they are *symbolical* and *prophetical* actions. Hence we commonly find them classed under the head of *prophetical types*. But notwithstanding these points of resemblance, the two are not identical. The significant acts in question, were avowedly performed for a specific purpose, and with reference, for the most part, to some event or events near at hand. In every case they were *insulated* acts, and not interwoven into the ordinary transactions of the prophets' lives. Indeed they had no relation to the prophet himself; he performed them in an assumed character and with exclusive reference to future events. But *typical actions*, properly so called, arise directly out of the transactions in which the typical person is engaged. They often form a part of the ordinary occurrences of his life. The character in which he performs them is his own proper character, and not an assumed one. The acts themselves are performed without any consciousness of their prospective and prophetical reference, and the persons or events which they prefigure are remote.

It is hardly necessary to say that a type is wholly distinct from a *metaphor*. Many things, to which our Saviour is compared, are in no sense instituted with a particular and designed reference to him. He is called *a door, a vine, a foundation, a corner-stone*; but what reasonable man would hence infer that doors, vines, foundations, and corner-stones are types of the Messiah? But when our Lord is called *the Lamb of God* which taketh away the sin of the world, the assertion is much more than the application of a metaphor. It intimates a designed connexion between the lamb slain in sacrifice under the Mosaic dispensation, and the great expiation to be made in the person of the Messiah. So when Christ is called *our Passover* which is sacrificed for us, the assertion is not a mere figure of speech; but it implies that the passover, in all its circumstances, bore a designed resemblance to the death of Christ.

From what has been said, it will be perceived that *three things* must conspire to make one person, institution or action, the type of another. There must be a *resemblance*; the resemblance must have been *designed by God*, and it must have a *reference to something future*.

1. *Resemblance.* This requisite is too obvious to need illustration. Indeed, writers on this subject have generally

made this too exclusively the object of attention. Accordingly when a resemblance, real or imaginary, has been discovered between two persons or events, this has been deemed quite sufficient to establish a preordained connexion between them. In this way it is easy to see how such persons as Job, Bazaleel, Aholiab, Phineas, Boaz, Absalom, Eliakim, Daniel, Zerubbabel, Antiochus Epiphanes, the unmarried brothers of him who left his widow childless, and the hanged malefactors came to be regarded as types.

When it is said that similarity, in certain respects, between the type and the antitype, is requisite to place them in the relation of corrolates, one to the other, this does not preclude the idea of *dissimilarity* in other respects. And when the points of dissimilitude are brought under our notice, in the way of contrast, the type is called *antithetic*. We have an example in Rom. 5: 14.

2. The second requisite in a type is, that *it be prepared and designed by God to prefigure its antitype*. Similarity between two persons or things, no matter how numerous may be the particulars to which it extends, is insufficient by itself to make them type and antitype. A resemblance in certain circumstances of the history of two individuals, living at different periods, may exist without the remotest connexion between them. One person, for instance, may successfully *imitate* the actions of another. One may casually be placed in circumstances like those of another, and the conduct of the two may be very similar. Mankind are pretty much alike in all ages. Nations and empires rise, flourish and decay, very nearly in the same manner. And what is true of nations, applies to individuals. Numerous instances have occurred in history of a remarkable similarity between individuals. Yet, however close and striking the agreement may have been, it is very different from that of type and antitype. The connexion in the latter case must have been originally preconcerted and preordained by God himself. And it is this original design and preordination, which constitutes the peculiar characteristic of a type. Where this does not exist, the relation between any two persons or things, however similar, is not the relation of type and antitype.*

* Vid. Marsh's Lectures, pt. 2, lec. 6. Chevallier's Hulsean Lectures, p. 6. "To secure its purpose," says Dr. Dick, "the

3. The last requisite in a type is, *that it have respect to something future*. This feature, as we have seen, constitutes the specific difference between a type and a mere symbol or emblem. Those institutions of Moses which partook of the nature of types, are called by the apostle *the shadow of good things to come*; while the antitype is the substance. Col. 2: 17. Heb. 10: 1. The daily and annual sacrifices of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensations adumbrated the great sacrifice, which, in the fulness of time, was to be offered effectually, and once for all. The ulterior and prophetic reference was not, indeed, the only purpose for which a religious rite was anciently appointed. It might, and generally did, subserve other purposes, subordinate perhaps to this, but nevertheless in themselves highly important and beneficial. Nay, further, the subordinate purpose may have been the only one which at the time was clearly and distinctly understood by the persons who observed the rite. Many, if not most of the Mosaic ordinances, in point of fact performed the two offices of symbol and type. So far as they signified to the Hebrews any religious duties or moral virtues which they were to practise, they were *symbols*; and so far as they were divinely appointed to represent things future, they were *types*.

It is evident, from the nature of a type, as here defined and explained, that it is *a species of prophecy*. It differs from a *direct, verbal* prophecy only in this; in one case, the future person or event is *prefigured*, in the other, *predicted*. In both there is the same display of the foreknowledge of God, and of his moral government over the world. This species of evidence for the truth of revealed religion, like what is called the experimental evidence of Christianity, addresses itself rather to believers than to skeptics. From its peculiar character, it is less likely to make an impression on the mind of an unbeliever than direct verbal prophecy. It assumes—as a fact previously established—the inspiration of the Scriptures; which the objector might first require to be satisfactorily proved. But to one

type must be instituted by God, who alone can establish the relation; and it is by no means sufficient, that, between two distinct persons or events, there should be an accidental resemblance. The essence of a type consists not in its similarity to another object, but in its being divinely appointed to be a representative of it." Theol. Vol. I. p. 144.

who has become convinced of this truth, and consequently of the reality of the doctrines they inculcate, this kind of evidence is of great value. To such a one, the judicious, discreet study of the historical types of the Old Testament cannot fail to prove both interesting and edifying.

The important inquiry now presents itself: How are we to determine, whether the acknowledged resemblance between two persons or events *is designed by God*? The preordained connexion between a type and its antitype must be shown by adequate testimony. It will not answer, in a matter of this kind, to be guided by fancy or mere conjecture. Our conclusions must be based upon satisfactory evidence. What evidence, then, should be regarded as sufficient to establish a designed connexion between any two things? The following principle furnishes, we apprehend, a proper and sufficient answer to this question. *No person, event or institution should be regarded as typical, but what may be proved to be such from the Scriptures.* The correctness of this principle is, we think, established by the following considerations. The typical character of a person or thing depends on the fact of a *preordained* connexion between that and some other person or thing. The former must have been originally designed by the Deity to prefigure the latter. But no one, surely, is competent to make known to us the divine intention except God himself, or some person authorized by him. The testimony of an inspired writer, therefore, is requisite; for no other person is authorized to express the divine intention. Again; as types partake of the nature of prediction, they can have no recorded existence, except in the inspired volume; and it is solely on the testimony of that volume, that we can be apprized of their existence. Consequently, we are bound to believe in the reality of types just so far as we are warranted in doing so, by the express declaration or clear intimation of the Scriptures. And we are not justified in advancing a single step beyond the information and testimony of the Holy Spirit, the only infallible interpreter of the mind of God. This is a point of so much importance that we shall be pardoned for quoting at length from several distinguished divines, whose views coincide with those just expressed.

Bishop Marsh: "The only possible source of information on this subject is Scripture itself. The only *possible* means of knowing that two distant, though similar, historical facts were so connected in the general scheme of divine Providence that

the one was *designed* to prefigure the other, is the authority of that work in which the scheme of divine Providence is unfolded. Destitute of *that* authority, we may confound a resemblance, subsequently observed, with a resemblance *preordained*. We may mistake a comparison, founded on a mere *accidental* parity of circumstances, for a comparison founded on a *necessary* and *inherent* connection. There is no other rule, therefore, by which we can distinguish a *real* from a *pretended* type, than that of Scripture itself. There are no other possible *means*, by which we can *know*, that a previous design and a preordained connection *existed*. Whatever persons or things, therefore, recorded in the Old Testament, were expressly declared by Christ or by his apostles to have been designed as prefigurations of persons or things, so recorded in the *former*, are types of the persons or things with which they are compared in the *latter*. But if we assert, that a person or thing was designed to prefigure another person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by *divine authority*, we make an assertion for which we neither *have*, nor *can* have the slightest foundation.”*

Bishop Van Mildert: “It is essential to a type, in the scriptural acceptance of the term, that there should be competent evidence of the divine *intention* in the correspondence between it and the antitype,—a matter not to be left to the imagination of the expositor to discover, but resting on some solid proof from Scripture itself.”†

Ernesti: “Those who look to the counsel or intention, as they call it, of the Holy Spirit, act irrationally, and open the road to the unlimited introduction of types. The intention of the Holy Spirit can be made known to us only by his own showing.‡

Prof. Stuart: “If it be asked how far we are to consider the Old Testament as typical, I should answer, without any hesitation, just so much of it is to be regarded as typical as the New Testament affirms to be so, and *no more*. The fact, that any thing or event under the Old Testament dispensation was designed to prefigure something under the New, can be known to us only by revelation, and, of course, all that is not designated

* Lectures, pt. 2. Lec. 6.

† Van Mildert’s Bampton Lectures, p. 239.

‡ Terrott’s Ernesti, Vol. I. p. 25.

by divine authority as typical, can never be made so, by any authority less than that which guided the writers of the New Testament.”*

Prof. Stowe: “In regard to types and allegories, we know of none, excepting those which are explained as such in the Bible itself. All the rest are merely conjectural, and though often ingenious, are worse than idle, leading the mind away from the truth, perverting it by false principles of interpretation, and making it the mere sport of every idle fancy.”†

T. H. Horne: “Unless we have the authority of the sacred writers themselves for it, we cannot conclude, with certainty, that this or that person or thing, which is mentioned in the Old Testament, is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them.”‡

Chevallier: “The connection of typical events with those which they foreshow, can be determined by authority only. For unless the Scripture has declared that the connection exists, we can never ascertain that any resemblance, however accurate, is any thing more than a fanciful adaptation, and we may go on to multiply imaginary instances without end.” Again: “The error of those who suffer their imagination to suppose the existence of types where they are not, should warn us that no action must be selected as typical of another, unless it be distinctly declared or plainly intimated in some part of Scripture to possess that character.”§

Christian Observer (London): “The truth of the whole matter (viz. of types) unquestionably lies in a short compass. The interpretations of this nature, which are adopted by Scripture itself, are infallible; but when they stand alone upon the authority of human invention and imagination, or, what is sometimes absurdly introduced as the analogy of faith, they are simply fallible, and often very simple indeed. No man of common sense will pretend, on such points, to any superior inspiration or judicial authority over another. Here the right of private judgment must take its most legitimate stand. The Scriptures, no doubt, are suited to every turn of mind and taste. The very large place which the imagination occupies in the mind of man

* Stuart's *Ernesti*, p. 13.

† Stowe's *Introd. to the study of the Bible*, p. 35.

‡ *Introd.* Vol. II. p. 530.

§ Chevallier's *Hulsean Lectures*, pp. 34, 54.

cannot have been unknown to him who framed the Scriptures for man. Hence we may justly admire that ineffable wisdom which has given forth enough for the dullest and most sterile understanding of the wayfaring man, to guide him; and has superadded an abundance of most instructive and impressive analogies for every higher grade of intellect or imagination, not even refusing food to the most soaring and aerial of all minds, by the construction of narratives, occurrences and doctrines, which, with almost a miraculous closeness of application, may be made to fit into one another, and into *the analogy of faith*. It is, however, we repeat it, where these applications are warranted, and made to our hands, by the words of inspiration itself, that we deem them either positively certain or absolutely wise and safe.”*

Types have been divided by different writers into various classes, as natural, moral, historical, legal, prophetic, etc. But for several of these distinctions there is no foundation whatever. It may well be doubted whether there are properly any types which have been called *natural*,—such as the sun, the moon, the creation, the earth, etc. Those rites which have been called *moral* types, are either mere emblems, or they properly belong to the class of historical types. What have been denominated prophetic types, are merely symbolical actions. All types are prophetic; and the utility of arranging them under the heads of legal, historical, etc., seems very questionable. Chevallier, however, has proposed a classification of a different description, which, so far as the prophetic character of types is concerned, may not be without its advantages. His division is into three classes, as follows: 1. “Those which are supported by accomplished prophecy, delivered previously to the appearance of the antitype;” e. g., Moses, Deut. 18: 15; Joshua the High Priest, Zech. 3: 8. 2. “Those supported by accomplished prophecy, delivered in the person of the antitype; e. g., the brazen serpent, Num. 21: 5, 9 (comp. John 3: 14); the manna which the Israelites ate in the desert, John 6: 32, 49; the paschal sacrifice, Cor. 5: 7, 8 (comp. Luke 22: 14—16); the miraculous preservation of Jonah in the fish, John 11: 32, Matt. 12: 40. 3. “Those which in Scripture are expressly declared, or clearly assumed to be typical, after the prefigured events had taken place;” e. g., the numerous types

* Christ. Obs. Vol. XXVII. p. 236.

contained in the Levitical priesthood and sacrifices; also, Adam, Melchisedec, Joshua the son of Nun, David, Solomon, Elijah as a type of John the Baptist, etc.

It only remains that we suggest one or two rules for our guidance in the interpretation of types.

1. *The analogy between the type and antitype should not be pressed beyond the points to which revelation has extended it.* The principle on which this rule is founded is this: the relation between the type and antitype is, and must be, a *general* relation. Consequently, it was never designed to be extended to every particular circumstance. In every case, especially of typical persons, there are many things in the type which have and *can* have no place in the antitype. This arises from the fact, that the Son of God was prefigured by men subject to human passions and corrupted by sin. To regard the sinful acts of typical persons as prefigurative of Christ, seems to us little short of blasphemy. Some things, for the same reason, are peculiar to the antitype, and can have no corresponding circumstance or counterpart in the type. It is only in *certain respects* that human persons or things can shadow forth, and *that* very imperfectly, the Saviour of the world. In not a few instances, individuals adumbrated Christ, not in their private, but in their *official* character. Thus, Moses typified Christ as a prophet, lawgiver, leader of the children of Israel and head of the ancient dispensation. There may have been points of resemblance between the two in traits of private character. But as the New Testament writers have not noticed these, when speaking of the two in the way of comparison, we may presume that this resemblance was merely accidental; at any rate, we cannot positively affirm, without the authority of Scripture, that the private character and acts of the one were designed to prefigure the character and acts of the other. The Levitical priesthood and the ritual sacrifices of the Mosaic economy prefigured Christ our great High Priest, and the sacrifice of himself which he offered for sin on Calvary. Yet, there were many things in that priesthood which do not correspond to the antitype. The High Priest was to offer sacrifices for his *own* sins (Heb. 5: 3);—a circumstance not applicable to Christ (Heb. 7: 27). The Aaronic priesthood, moreover, was *ἀνωτέρας*, weak and unprofitable,—attributes which certainly did not belong to the Redeemer. Some persons are declared to be types only in respect to a single circumstance of their lives. Thus Isaac was a type

of Christ only as regards his intended sacrifice on Mount Moriah. Jonah was a type of Christ only in reference to his remaining three days unharmed in the belly of the fish. Now, as we are not justified in pronouncing, without scriptural authority, one person or thing to be typical of another, simply on the ground of resemblance between them; so, on the same principle, we are not warranted in extending the comparison to every particular in the private history of a really typical person, merely on the ground that we can discover a resemblance. We cannot be sure, without adequate authority for it, that the correspondence in every particular was preordained and not casual. Yet, nothing is more common than the extension of the comparison in such cases to every minute particular. There is no way of avoiding this error but by strictly confining our expositions of types to those express points in which the Scripture itself authorizes us to consider them as typical, or which immediately flow from the nature of the particular relation or character, which we are taught to regard as constituting the analogy between the type and its antitype.*

2. *No doctrine should be taught as necessary to salvation which is founded solely on typical analogy.* The great and fundamental truths, of the word of God, are taught in plain and unequivocal language, and not left to be deduced from obscure and figurative passages. The typical manifestations of the divine counsels will be found in perfect harmony with these truths. The former, therefore, may be profitably adduced in confirmation and illustration of the latter. Our belief in the doctrine of the atonement, for instance, may be greatly strengthened by contemplating the fact that it was not only revealed to the fathers of our race by the clear intimations of verbal prophecy, but prefigured in the numerous sacrifices which were offered from the time of Adam to the death of Christ. But it is highly improbable that God would conceal, under the veil of types and shadows, truths which are essential to our salvation, and nowhere disclosed in plain and literal terms. No person consequently can be bound to receive, as a necessary article of faith, any doctrine which has no evidence in its support, except what is drawn from the types and shadows of the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations.

* See Coneybeare's Bampton Lectures, p. 305. Knapp's Theol. Vol. II. p. 163.

ARTICLE VI.

TOLERATION OF OPINION.

By D. Foelck, Jr., Boston, Mass.

WERE one to reason *a priori*, toleration of opinion might seem too obvious a dictate of expediency—to say nothing of justice—not to be early adopted and sedulously maintained. However overt *acts* of opposition to the will of governments or of individuals might be treated, we should hardly surmise that a mere difference of *sentiment* could be allowed to occasion animosity and cruelty—much less the infliction of death itself. But what a picture of intolerance is the page of history! In those who have not successfully cultivated the meekness which Christ enjoins—by no means the easiest lesson of his gospel—a mere difference of views on points of subordinate importance, is apt, even now, to awaken a harshness of feeling, which, fanned by the influences of other times, would have kindled the fiercest flames of persecution. It is true the *expression* of sentiments differing from those which are dominant, may be considered in some sense, an *overt act* of opposition to the powers that be. But most cases of persecution for opinion's sake, have arisen from the possession, rather than the expression of obnoxious views—from contumacy and presumption of daring to rebel against prescribed forms of thought.

Of the religious history of most pagan nations we know but little—far less, even, than of their civil history. From what we do know, however, it is evident that all have been more or less harassed by religious despotism at home, while they have done what they could, even by brute force, to extend the worship of their gods and the use of their sacred rites. Of ancient nations, the *Romans* were probably the most tolerant in matters of religion. But they never proceeded further than to allow the worship of new gods, requiring at the same time reverential homage to the old. The Egyptian might do homage to his Serapis and Isis, if he would pay the deference which was considered as due to their gods and goddesses. The Christian, even, might have worshipped Jehovah, if he would have offered

public sacrifices to Jupiter. This, of course, he could not do ; and, consequently, his religion brought upon him the most cruel persecutions. The religion of *Mohammed* was in its outset, and is now, sustained mainly by intolerant fanaticism. The sword early carried the Koran over almost half the globe ; and persecuting bigotry is now ready to stifle every inquiry which would reveal the folly of Islamism. A multitude of minor religious sects have arisen among the Mohammedans themselves. Their feuds are equalled in rancor only by those which have existed among Christians. It is matter of grief, but it is most probably true, that what has been called the *odium theologicum* has never risen to such a degree of acrimony—never flamed forth with such vehemence as it has among those who profess to be the followers of Jesus. Strange, that a religion whose sum and essence is *love*, love even to our enemies, should have served as a pretence for the direst *hate* !

As early as the year A. D. 259, Christianity was declared, by the Emperor Gallienus, a lawful religion. Still it was subject to more or less molestation under various pretexts. Constantine, by publicly professing adherence to Christianity, first gave it civil ascendancy over every other religion. He issued a decree of *general toleration*,* which is of so liberal a nature as to give offence to bigoted Romanists, who have complained of it as placing Jews, Samaritans and heretics on the same footing with true Catholics. It was not long before Constantine was induced to modify his policy, so as better to suit the narrow spirit of his ecclesiastical counsellors. From this period the principle of toleration seems to have grown gradually weaker, and to have finally disappeared, until it was revived by the Protestant Reformation.

The despotic pretensions of the Popes, which obtained general acknowledgment throughout the western church as early as the eighth century, tended to crush the exercise of private judgment. The Romish hierarchy, gaining by degrees the complete control of the civil power in most Christian states, finally insisted on the infliction of death for every sentiment which it chose to brand as heresy. In earlier times, indeed, it had contented itself with enjoining penance, or at most with decreeing excommunication ; but its boldness augmenting with its power, it pronounced, at length, against every deviation from the pre-

* Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Lib. X. cap. 5.

scribed faith, the penalty of imprisonment, and, in case of final contumacy, the forfeiture of life. The horrors of the Inquisition are familiar to all. The characteristic taciturnity of the Spaniards is attributed by Voltaire, to the influence of this diabolical institution. Even the researches of the natural philosopher were restrained by ecclesiastical intolerance.

As late as the 17th century, Galileo, who, in a work on the sun's spots, had advocated the Copernican system, was denounced as a heretic. He appeased his adversaries for a season by promising not to advocate a system which was generally regarded as derogatory to the Bible. Fifteen or twenty years afterwards, however, in 1632, he published his celebrated "*Dialogue*," in which the comparative merits of the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems were ably discussed—a manifest preference being given to the latter. Though express permission to print the work had been obtained at Rome, its publication drew upon the author the severest persecution. A congregation of his enemies having examined the treatise, declared it pernicious, and summoned him before the Inquisition. After some months of imprisonment, he was forced to disavow positions which he knew were eternal truths. "Are these, then, my judges!" he once indignantly exclaimed, when withdrawing from the examination of men whose ignorance disgusted him. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Milton visited him during his confinement. The philosopher was then poor, old and blind. About the same period Descartes suffered much persecution in Holland on account of his opinions. He opposed the prevalent Aristotelian metaphysics with great boldness, and advocated the Copernican system. Voetius, a bigot of great influence at Utrecht, accused him of atheism, and even menaced him with death.

In these and many other recorded cases of persecution for opinion, it is clear that the true ground of hostility was not so much a sincere apprehension of mischief from the novel sentiments avowed, as displeasure at the independence which dared to break away from prescribed forms of thought. It was the *spirit* rather than the *views* of Galileo and Descartes which rendered them obnoxious to ecclesiastical tyranny.

France resisted the establishment of the Inquisition. And hence, we read of few instances of religious persecution in her history. But there is one which stands alone in point of horror, an eternal disgrace to human nature ;—I mean the slaughter of

the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572. On this and thirty days ensuing, it is supposed that thirty thousand victims were offered up at the shrine of bigotry.

Protestantism finally gained the ascendancy in many Christian countries. But even here, it is in vain and worse than in vain to shut our eyes to the workings of perverse human nature. The impartial historian must record, that no sooner was Protestantism triumphant, than it turned against the disaffected the very weapons from which it had itself suffered so severely. No wonder that some, seeing the supposed legitimate fruits of the two systems of religion to be equally horrible, were at a loss to decide which deserved the preference. English history affords ample justification of what I have just said. Fox's "*Acts and Monuments*," in three folio volumes, contain the martyrology of the Protestants under Catholic domination; and, by way of counterpart, Dodd's "*Church History of England*," also in three folios, presents the martyrology of the Catholics.

Singular it is, to notice how surely and closely religious persecution has followed religious power in its various mutations. The sufferer no sooner becomes the master, than he forgets the liberal principles he maintained in his humiliation; and partly, perhaps, from a natural, though wicked, desire of revenge, and partly from mistaken ardor in the cause of supposed truth, assumes the very character he abhorred and deprecated. Calamy has recorded, in four sad volumes, the sufferings of the two thousand non-conformist ministers under the *act of uniformity*, which was issued on St. Bartholomew's day, 1662. Much as the French Bartholomew's day of 1572 exceeded in horror the English one of 1662, the Presbyterians did not fail to draw a parallel between them. The non-conformist divines were indeed driven to difficult straits. Several were forced to become tradesmen. Among these was the celebrated Samuel Chandler, the author of numerous literary productions, who kept a bookseller's shop in London. Opposed to Calamy's account stands Walker's "attempt towards recovering an account of the clergy of the church of England who were sequestered, harassed, etc., in the late times," i. e. during the government of Cromwell.

Of late, toleration of religious opinion has made great progress in Christendom. It is a long time since any man has been put to death for his theological sentiments, in a country claiming to be called Christian. We seldom hear of imprisonment or confiscation of estate for modes of Christian faith.

But the world—the Christian world even—has but just begun to see its way forward out of the mist of intolerant prejudice. In all the states of Christendom, excepting our own, if indeed our own may fairly be considered an exception, civil penalties or disabilities of greater or less severity are yet attached to certain forms of religious opinion.

Long after the Reformation, the principles of religious toleration, as now understood, were almost unknown, and certainly not put in practice by any community. The first English divines of much note, who advocated this cause, were Jeremy Taylor and Bishop Hall; both of whom wrote upon the subject. About forty years later, in 1689, Locke published his first letter on toleration. The second appeared in 1690, the third in 1692. They were all written in Latin and published in Holland from motives of prudence. For the same reason, Bayle's *Commentaire Philosophique*, &c., which is substantially a treatise on toleration, purported to have been written by an Englishman, and to have been printed at Canterbury, in England. In reality, it was printed at Amsterdam, in 1686. Such was the caution required at the close of the 17th century, in the most enlightened Christian countries.

It has been with equal tardiness and difficulty that toleration of *political* opinion has made its way in the world. Civil despotism has naturally striven to crush freedom of sentiment and discussion. Quite recently, indeed, censure of the government has cost many a man his liberty, his estate, and even his life, in countries which have loudly boasted of the inviolability they gave to human rights.

The invention of printing has rendered incalculable service to the world, in promoting freedom of thought and discussion. It endured the spirit of reform with resources which despotism could not annihilate. The mass of mind in Europe, during the middle ages, was like a stagnant pool. The press communicated activity to the inert waters. A commotion began which has ever since been augmenting and which will not cease till all artificial and unwarrantable restraints upon human liberty are swept away. The adherents of tyranny perceived that the results of this invention, if it were left untrammelled, would be fatal to their interests. They strove to control it therefore; and for this purpose established a *censorship of books*. By this device, they hoped to use the mighty energy of the press in bowing the necks of men, with increased servility, to the yoke

of passive obedience. But the idea was vain. The press proved a hydra. Its inherent resources transcended the utmost power of destruction which could be brought to bear upon it. Crushed in one spot, it exhibited itself with new terrors in another.

Catalogues of prohibited books were early compiled. The Spanish Inquisition issued one in 1558, at the command of Philip II., and in 1559 the Holy Office at Rome published another. At the Council of Trent, Pius IV. was presented with a catalogue of books which the members denounced as unfit for perusal, and a bull of prohibition was accordingly issued. These catalogues were called *Indexes*. A simple *Index* is a list of books, no part of which was allowed to be read; an *Index Expurgatorius* is a list of books allowed to be read, if printed with certain omissions or other alterations. This expedient of tyranny, however, recoiled upon its authority. The Protestants reprinted and diligently circulated the *Indexes*; which served the convenient purpose of pointing out the books most worthy of their perusal.

Unfortunately for the success of these *Indexes*, moreover, they did not agree with each other. Being published at different places—Rome, Naples, Venice, Madrid, Antwerp, etc.—the discrepancies between them occasioned much scandal among heretics. As the publishing of lists of condemned works was found to be inadequate to their suppression, more frequent recourse was had to the expedient already in use—of burning them in public. This was fully as ineffectual as the former. Indeed, it promoted the sale of the prohibited books to such a degree, that the publisher of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus is said to have used strenuous effort to procure the burning of his book, and to have reaped his reward.

An amusing anecdote relating to this subject, I will here present in the words of D'Israeli; to whose "*Curiosities of Literature*," I am indebted for several facts which I have already mentioned. "Tonstall, Bishop of London (whose extreme moderation, for the times, preferred the burning of books to the burning of their authors), to testify his abhorrence of Tindal's principles, who had printed a translation of the New Testament—a sealed book for the multitude—thought of purchasing all the copies of Tindal's translation, and annihilating them in the common flame. This occurred to him when passing through Antwerp in 1529; then a place of refuge for the Tindalists. He

employed an English merchant there for this business, who happened to be a secret follower of Tindal and acquainted him with the Bishop's intention. Tindal was extremely glad to hear of the project; for he was desirous of printing a more correct edition of his version, but the first impression still hung on his hands, and he was too poor to make a new one. He furnished the English merchant with all his unsold copies, which the Bishop as eagerly bought, and had them all publicly burnt in Cheapside, which the people not only declared was a 'burning of the word of God,' but it so inflamed the desire of reading that volume, that the second edition was sought after at any price. When one of the Tindalists, who was sent here to sell them, was promised by the Lord Chancellor, in a private examination, that he should not suffer if he would reveal who encouraged and supported his party at Antwerp, the Tindalist immediately accepted the offer, and assured the Lord Chancellor that the greatest encouragement was from Tonstall, the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression and enabled them to produce a second."

English literature was long subject to a state-censorship; and even now, the formality, with little or none of the substance of the old inquisitorial jurisdiction, is seen in the *Licensers* and *Imprimaturs* of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But there has never been an English statute for controlling the press,—only a decree of the star-chamber. The royal prerogative was freely exerted by Elizabeth, to suppress or mutilate works which contained any thing obnoxious to censure, in her estimation. Authors and publishers were not unfrequently adjudged to very severe penalties, and, in one instance at least, to death itself. The regular institution of licensers in England, is supposed to owe its origin to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. During the commonwealth, the system of literary censorship was upheld with as much rigor as ever by the very men who, before they attained the ascendancy, were clamorous for the freedom of the press. It was not till the Revolution of 1688, that licenses for the press were discontinued. While they lasted they were ineffectual. Many unlicensed books were published, and of course read with the more avidity from this very fact. Passages which were condemned to suppression on the publication of a work were often carefully preserved, and printed in another country, or even surreptitiously at home. Thus do the arts of despotism commonly defeat themselves. During the

reign of William and Mary the press was declared by parliament to be completely free, and no legal restraint has been since imposed upon it. The law of libel, however, still inflicts upon wanton defamation of character those penalties which are required by justice and sound policy.

We may properly mention, in this connexion, the unfairness and abuse with which the history of literary controversy is stained. The scholastic disputes of the middle ages were conducted with a violence and ferocity, which it almost makes one shudder to observe. Among these disputes the most celebrated was that between the Nominalists and Realists. The subject of controversy between them seems to us not very important; but the contest was then prosecuted almost as though life and death depended upon the issue. An eye-witness declares that it was not at all uncommon for parties in this literary quarrel to resort to the argument of the fist, the club, and even the sword, when they had exhausted their resources in the way of personal vituperation; so that severe wounds were a usual, and death itself not a very unusual consequence of their intolerant acrimony.

The writings of most of the principal Protestant Reformers are disfigured by coarse abuse of their opponents. Those who exclaimed stoutly and justly against the arbitrary inroads of the papacy upon the right of private judgment, were themselves, unconsciously indeed, but really infringing the same right by their uncharitable denunciations. Such is the weakness and deceitfulness of poor human nature! Next to Melancthon, Erasmus was probably the mildest of the prominent Reformers of the sixteenth century. But he was not always treated with as much courtesy as he extended to others. Scaliger, in reply to a dialogue written by Erasmus to discountenance the prevailing rage for imitating Cicero, poured out upon him a torrent of personal abuse—calling him illiterate, a drunkard, an impostor, an apostate, a hangman, a demon hot from hell! The writings of Luther, Calvin and Beza are marked by the too free use of invective. These celebrated men scruple not to call their opponents liars, asses, knaves, drunkards, lunatics, dogs, apes, devils, etc. The famous controversy between Milton and Salmasius exhibits a profusion of the same personal acrimony. Salmasius taunts Milton with being but a puny fraction of a man, a dwarf, a bloodless being of mere skin and bone, a despicable pedagogue, and with unfeeling rancor flouts his blindness by

applying to him the following line of the *Æneid*:

"*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*"*

Milton was not sparing of similar invective in his rejoinder. Du Moulin, a subsequent antagonist of Milton, scarcely yields to Salmاسius in the virulence of his style. He compares Milton to a hangman, and says that his mental was of a piece with his physical vision. More or less of the same temper is observable in most of the controversies which have been prosecuted in later times. Seldom has there been wanting a studious effort to disparage the motives or the reputation of the adverse party. If a taunt has seemed likely to lessen the force of an argument, rarely indeed has it been withheld.

The use of nicknames is an expedient of intolerance which has proved very efficient. In general they are a condensed calumny. They are fastened upon a party with the intent of impairing its credit by enlisting against it, not reason, but prejudice. The first revolutionists in Holland were denominated by their enemies "*Les Gueux*," the *beggars*. The French Protestants, after wearing several other opprobrious designations, at last were called by the well-known nickname of *Huguenots*; which is supposed to have originated from their hiding themselves in secret places and appearing only at night, like king Hugon, the great hobgoblin of France. At the outset of the French Revolution, the aristocratic classes bestowed upon the discontented lower orders, the derisive epithet of "*Sans Culottes*."

The name of *Puritans* was given by way of ridicule to those stanch advocates of increased purity, the reformers of the Reformation; from whom the people of New England in general derive their origin. During the English Commonwealth the nickname of *malignant* was a stout weapon against the adherents of the old government. Before that time the opposing parties had been denominated *cavaliers* and *round-heads*. The former epithet sprang from the lordly bearing and romantic spirit of the royalists; the latter from the cropt hair of their fanatical opponents. The singular nicknames, *Whig* and *Tory*, which

* The word *ingens* in this verse thus applied involves an inconsistency with the previous epithets. There was a special appropriateness in the last part of the verse, since Milton had then lost but one of his eyes.

have undoubtedly acquired more extensive notoriety than any others recorded in history, took their rise in the reign of Charles II. of England. It is said that the name *whigs*, applied by the court-party to the Scotch covenanters, and those in England who sided with them, was taken from the Scotch beverage of sour milk, denominated *whigg*; while the republican party stigmatized the royalists with the epithet *tories*, which was the name of certain Irish robbers. It is doubtful whether the former epithet was given from a supposed resemblance in point of acidity between the beverage referred to and the dispositions of the whigs; or from a contemptuous allusion to the general poverty and meanness of their condition—sour milk being the common beverage of the indigent in Scotland.

Careful examination will show that both magistrates and private individuals have been sometimes prompted by honest intentions in their intolerance; and on the other hand, their tolerance has not unfrequently sprung from unworthy motives.

It is wonderful to observe how much evil is done with the best intentions; and how much good has resulted from the worst. Among the Romans intolerance was, in the main, a matter of state policy. Not that there were no bigots among them, whose intolerance sprang from real attachment to the superstitions of their ritual;—but those who wielded the national policy interwove intolerance with it from other than religious views. Most of the magistrates and patricians had no faith at all in the popular religion. Cicero expressed the sentiment of a numerous class, when he said that, on seeing two Roman augurs engaged in their ostensibly solemn rites, he had often wondered how they could keep from laughing in each other's faces. But it was supposed to be state policy to sustain a state-religion; and with this view Rome was intolerant to the extent already described.

It is probable that civil intolerance has been prompted, to a great degree, by the same principle in many modern nations. History shows that in all ages the pretext of religion has been given to measures really incited by political motives. The course of Charles V. concerning the Reformation was clearly marked out by secular policy, rather than the zeal which he alleged in behalf of the Catholic religion. The same remark may be made as to most of the European princes of the time, even of those who espoused the side of the reformers. Their adoption of this cause sprang, in general, from selfish aims.

The civil war between the Catholics and Huguenots in France sprang in reality from political motives. Those who kindled and controlled it took advantage of prevalent religious hostility to accomplish their own schemes of aggrandizement. James II. of England stoutly insisted on the principles of *toleration* and *liberty of conscience*, when he was striving to bring about the repeal of the test-act. But his real object was to give the Catholics the ascendancy, and thus, in the end, annihilate liberty of conscience. From the time that religious toleration was first practised by a considerable community on a tolerably impartial basis down to the present moment, it has frequently been an instrument of selfish policy in the hands of governments and individual statesmen. Holland may be considered as the birth-place of true practical toleration. The establishment of this principle attracted multitudes of conscientious and industrious dissenters of all sorts from the various countries of Europe; and wonderfully promoted the trade and wealth of the United Provinces.

I think it may be asserted with truth, that toleration of opinion has seldom been advocated from unalloyed love for it as a principle applicable to the most dissimilar and discordant sects. In a Protestant country the Catholic argues for toleration; in a Catholic country he will have none of it. The dissenter has too often been changed by prosperity into a bigot of the most exclusive character. What he once pleaded for with earnestness will then seem to him "a cursed, intolerable toleration,"—as it did to the English Presbyterians when they attained to predominance in the State.

The Protestant Reformation itself, even in the minds of its most enlightened promoters, was, to use the words of the author of *Spiritual Despotism*, "an assault, much rather upon the *Papacy*, and upon its special errors and superstitions, than upon the theory and principles of the spiritual despotism, of which the *Papacy* was the accidental form." It was the abuses of Popery, rather than its essential character, which led to its downfall. The worldliness of the ecclesiastics, from the highest to the lowest, the introduction of the traffic in indulgences,—such were the motives which first roused Luther to war against the Papal See. The breach, of course, grew wider and wider. When the power of the Pope was brought to bear upon him and his adherents; and when the two systems came to exist side by side in most Christian countries,—sometimes one and sometimes the other

predominant,—it could not be otherwise than that some correct notions of toleration should be elicited. Thus, liberty of conscience, so far as it was attained, was rather an incidental result, than a main, definite purpose of the Reformation.

Real intolerance, the intolerance of the heart is seldom or never seen by the possessor in its true light. It is sincere, indeed; but there can be no more hurtful form of bigotry than that of deluded fanaticism. Instigated by this spirit, men are guilty of unrighteous oppression, and verily think they are doing God service. Persecutors and persecuted, in multitudes of instances, have been alike animated with sincere zeal for what they considered the right. "There can be no doubt," says the persecutor, "that my views are correct, and that he who does not adopt them endangers his spiritual welfare. It must be a benevolent act to appeal to the temporal interest of my neighbor for the good of his soul. Therefore I am bound to try, by pains and penalties, yes, if it be necessary, by the menace of death itself, to bring him from his errors into the true faith; and if the actual infliction of death upon him will deter others from injuring their own souls by the same or like errors, does not philanthropy require the stroke?" One of the popes, in a letter enjoining all true followers of the church to ferret out heretics, and punish them with death if they proved obstinate, sustains his injunction by the following argument: "The man who takes away *physical* life, is punished with death. Now, *faith* is the source of *eternal* life; for it is written: 'The just shall live by faith.' How much more guilty, then, than a common murderer, and how much more worthy of death must a heretic be, who robs people of their faith—of eternal life!"

Such is the sophistry with which intolerance has, in all ages, deceived, or sought to defend itself. Once set up in the heart as a proper principle, it is almost impossible to dislodge it. It finds nutriment in the worst passions of human nature. When we have come to call evil good, or good evil, there is but little hope of reformation. We cannot doubt that excellent and pious men have cherished a spirit of intolerance. How far, even among the Catholics themselves, it may have been prompted by genuine zeal for supposed truth, it belongs to God alone to determine. Let us not be intolerant ourselves in considering the history of intolerance. We may denounce the principle, but it does not follow that we may universally denounce those as thoroughly wicked who practised it. A good man may,

with mistaken views of duty, be actuated by this spirit of the devil. While we estimate aright the evil influence of the deed, let us always do justice to the sincere intentions of the doer. "The heart is deceitful above all things." Of many sincerely intolerant men, it may be said, no doubt with truth, that, could they have seen the real springs of their intolerance, they would have exerted themselves as sincerely to get rid of it. Could they have seen that in truth they were cherishing a criminal disregard for the rights of others, a proud spirit of infallibility, inconsistent with the meekness that Christ inculcates,—in fine, that their intolerance was a wolf in sheep's clothing,—they would not have rested till they had acted in accordance with their new views of duty.

ARTICLE VII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND.

IN the number of this journal for July, 1840, we attempted to give some account of the present condition of the English established church, and particularly of the views which are now earnestly promulgated by the writers of the Oxford Tracts for the Times. It seems to be a fitting and an important inquiry: What has occasioned the rise and prevalence of these peculiar views? To what causes are we to ascribe the statement and inculcation of doctrines, against which some of the best men in the English establishment so loudly and indignantly protest? How is it, that in reformed England, in a Protestant university and in the nineteenth century, dogmas should be propounded which would lead us back, as many think, to the iron times of Papal *absolutism*?

One ground of the appearance, or rather re-appearance, of the doctrines in question, is, in human nature itself. The Oxford writers are the representatives of a class of men now rapidly diminishing, that worship the Past—that fall down before the graven images of antiquity—that repose on authority and precedents, and linger among the monuments of the mighty and

the sainted dead. They are the antitypes and counterparts of thousands in the Protestant world, and of millions in the Papal, who have submitted their reason to the *dicta* of some real or imaginary great men, to councils falsely called ecumenical, to traditions turbid and uncertain at their very source, or to formulæ and creeds, not drawn up by apostolic men, but by some melancholy misanthrope, or furious bigot. We should, however, recollect, that it is *original temperament* which is concerned, at least in part. There are idiosyncrasies, or native peculiarities, over which the individuals themselves have but a partial control. Common candor demands that we should make all proper allowances. A considerable measure of this conservative spirit is, also, one of the principal elements of the English character. It is no more unphilosophical to expect, sometimes, a sudden outbreak of it in Britain, than it is, in our country, to behold, occasionally, choice specimens of democracy. The well-being of the British empire may depend on this earnest love of the Past.

Again, the perversion of the Protestant principle of free discussion accounts, in a measure, for the recent developments of the Oxford *tractators*. They have seen the evils of Dissent. They have gazed on the bitter conflicts of non-conformists, contending for the right of free discussion—for the privilege, every man for himself, of interpreting the Bible. The Wesleyan has been arrayed against the Whitefieldite, the Congregationalist against the Plymouth Brethren, and the close communion Baptist against his more liberal brother, Toplady anathematizing Wesley, and Wesley leaving Toplady to the uncovenanted mercies of God, Hall and Kinghorn measuring their weapons together, Fuller lifting up his huge battle-axe against all and several who should wilfully impugn the standard Calvinism or the primitive mode of baptism, while some old Scotch claymore was ever and anon falling upon every Southron indiscriminately, who would not canonize John Knox, or sturdily maintain the divine right of ruling elders. At this horrible braying of arms, the retired Oxford Fellow stands aghast. He is amazed that these men, who are all agreed in renouncing the apostolical succession, should so belabor and bespatter each other. The riddle is not expounded till he remembers the unsoundness of the great doctrine of the Wittenberg reformer, viz., the right, inalienable, of every man, to read and expound the Bible as he pleases. This is the Pandora's box, whence issue all forms of

mischievous. This is the secret of the everlasting din of arms, the "confused noise" of dissenting warriors. The axe, therefore, must be laid at the root of the tree. The Protestant principle is radically corrupt. Men have *not* the right of private judgment. They must put their faith in the exegesis of the church. They must sit, docile learners, at the feet of their gray-headed and reverend mother. Into her hands are committed the keys of knowledge, which Luther, sacrilegiously, wrested from her. Such is the course of reasoning by which the High-Churchman of Oxford is led to denounce what he contemptuously terms the "right of private judgment;"* or rather, such is the partial observation of facts, which leads him to repose more complacently than ever, on the loving bosom of the holy and apostolic church. The quarrels of the Dissenters have thrown him off his guard. He reasons from the perversion of a principle. He gathers up the abuses of a good thing, and on them builds his theory. When all sects, except his own dear communion, and even some *small* fragments of that, are contending with each other, as though Christianity itself were at stake, he looks around for a firm footing. He is not satisfied till he has re-affirmed more strongly than ever, that *the church*, THE CHURCH is the only authorized expounder of God's truth. Whoever sets up for himself in this perilous business of interpretation is a sacrilegious intruder. He takes hold of the ark with unconsecrated hands, and will be terribly smitten for his presumption. Thus, the disputes of the various dissenting denominations in England, we have no doubt, are a prominent cause of the Oxford development. One extreme has produced its opposite.

Another cause of the new movement at Oxford may be found in the Episcopal church herself. To a certain extent, this movement falls in with the genius of the established communion. The whole tendency of the Tracts is to exalt the authority of the bishops, to magnify their office, to show the sin and folly of resistance to their commands. Now, it is not in human nature, nor in Christian nature, unless it has received an extraordinary degree of sanctification, to be displeased with that, though it be somewhat irregular, which promotes one's own dignity and spiritual power. This circumstance may explain, in part, the silence of the great body of the bishops of the English church, or their tacit approval of the Oxford views. We

* See Eclectic Review, 1839, 1840.

recollect but two or three of the prelates who have uttered a syllable of condemnation, and one of these is Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, who was *formerly* ranked almost among the Methodists. Why have not the bishops of Oxford and of Bristol interfered? Why has not his lordship of London looked into the matter? If the Christian Observer is to be credited, the Oxford innovations do not concern rites merely. They do not pertain to the position of the body of the minister in prayer alone, or to the number of his vigils. They trench upon the vital doctrine of justification by faith. They implicitly, if not openly, set up the notion of the efficacy of human works. They bring forward long and ingenious essays to show that there should be great reserve in communicating religious knowledge, that the proclamation of redeeming love is to be made known cautiously. In other words, the teaching of the Oxford doctors is silently undermining the evangelical system, and substituting in its place fasts, penances, painful postures of the body, reliance on tradition, and many other similar requisitions. In such circumstances, why do not the Right Reverend fathers in God utter their admonitory and authoritative voice? When cardinal doctrines are in danger of being obscured or nullified, why do not their legitimate defenders say so at once? Or, if they accord with the views propounded at the ancient university, why do they not commence a course of ecclesiastical discipline against the conductors of the Christian Observer and other similar prints, as false accusers, as those who have slandered the fair fame of their co-presbyters? The truth is, that the position of the bishops is not the most enviable. They are manifestly embarrassed, and find it to be the safer course to say nothing at all. The subject is one of extreme delicacy. They cannot condemn the Oxford gentlemen in mass, for thus they would be laying rude hands on some part of the sacred edifice which they have sworn to uphold. They cannot sanction, indiscriminately, the positions of the evangelical school in the establishment, for the founders of this school verged, in some important respects, towards dissent. They are not ready to join in the warfare which the friends of Newton, Venn, Milner and Scott are waging against their Oxford brethren, for these last are really justified in a part of their movements by the language of the rituals, and by the early or the later usages of the English church. Besides, the Tracts strenuously maintain the comfortable doctrine, that "our present bishops are the heirs

and representatives of the apostles by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so; every link in the chain being known from St. Paul to our present metropolitans.”*

Some of the opponents of Dr. Pusey and of his friends have expressed their surprise, that the doctrines in question should emanate from Oxford. Nothing, however, could be, in our opinion, less a matter of astonishment. Oxford was founded in the palmiest days of the Papal supremacy. The University was confirmed by Papal authority, and received such privileges as the See of Rome claimed the power to confer. It was mentioned in the constitutions published by Clement V., after the Council of Vienne, A. D. 1311, in company with Paris, Bologna and Salamanca. It was ordained that schools should be erected, and that all prelates and ecclesiastical corporations in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland should be taxed for the maintenance of professors at Oxford. Matthew of Paris ranked Oxford as an ecclesiastical school next to Paris, and called it the foundation of the Roman Catholic church. It is well known that this University has retained many of the features of the times of its foundation. The dust of centuries is accumulated on its walls. It has steadily resisted all innovations. It adhered with deathlike tenacity to the schoolman's logic, to the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the good old days of Aquinas and Scotus. It is the University which had Laud for a chancellor, which hated the Puritans, which denounced, in unmeasured terms, the late Reform Bill, which, on all occasions, takes, as by instinct, the highest tory ground, which was ready to impale Dr. Hampden for his liberal opinions, which, in short, in the language of a late writer, “has experienced but few symptoms of that revival which has been manifested at Cambridge.”

The Fellows of both Universities are by statute *unmarried* men. Perhaps this is a necessary regulation. Families could not be maintained on the foundations. We do not complain of the exclusion of married incumbents.† We simply state that the regulation must have certain moral effects. Oxford is a cloistered establishment. It is shut out, in a great measure, from the social world. Its learned doctors necessarily sympathize with the tenets of “ancient Christianity,” in respect to the

* Tracts for the Times, No. 7.

† The statute at Trinity College, Dublin, requiring the celibacy of the Fellows, has been repealed during the past year.

greater purity of the virgin state. We do not deny to the Cyprians and Basils of Oxford unimpeachable morality, tenderness of conscience, and a delicate shrinking from every moral contamination. Yet having resided long in a University which has been fixed to her moorings almost a thousand years; conversant with the dim and shadowy past; reminded at every corner and in every leaf of the statute-book of a venerable antiquity; cut off, in a great degree, from the charms of social life and the living world; it is not strange that such men should idolize the fathers, and cling to the apostolical succession, and speak tenderly of monks and nuns, and advocate the re-introduction of fasts and vigils, and prayers for the dead, and cry out against the degenerate and stirring times in which they are called to live and toil. The movement is, in part, owing to the *place* where the movers live. Who would look for an apologist of celibacy in London, or an earnest defender of the divine right at Manchester or Sheffield?*

Poetry has had something to do with the new movement. Prof. Keble, one of the principal *tractators*, is a genuine child of song. His "Christian Year" was, in one sense, a precursor of the Tracts. It strowed the way with the sweetest flowers of poesy. It burnished the apostolical chain to a wonderful brightness. It intermingled and hallowed the usages of the church with the most delicate affections of the heart, and the most musical cadences of the voice. It almost beguiled the stern non-conformist into a love for the feasts and the fasts of the usurping church. As we read the soothing and mellow verses of Keble, our affections flow, involuntarily, towards the objects of his passionate admiration. We cannot stop to analyze the sentiment which is couched beneath the delicious strain. It seems like Vandalism to hunt for heresy amid the flowers scattered along by one so gentle and so loving. With the poet, we can hardly forbear to loathe every thing which would interrupt the strains of melody that seem to have been caught near heaven's door. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the volume contains not a little in which a zealous Papist would most cordially sympathize. Witness the following:

"Ave Maria! Thou whose name
All but adoring love may claim,

* Dr. Hook, we are aware, has a large congregation at *Leeds*, but Dr. Hook is a bustling man, and is not a true Oxford celibate.

Yet may we reach thy shrine;
 For He, thy Son and Saviour, vows
 To crown all lowly, lofty brows
 With love and joy like thine.*

The poetry of Wordsworth is not wholly free from expressions of the same general tenor with many in the *Christian Year*.† The general spirit is strikingly congenial with the tendencies of some of the writers of the Oxford Tracts. The poetry is meditative, calm, soothing, peaceful, utterly unallied to the noisy, forward, assuming spirit of the present times. It loves the past. Its voices linger and quiver among the Gothic aisles and towers and arches of the old cathedrals. It is full of ecclesiastical sympathies and recollections. One of the prominent effects of the immortal *Excursion* is to hallow in the reader's mind the observances of the church of England, and, in no small degree, of the church of Rome, for the English ritual is a transcript, in many respects, of that used by the earlier communion. The poet does not stop with the present life; in the Church-yard among the Mountains, we are carried forward to the life beyond the grave. Our dearest hopes are indissolubly linked with the solemn words of the prayer-book, words imperishably associated with the sublime cadence of the faithful poet. The same remarks, in a certain degree, are applicable to his great contemporaries, Southey and Coleridge. All have contributed, in no slight measure, to awaken a fondness for antiquity, a reverence for the noble army of martyrs, an undying attachment to what is time-worn and venerable in the church. We can trace an intimate acquaintance with their works in some of the Oxford theologians. There is a grace and a freshness in the style, a rhythm in the periods, a delicacy and a thoughtfulness in the observations, and a correspondence in the spirit, which prove that the prose writers have sat at the

* See the whole hymn, entitled, *The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, p. 315, of the 1st American edition of Keble's *Christian Year*.

† We refer to such passages as the following, which happily are rare :

"And when the pure
 And consecrating element hath cleansed
 The original stain, the child is there received
 Into the second ark, Christ's church, with trust
 That he, from wrath redeem'd, therein shall float
 Over the billows," etc.

feet of the poets. We think that this is apparent in some of the productions of Pusey, Newman and Keble.

It has been affirmed by some, who would rather apologize and palliate than abet and defend the Oxford views, that the aim of the authors is mainly to pave the way for a separation of the church from the state. It is supposed, that they have become disgusted with the unholy and unnatural alliance, that they loathe the impurities which it introduces into the most sacred things, that they dread the spoliations actual and threatened of a whig administration, who will go as far as they dare in reforming the church, and that feeling little hope that kings and queens and parliaments will become true and hearty defenders of the faith, they choose to abandon the connection altogether. Rather than be subjected to the supervision of the *friend* of the Hon. Mrs. Norton and of his compeers, rather than be supplied with prelates by ministers who neither fear God nor love the church, they prefer to stand on their own independent ground, leaning on the Everlasting Hills for support, and looking to no earthly Head.

We doubt, however, whether these apologists can make out their charitable supposition. The writers of the Tracts do, indeed, advert to the mischiefs of state interference; sometimes with a strong and indignant voice.* But this is not the great object of the publications. It is a subordinate affair, and but rarely adverted to, and never directly advocated. The authors state, and we have no doubt honestly, that the Tracts were published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines, which, though held by the great divines of the English church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members. The practical evils which are the subject of reiterated complaint, are the neglect of the daily service; the desecration of festivals; the eucharist

* Thus in Tract No. 12, it is asserted and proved, that the church is treated far more arbitrarily, and is more completely at the mercy of the chance-government of the day, than ever Englishmen were under the worst tyranny of the worst times. It is stated, that the three acts of election, confirmation and consecration, instead of being rendered more efficient checks than formerly, are now so arranged as to offer the least possible hinderance to the most exceptionable appointments of a godless ministry.

scantly administered; insubordination practised in all ranks of the church; orders and offices imperfectly developed, etc. We see no reason as yet to conclude that any party in the established church are meditating a disruption of the ties which connect the spiritual to the temporal power.

With respect to the progress of the Oxford doctrines at the present moment, we have but a word to say. At the date of our last advices, about five volumes had been published, including ninety numbers. The topics discussed are, in general, like those exhibited in the earlier part of the series. The periodical publications do not devote, we perceive, quite so much space to the controversy as they did in the primary stage of it. Possibly the zeal of the combatants is somewhat abated. An exception to this remark must be made, however, in relation to Mr. Isaac Taylor. This vigorous writer entered the lists about twelve months ago. The immediate intention of his researches was to lay open the real condition, moral, spiritual and ecclesiastical, of the ancient church. Instead, however, of carrying forward a multifarious inquiry concerning twenty topics of early opinion and practice, Mr. Taylor selected, in the first instance, the subject of celibacy, a subject, as he remarks, of an intrinsically important kind; one that has intimate alliances with the entire ecclesiastical system of antiquity, touching on the principles whence sprang the most ancient notions concerning the mysterious properties of the sacraments, the position and power of the clergy, and the fundamental doctrines of justification and sanctification. The sum of the whole discussion is this: That the notions and practices connected with the doctrine of the superlative merit of religious celibacy, were, at once, the causes and the effects of errors in theology, of perverted moral sentiments, of superstitious usages, of hierarchical usurpations; and that they furnish us with a criterion for estimating the general value of ancient Christianity; and, in a word, afford reason enough for regarding, if not with jealousy, at least with extreme caution, any attempt to induce the modern church to imitate the ancient church.

Mr. Taylor buckles on his armor with all confidence. We are not sure but that there is an unnecessary protrusion of his qualifications for the work which he has undertaken, and of his determination to do it thoroughly, and as no other man in England (for his language implies almost that) can do it. A little more modesty might have been becoming. There are other

men on the continent,* if not in England, who have studied the Fathers in the Latin and Greek originals as patiently and profoundly as the *patriotic* student who resides at Stanford Rivers. Nevertheless, his boasts are not empty. He opens his dusty folios with the arm of an Ajax, and reads homilies from them before his Oxford auditors, with the practical and strong sense of an Englishman. His learning is affluent, and his logic cogent. He shows remarkable skill in making the most of his quotations. He does not deal in dry abstracts, nor string together long series of barren excerpts. Every thing is made to bear on his grand design; arguments and facts are *dove-tailed* together. Every page is vital with the writer's purposes and feelings. We do not see, moreover, how his conclusions can be resisted. We know that the apologists for the Oxford men affirm that Mr. Taylor is fighting straws; that he is meeting an enemy of his own imagination; and that his antagonists will assent substantially to his facts and to his conclusions. But it is easier to say this than to prove it. It is more agreeable to denounce Mr. Taylor than to refute him. Is it not the undoubted aim and tendency of the Oxford writers to magnify the fathers; to set them up as guides in doctrine and in practice, and to place them almost on a level with the inspired apostles? We think that every candid reader of their pages must acknowledge this. Besides, it is not mere general admiration of the fathers. Their merits are particularized and amplified. Their rites and usages are mentioned in considerable detail, and they are described as judges who must end the strife. There are expressions, not by any means obscure, in favor of celibacy. The Remains of Mr. Froude have, most plainly, this anti-social tendency. Dr. Pusey, in his letter to the bishop of Oxford, remarks, that the "preference of celibacy as the higher state is scriptural, and, as being such, is primitive." These positions Mr. Taylor controverts. He shows what Ancient Christianity is. He meets the question fairly and fully. He demonstrates that the primitive Christians cherished radically unsound opinions and followed most pernicious practices in relation to the holiness of the virgin state, thus anticipating some of the worst evils of full-grown popery. He also shows that this ascetic

* We have before us a late German edition of the Apostolical Fathers for the use of schools! Who ever heard of such a thing where the English language is spoken?

tendency had a thousand ramifications—that its baneful effects are seen over the whole field of theological tenets and rites, poisoning and blasting whatever it touched. Hence the inference is unavoidable, that the primitive church is not to be trusted in respect to doctrine or practice. Her testimony is invaluable concerning the canonical books. She ought always to be revered and loved for her noble testimonies given on the rack and in the flames. Further than this, the ancient church is but of little use to us, except as holding up a beacon-light. Hence also the further inference, that the corner-stone in the Oxford argument is knocked away. The authorities fail, the premises are unsound, and the beautiful structure must tumble to the ground.*

There is a large body of individuals in the church of England who may be termed *moderate* men. They are, in some sense, the successors of archbishop Tillotson; in other respects, they more nearly resemble bis op Jebb and his friend Knox. In theology, they are rather inclined to the Arminian school, though not, by any means, in the degree to which such men as bishop Tomline proceeded. They are in favor of missionary and other charitable movements, provided these are under the auspices of the Christian Knowledge, and the Prayer-Book and Homily Societies. They are not now hostile to the British and Foreign Bible Society, though, for the most part, they choose to keep aloof. They are men of serious feelings and of devout and blameless manners. Some of them are earnestly engaged in extending the influence of the Episcopal com-

* Mr. Taylor is proceeding with the publication of his views on the *festina lente* principle. One or two Nos. have appeared in England since the republication of the volumes by Mr. Hooker of Philadelphia. These (Oct. 1840) we have not seen. We understand that Mr. T. is pursuing the same line of argument in relation to other practices of the primitive church. One word about the style. There is a manifest improvement. The sentences are constructed much more happily than many which are found in "Despotism" and "Saturday Evening." Still there is, occasionally, an unpardonable carelessness, and a use of singular and vulgar phrases, and an artificial structure of sentences, almost allied to Teutonic involutions, with which Mr. Taylor seems to have no practical knowledge.

munion, by the erection of churches, and by Pastoral Aid Societies. They may approve some things brought forward by the Oxford divines; in regard to others, they would wholly dissent. They strongly hope, it is to be presumed, that the discussion may soon quietly subside. They are the men, according to Mr. Taylor, who are accustomed to admire the fathers of the English Reformation on no account more than on that of their wisdom in carrying amendment just to the point where it actually stopped, and no farther, and who deprecate any sort of movement or agitation that tends to change these stanch and well-contented church-of-England men. In this class may be included the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London.

We may mention political Churchmen as another powerful section. This includes men of various, and, in some respects, very diverse characters, such as the turbulent bishop of Exeter, Phillpotts, who lately contended in parliament that the church of Scotland is not a true church of Christ; the conductors of the *Quarterly Review*, who are so famous for hating Methodists and Americans; a large number of the members of parliament, officers in the army and navy, who are serious enough to think at all in relation to such matters, and, finally, individuals like Mr. William E. Gladstone, who would deprecate any disunion of church and state, because they hope that the hallowed influences of religion may not be wholly withdrawn from political circles. They are unhappy in the frivolous and worldly-minded companies by which they are surrounded. They would feel like the arctic mariner amid icebergs, if the friendly, though cold sun of the church should wholly withdraw his shining. They have, in their minds, a glorious ideal of a Christian state, such as that which bishop Butler has so finely pictured in his analogy. They would make the national conscience a thing of reality.* They would have religion and "police" sweetly blend their influences. On this account they are opposed to the intimations which are occasionally thrown out by the Oxford school in favor of a dissolution of church and state. Such a measure would be death to their fondest hopes. It would leave them alone in Spitsbergen.

The English church, doubtless, embraces another large class,

* Hence, with admirable consistency, Mr. Gladstone has taken bold ground against the infamous attack on China by the English.

the men of no religion, the fox-hunting clergymen, the pleasure-loving gentry, the profane naval commander, the dissipated gownsman. We are inclined to think that the number of individuals in this class is proportionably much less than in the days of archbishop Cornwallis. Still, the terms of communion are such, the rite of confirmation is so often thoughtlessly administered, so miserably loose are the notions which prevail, to a great extent, on the identity of baptism and regeneration, and, in short, so close is the connection of the church with a "godless ministry," as the Oxford writer terms it, that the church will always be a receptacle of the good and the bad—of the openly and notoriously bad—of men who unblushingly break every one of the commandments of God. How can it be otherwise? There is no such thing as church discipline, according to the confession of the members of that church herself. Every church-warden, in every parish in England, is called on, once a year, to attend the visitation of his archdeacon. At this time oaths are tendered to him respecting his different duties, and, among other things, he swears that he will present to the archdeacon the names of all such inhabitants of his parish as are leading notoriously immoral lives. This oath is regularly taken once a year by every church-warden in every parish of England; yet such a thing as any single presentation for notoriously immoral conduct has scarcely been heard of for a century.*

The only remaining division in the establishment is the evangelical school. This class have had for their organ, almost from the commencement of the century, the *London Christian Observer*. This very respectable publication, which has been received with much favor in this country by men of all denominations, was edited till about 1816 by the excellent Zachary Macauley. Since that year, it has been under the charge of Rev. S. C. Wilks. It has been, in general, distinguished for candor, judgment, moderation, a firm adherence to the doctrines of the gospel, and a considerable degree of learning. Within a few years, however, there has been some change in its tone towards the Dissenters. It has lost something of that courtesy and amenity which formerly distinguished it.† It has

* Tract for the Times, No. 59.

† The editor recently mentioned, somewhat cavalierly, that it was only by accident, and at long intervals, that he happened to see a No. of the *Eclectic Review*, the *Congregational*

become a little more piquant and aristocratic in its style. It has verged somewhat towards that dignified *non-intercourse* spirit which is not wholly unnatural in all Englishmen, but which John Newton, Wilberforce and their sainted contemporaries would have abhorred. Even the excellent bishop of Calcutta, if we are rightly informed, does not bear his honors quite so meekly as the rector of Islington did. This gradual change in the evangelical body is what Isaac Taylor means, we suppose, in the following sentence: "It is true that the modern disciples and successors of Romaine, Fletcher, Milner, Cecil, Scott and Newton have, by the sheer force of the current of church affairs, been carried towards a new position, and have been led *greatly* to modify and to *tighten* the ecclesiastical notions professed by their departed leaders." Of the relative, or the real strength of the evangelical body in the establishment, we have no means of judging with accuracy. The Church Missionary Society, one of the most flourishing charitable institutions of the day, is wholly supported by them. They are, also, prominent contributors to the treasury of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and other national institutions. They number among their supporters, we believe, all the East Indian bishops, also, the bishops of Chester, Winchester, Ripon, etc. Under the guidance of Wilberforce, Macauley, Buxton, Stephen and others, they have been among the most stable and earnest friends to the extinction of slavery. We do not remember many eminent literary names in their ranks. Dr. Isaac Milner occupied Newton's chair at Cambridge. The late Mr. Farish, professor of natural philosophy at Cambridge, and the present professor of Greek in the same university, Mr. Scholefield, acquired no inconsiderable reputation. Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, was a very voluminous author. As a writer on practical religious subjects, bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, has been prominent. A few eminent men among the nobility have not been ashamed to profess evangelical sentiments, and to live a life of faith on the Son of God.

Magazine, or the Patriot. A strange and ungracious boast! The leading journal of one great class of evangelical Christians never, or but occasionally, reading the leading journals of the other great class! Ch. Obs. 1839, p. 98.

Many distinguished merchants have also contributed their money and their influence in the diffusion of these sentiments.*

* We will subjoin in a note some statistical facts in relation to the established church. Its fundamental doctrines and tenets are embodied in the thirty-nine Articles, agreed upon in convocation in 1562, and revised and finally settled in 1571. These articles are said to have been chiefly compiled from others drawn up shortly after the Reformation in 1552, in the reign of Edward VI., and which had been repealed by Mary. But though this is the state religion, all others are tolerated under certain restrictions. The only class of Christians at present proscribed on account of religious opinions are the Jesuits, and members of religious orders bound by monastic or religious vows. The ecclesiastical divisions of England and Wales are provinces or archbishoprics, dioceses or bishoprics, archdeaconries, deaneries and parishes; each of which divisions has its functionaries, who preside over the functionaries of the inferior divisions; the queen, as head of the church, presiding over all. The number of archbishoprics is two, bishoprics twenty-five, benefices 10,533, parishes 11,077, churches and chapels 11,825, population 13,897,187. The nett revenue of the different sees, as returned to the commissioners of ecclesiastical inquiry, at an average of the three years ending with 1831, amounted to 160,292 pounds sterling a year. But as a considerable portion of the revenue of some of the sees arises from tithes, the value of which has fallen since 1831, the entire nett revenue of the different sees may now be estimated at from £10,000 to £15,000 less. There is a striking difference in the income of the different sees, owing in part to circumstances connected with the original establishment of the various sees, and, in part, to the property attached to some, having, from various causes, become in the course of time much more valuable than that attached to others. Thus the bishop of Durham has a nett revenue of from £18,000 to £20,000 a year, while the bishop of Llandaff's revenue does not exceed from £900 a year to £1,300. The right of presentation, or the distribution of the patronage of benefices in England and Wales, is vested as follows;—in the crown 952 benefices; in the archbishops and bishops 1,248; in the deans and chapters, or ecclesiastical corporations aggregate 787; in dignitaries or other ecclesiastical corporations sole 1,851; universities, colleges and hospitals not ecclesiastical 721; municipal corporations 53; pri-

We will now proceed to offer some remarks on various classes of Dissenters in England and Wales. Our limits will compel us to be more brief than we could wish. In the estimation of the law, all persons are regarded as Dissenters, whose religious principles or modes of worship differ, in any degree, from the standards of the church of England. The differences, however, between one class and another, and between certain classes and the church of England, frequently depend on minute points, which it is very difficult to define.

The Methodists originated between 1730 and 1740. They are divided into two great bodies, the followers of John Wesley, and the followers of George Whitefield. The creed of the Wesleyan Methodists is Arminian. Wesley always objected to the practice of classing his followers with the Dissenters, and required them to attend the worship of the established church when they had no opportunity to hear their own preachers. Hence they might be called Separatists rather than Dissenters. The Wesleyan Methodists are very numerous, especially among the lower classes. There has always been a strong opposition to an educated ministry in this denomination. Mr. Wesley was not able to realize a favorite project for the establishment of a "Seminary for Laborers," which was made a topic of discussion as early as 1744. For a number of years there has been a strenuous debate on the subject in the Annual Conference. In 1815, certain incipient measures were resolved upon. Some of the older preachers, however, steadily resisted the project, and it was not till 1834, that the "Wesleyan Theological Institution for the Improvement of the Junior Preachers," was established. The number of resident students is between thirty and forty. The leading man among the Wesleyans is the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D., president of the institution, and also of the conference. The great names among the dead are Mr. Wesley, Richard Watson and Dr. Adam Clarke. Mr. Watson is highly regarded by the Wesleyans as a theologian, and Dr. Clarke as a

vate owners 5,096. More than a third of all the benefices in the country are under £150 a year; 297 are below £50 a year. There are only two livings of £4,000 a year, the rectory of Stanhope in Northumberland, which is £4,843, and Doddington in the county of Cambridge, which is £7,306. There are but three livings worth from £3,000 to £4,000 per annum. See *Macculloch's British Empire*, 1837, Vol. II. p. 410.

commentator. The learning of the latter was multifarious and discursive, rather than correct and profound. The denomination have exhibited an excellent spirit in their efforts to diffuse the gospel at home and abroad. Their missionary operations are carried on with system and energy. Many a solitary place has been made glad,—many a fierce heart in Great Britain has been tamed by them. From the general theological discussions which take place among the other classes of Dissenters, and in the established church, the Wesleyans keep nearly aloof. They are spread over almost the whole kingdom, but are particularly numerous in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincoln and Cornwall. The number of the followers of Whitefield is not large, except in Wales, where, in many places, they outnumber the adherents of the established church. According to Mr. Macculloch, the number of all kinds of Methodists may be estimated at about 1,200,000. The disciples of Whitefield have an institution of a mixed character, partly theological and partly literary, at Cheshunt, near London.*

The Independents or Congregationalists maintain, as the name implies, the independency of each congregation or society of Christians, and their right to elect their clergymen, and to lay down rules as to discipline, etc., without being subjected to any foreign constraint. Their origin is traced to the sixteenth century. At the Revolution in 1688, they were, comparatively, a small body; but they have rapidly gained ground since the middle of the last century, particularly at the expense of the English Presbyterians. Macculloch states the number of congregations at 1800; the Congregational Magazine, at 1840. The present number is probably about 1900. In Wales they have 374 congregations, in Yorkshire 170, in London and Middlesex 103, in Lancashire 100. The other counties in which their congregations are the most numerous are Somerset, Essex, Devon, Kent and Wilts. Under the patronage of the Independents are a number of institutions, mainly designed to train men for the ministry. The course of study, literary and theological, varies from four years to six years. The principal seminaries of this kind are the Hackney in London, with from twelve to

* The Congregational Magazine for Jan. 1836, states the number of Wesleyan Methodist congregations at 2,818; Calvinistic Methodist 427; other Methodists 666; total congregations 3,911.

twenty students; the Airedale College, near Bradford in Yorkshire, with above twenty students; the Spring Hill College, in Birmingham, which commenced operations in 1838; Highbury College, Coward College and Homerton College. The three last named are in London, and contain from thirty to forty students, on an average, each. Some of the more affluent Dissenters have been in the habit of sending their sons to the Scottish universities. London University College now opens her doors to them. The denomination are highly respectable in numbers, wealth and general character. Their congregations are made up mainly from the middle classes in society, worthy trades-people in the cities, farmers and tenants in the country, some rich manufacturers and merchants, a few gentlemen in the learned professions, and, occasionally, a member of parliament. They are honestly attached to the constitution and government of the country, though they have acquired an enviable reputation by their uniform resistance to tyranny, and by their passionate love of freedom. Some of the greatest names in English civil and ecclesiastical history illustrate the annals of the Independents. At the present time, however, they can lay no special claim to profound or various learning. Those among the living, whose works are most known in the United States, are the Rev. Dr. John Pye Smith of Homerton, author of the valuable *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*; Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson of Highbury, author of *Biblical Researches, Travels in Iceland*, etc.; Rev. George Payne, LL. D., theological tutor at Exeter, who has written on mental philosophy; and Josiah Conder, late editor of the *Eclectic Review*, author of the *Modern Traveller*. The remarks which Isaac Taylor makes in relation to the want of scholarship among the Dissenters are, no doubt, applicable to all the sects. It is clear, as this writer well observes, that the various, but intimately connected subjects, theological and ecclesiastical, at this time likely to be discussed, all come under the common condition of involving laborious researches upon the field of Christian antiquity. But this is a field not much frequented, in our own times, by the English non-conformists of any class. It is but a few individuals, of these communions, that profess any direct acquaintance with the Greek and Latin divines; nor do the tastes of the Dissenting bodies at all favor any reference of the sort.* It should be re-

* *Ancient Christianity*, Am. Ed. p. 34.

marked, that this is not altogether the fault of the Dissenters. They have labored, especially before the repeal of the corporation and test acts, in 1828, under a load of disabilities. The idea itself that they are excluded from the two great universities is exceedingly humiliating. It must operate, in a thousand ways, to depress the energies of aspiring young men in the Dissenting ranks, if it does not force them into the Episcopal communion. The great fountains of knowledge are sealed against the approach of more than three millions of the population of England and Wales. While this condition of things exists, the Dissenters *must* suffer in their literary reputation. The erection of a dozen universities, like that of London, would not remove the difficulty. It is the *character* of Oxford and Cambridge,—the slow growth of almost half the centuries of the Christian era—it is ten thousand ancient recollections which cluster around their hallowed walls; it is the substantive, real, glorious, yet invisible and intangible *reputation* of these establishments, which constitute the sum of their privileges,—which make them Oxford and Cambridge, and which are incommunicable in respect to London or Highbury, or Homerton or Exeter, even if these last could be at once and superbly endowed with charters, halls, libraries, and all other visible privileges. What would have been the effect in this country if the colleges at Cambridge, New-Haven, Princeton and Hanover had excluded from their halls, since their first establishment, all young men but those connected with one denomination? Would not the excluded sects have been famous for any thing rather than scholarship?

The Baptists are generally distributed over the whole kingdom, and comprise about 1,200 congregations. Of these, 159 are in Wales, 65 in London and Middlesex, 63 in Yorkshire, 48 in Somersetshire, and about 40 in each of the counties of Bucks, Devon, Gloucester, Hants, Leicester, Monmouth, Norfolk, Northampton, Somerset and Wilts. They are subdivided into Particular or Calvinistic, General or Arminian, &c. Many of their clergymen are educated at the academies at Bristol, at Stepney in London, and at Dr. Steadman's institution in Yorkshire. They have had three men who would confer honor on any denomination, and on any Christian country: Andrew Fuller, Robert Hall and John Foster. The denomination have largely contributed to the support of the Eclectic Review. In foreign missionary operations they were among the foremost.

The Presbyterians were very powerful during the civil wars,

and, at one time, there was much probability that the established religion of the kingdom would be Presbyterian. About the year 1700, there were 800 Presbyterian congregations in England. Since that period, they have gradually declined. At first, their sentiments were strongly Calvinistic, but, in this respect, also, they have materially degenerated. Some congregations are Arminian, others Arian, and others Unitarian. About 70 Presbyterian churches are in communion with, and adhere to the standards of the church of Scotland. These are mostly in the northern counties.* The whole number of Presbyterian churches in England in 1836, as stated in the *Congregational Magazine*, was 197. Some of them are small. Another very recent authority mentions that there are now about 120 Presbyterian places of worship in England, where the doctrines of the Scriptures are maintained and preached as laid down by the English Presbyterians of the 17th century, in the Confession of Faith and larger and smaller Catechisms.† They are frequently called Scotch churches.

The precise number of Unitarian Dissenting congregations we do not know. It must be very small.‡ The number of

* The Synod of the Presbyterian church in England in connection with the church of Scotland has five presbyteries, those of London, Lancashire, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North-west of England and Berwick. There are, besides, the presbyteries of Northumberland, and of the Northwest of Northumberland. *New Edinburgh Almanac*, 1840, p. 358.

† *Sketch of the History and Principles of the Presbyterian Church in England*: London, 1840, p. 41.

‡ Among the English Unitarians, who are a studious and cultivated class, the names of Channing, Norton, Dewey, Ware and other Americans, are the names the oftenest heard, when the championship of their sect is in question." *N. A. Review*, Oct. 1840, p. 488. Dr. J. P. Smith gives no very flattering account of the religious state of the English Unitarians. He says that they have no disciplinary watching over conduct, no admission to or exclusion from communion. What is with them called the Lord's Supper is avowedly open to any and to every person who chooses to come. They reject all ordination of ministers. *London Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 10, 12. The chapel at York, which Lady Hewley attended, and which is under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved, one of the most distinguished ministers of the Unitarian denomination,

congregations of Friends is stated at 396. They are to be found principally in the counties of York, Lancaster, Cumberland and Kent. Mr. Macculloch states that the sect is not increasing. Not a few of the wealthier individuals have laid aside the peculiar dress and phraseology by which its adherents are commonly distinguished. The number of Roman Catholics has rapidly increased within the present century. They are most numerous in Lancashire, particularly in Manchester and Liverpool, where they constitute a large class of the population. According to the details given in Mr. Lewis's valuable Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, there were in Liverpool, in 1800, 4,950 Irish Catholics; in 1820, 11,016; and in 1833, no fewer than 24,156. The Irish Catholics in Manchester, in 1833, were estimated at about 30,000, and in Birmingham, they amounted to between 5,000 and 6,000. The number of Irish Catholics in London has been said to be as great as in Liverpool and Manchester. The English Catholics are most numerous in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire; and are widely scattered over Northumberland and Durham, some of the principal families of which belong to their communion. The Jews are found in most large towns in England; but by far the greatest number are resident in London. The total number may be estimated at from 12,000 to 14,000. Exclusive of the sects already mentioned, there are many others, whose adherents, however, are comparatively small.

The whole number of Dissenting congregations, of all kinds, in England and Wales, as computed in the Congregational Magazine above referred to, is 8,446; the number of congregations connected with the established church is 11,825. Supposing this statement to be nearly accurate, it shows that the Dissenting congregations are, to those belonging to the church, as 84 to 118, or as 42 to 59. Though some of the Dissenting

has now an average attendance of not more than forty or fifty persons. The chapel at Chester, where Matthew Henry once preached the words of life to crowds, is but thinly attended, though richly endowed. A chapel at Lancaster, with an endowment of about £100 per annum, is attended by about twenty persons. The chapel at Toxteth Park, near Liverpool, once orthodox, and possessing endowments, has scarcely the shadow of a congregation. *Scottish Presb. Review*, No. 24.

congregations are numerous, yet, on an average, they are small compared with those belonging to the church. In the opinion of Mr. Macculloch, the entire number of Dissenters in England and Wales does not exceed 2,700,000, or at most 3,000,000, of whom from 500,000 to 600,000 may be Catholics.

We will now bring these miscellaneous statements and observations to an end, by offering, as intimated in a previous number of the Repository, some general reflections, which have been suggested in the progress of the discussion.

It is apparent that the interests of vital piety in England are not receiving that degree of attention which they merit, and without which no other interest is safe. For proof of this proposition we need not search far. The evangelical division of the established church are not as they were in the days of Venn and Newton and Cecil. The spirituality has declined in proportion as the attention to rites and forms, or to what is exclusive in the Episcopal church, has increased. The warm-hearted piety and the catholic spirit of Wilberforce are not, we fear, fully inherited by his sons. The organs of this party find occasion gently to admonish some friends, like the Noels, who open the arms of charity rather indiscreetly, and who, in their burning zeal to spread the triumphs of the cross, leap over the ecclesiastical pale. Unhappily, some of the men of fervently pious spirit are not guided by sound judgment in their interpretations of Scripture, and run wild with millennial theories. Excellent men like Bickersteth, Henry Woodward, Gerard Noel, and others, who are truly burning lights, are patronizing notions which must inevitably abridge their influence. We do not now hear favorable reports of the increase of piety among the members of the two universities, such as were confidently promulged a few years since.* A portion of the piety, particularly at Oxford, which might otherwise have produced good fruits in the churches of the establishment, has been absorbed in the pending controversy. The religious feelings of men like Pusey and Keble, who evidently possess a truly devotional spirit, are in danger of degenerating into the pietism of Jacob Boehmen and Madame Guion. They may find nourishment to

* See Daniel Wilson's Introductory Essay to Wilberforce's Practical View.

their faith in the ascetic practices which they adopt, but the influence of their course on the minds of the mass, even of the students by whom they are surrounded, must be pernicious or negative. The spiritual discipline of Thomas à Kempis can never be revived in practical, bustling England, and in the restless, upheaving nineteenth century. The piety of the Oxford Tracts—for some of the papers breathe the tender and subdued spirit of genuine devotion—must have but small attraction in manufacturing, mining, mercantile, aggressive England. She wants more substantial, tangible nourishment.

The Dissenters are becoming a thoroughly political race. Their rallying words are liberty, freedom, down with the tithes, Pym, Milton, Hampden, Sidney. This course they do not appear to take, as forced upon them by a melancholy necessity, but they glory in it, as the most honorable path of Christian duty, as eminently congenial with the free spirit of Christianity. Hence, of necessity, piety languishes. In the fierce political debate, its life must be eaten out. The heavenly Dove flies from the realms of noise and strife. He has but little sympathy with hard words and stormy harangues. We know that the Dissenters have violent provocations. They have been contemptuously denied, for ages, some of the dearest rights which belong to them as men and as Britons. That they should express themselves decidedly, and should labor strenuously for the recovery of those rights, is not to be wondered at. Religious men cannot, however, become absorbed in political discussions, without serious injury. If a necessity exists for the course which has been taken, even by multitudes of Dissenting clergymen, it is a dire necessity. So it should be esteemed by them, instead of being justified and eulogized.

If more proofs of our position were wanting, we might refer to the languid manner in which the religious press in England has spoken of the flagrant injustice of the attack on China, and of the determination, openly avowed by at least one member of the ministry, of taking violent possession of the celestial empire. In the view of all right-minded men, out of Britain, the case is one of outrage and wrong. The English nation is a smuggler in the Chinese seas. She has, for years, carried on a contraband traffic in an article which she knows is deadly poison. And yet she is upholding her iniquitous course at the cannon's mouth. Ought not pious men to speak out? Should not the religious press lift up a voice of thunder? If the con-

science of the nation were in a healthful state, if the lords spiritual in parliament remembered their solemn responsibilities, such a tone of remonstrance would be heard, that the ministry would not dare to prosecute the nefarious business. The British people often taunt us in respect to wrongs heaped on the Indians. But *here* it has been in the face of long-continued, powerful remonstrance, and earnest and united prayer to the God of the poor and the oppressed. Our religious publications have spoken loudly and long. Honorable senators in Congress have resisted the aggressions on the Indians inch by inch. We have not, indeed, done all our duty. Still, we have not silently and tamely acquiesced in the demands of cruelty and avarice.

No one of the Christian denominations in England enjoys adequate means for the education of the clergy. There is no peculiar course of study insisted upon by the universities for theological students. At Cambridge the Gospels and the Evidences form part of the university course for all. The Norrissian professor of divinity delivers a course of lectures on doctrinal and historical theology; and a certificate of attendance on this course is demanded by the bishops, in most cases, as a condition of ordination. The competitors for Hebrew scholarships and prizes are voluntary, no attendance being required by statute. At Oxford there are no examiners formally delegated, nor is there any system marked out by the university, for ascertaining, as in the case of the degrees in arts, the requisite qualification of candidates for divinity degrees, and which shall do that for divinity which has been done for arts. The regius professor of divinity holds certain disputations in controversial theology, called *pro forma exercises*, and which were, until lately, carried on in the Latin language. Those who expect to enter orders must attend one course of lectures of the divinity professor, after they have taken their first degree. In consequence, partly, of this lamentable deficiency of theological instruction at the two old universities, the university of Durham has been recently founded, with the professed object of furnishing instruction to students in the north of England, with a view to holy orders. The same object is sought to be accomplished, on behalf of the poorer class of students in Wales, by the modern establishment of the college of St. David's at Lampeter. How far these two institutions answer their design, we are not informed. It is perfectly obvious, however, that with such slight facilities for the acquisition of theological discipline and information, the young candidate for holy orders must be poorly equipped for his work.

He may be profoundly skilled in the Greek metres; he may make Latin verses according to the most perfect rules of prosody, while he may be totally ignorant of the original fountain of divine knowledge in the Old Testament, or the system of truth which he swears to explain and defend.

With the Dissenting clergy, the case is not much better. Most of their academies are but apologies for a Theological Seminary. The statement of one fact will amply confirm this assertion. The whole circle of arts and sciences, Greek, Hebrew, theology, pastoral duties, and the composition of sermons, are all taught by *two* persons, or at most, by three. Who can rise to eminence as a teacher in every conceivable branch of knowledge? But without eminent teachers, there will be no accomplished scholars. Or, if an exception sometimes occurs, it will be in spite of the system of study, and not in consequence of it. Two instructors teaching that which twenty men hardly suffice to do well! Besides, only five or six years are devoted to what are termed in this country academical, collegiate and theological studies, which here occupy and crowd nine years, if not ten or eleven. This mixed mode of study, partly scientific and literary, and partly theological, has never prospered in the United States. The attempt has been made again and again with full faith and fervent zeal, only to be abandoned in despair. Theology is a science. Adequately to master it demands three or four years of undivided and determined study. Preparation to preach the gospel will not spring up from the ground by accident. The age, the state of things in England demand that the Dissenting clergymen should be well-trained men in all needful discipline, able to meet their most accomplished opponents on equal ground. We would respectfully say to these brethren: It is time for you to change your policy. If you cannot educate your sons at Oxford and Cambridge, if you cannot break down the barrier there, then send them to the Scottish universities or to the London university. If you are unable or unwilling to do this, then transform Homerton academy into a proper *bona fide* college, and Highbury into a theological seminary, each on perfectly independent grounds, literary and theological. Instead of building up a mixed seminary at Birmingham, lay out your resources in making a strong college, and persuade a sister city to found a seminary exclusively for theology. We verily believe that such a course would accomplish more for your denominations, would give them more intellectual vigor and moral efficiency than fifty of your *hermaproditæ*

establishments, which are neither one thing nor the other. You may coldly reply that we are ignorant of your circumstances, that we speak at random, and multiply words without knowledge. We answer, that we have honestly formed our opinion from your own confessions and statements, from conversing with your ministers, and from reading some of your sermons.

The condition of scholarship in England, in some of the most important departments, is confessedly low. A late English writer attributes the want of scholarship to the character and tendency of that scholarship itself; to the character, habits and dispositions of the English people; and to the peculiar constitution of the English schools and universities. But whatever the causes may be, the fact is indisputable; in the department of ethical and mental philosophy there is no living writer of note. There has been no contribution to these sciences, of any considerable value, since the days of Tucker and Paley; for Sir James Mackintosh was a Scotchman, and Coleridge's Remains are *disjecta membra*. Loud complaints have long been uttered against Dr. Paley's system, yet no one has arisen to supply the deficiency. The most that the professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge (who dislikes Paley) promises, is a reprint of Bishop Butler's Sermons on Human Nature, with excerpts from other authors, and illustrative notes from his own pen.

In Biblical Literature, the land is equally barren. This might, indeed, be anticipated from the want of theological institutions. The Biblical Cabinet, consisting of translations from the best evangelical German commentators, has met with very meager encouragement. Bishop Marsh, the commentator on Michaelis, and Bishop Burgess, who was so strenuous an asserter of the claims of the Hebrew language, failed to excite any enthusiasm in their favorite studies. Dr. Lee, of Cambridge, is, undoubtedly, a man of eminent learning, possessing an extraordinary aptitude for the acquisition of languages; but we have not been deeply impressed by the soundness of his judgment, nor by the liberality of his views. Dr. Bloomfield, in his Critical Digest, and in his Notes on the New Testament, has shown great industry and a commendable degree of judgment, in selecting and condensing the opinions of others; but for striking exegetical talent and profound learning, we do not consider him to be remarkably distinguished, except as there are very few Englishmen—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*—to en-

ter the lists at all. Among these very few, Drs. Smith and Henderson deserve honorable mention. The English mind seems to have no affinity to the study, or rather a positive antipathy to it. Our attention has just been called to a notice, advertising the Rev. J. Prosser's "Key to the Hebrew Scriptures," in which he strenuously argues against the vowel points! The question in regard to their utility appears still to be a disputed topic among our transatlantic brethren. They have but little appreciation yet of the vast stores of erudition (no small part of these stores well digested too) which are to be found in the German language. There is a horror, almost amounting to *Gallo-phobia*, at the sight of a book bearing the Teutonic impress.* A wretched ignorance of the true principles of biblical interpretation is prominent in the one thousand and one efforts which have been made to decipher the prophetic portions of the Bible. The theory which maintains the personal and visible reign of Christ on earth, before the millennium, embraces not a few distinguished adherents, and is said to be rapidly gaining ground; a theory which would never become popular in a country where sound principles of hermeneutics prevailed.

We make these observations in no spirit of ill-will or uncharitableness. Our English brethren are doing themselves great honor in many of the branches of natural science, and in East Indian philology. But in most of the departments of literature, common and sacred, they fall far below their old reputation, and their present capabilities. They must go to work, and master the German language, and be willing to sit at the feet of the continental scholars. Instead of crying out incessantly against German neology and mysticism, let them patiently study, we do not say the *philosophy* of the Germans, but their great histories, their profound oriental disquisitions, their learned commentaries on the Bible; and then, if they please, let them impregnate these productions with the homely good sense and sterling honesty and sober piety of England. They will be the wiser and the better, and the world will thank them.

Finally, England must educate and Christianize the swarming millions of her own poor peasantry in Ireland, in London, and in

* Two volumes from Chrysostom have just been published at Oxford, under the care of Profs. Pusey, Keble, etc. In these volumes there is no allusion to the life of Chrysostom by Neander.

her great manufacturing districts. In this way alone can she put down Chartism, and every other form of turbulent democracy. In this course only will she accomplish salutary, peaceable reforms in church or state. England has most solemn duties now to be performed at home. She has no time to waste in bickering. Her nobility and gentry, her merchant princes and her great landed proprietors have a vital and an untold interest in this work of evangelizing the whole country. Their rights will be as chaff before the whirlwind when once a million of uneducated Chartist are in motion. The universities must adopt needed reforms, and show a warm sympathy in the well-being of the whole people, if they would preserve their charters untouched and their walls undesecrated. Ministers at the altar must aspire after a profounder scholarship, a more radical acquaintance with the word of God, a deeper knowledge of the science of theology. While physical researches are pushed farther and farther, it must not be forgotten, that mental and especially moral subjects are of higher moment, and demand a more earnest attention.

ARTICLE VIII.

A NOTICE OF THE REV. DR. WOODS' REVIEW OF "AN ESSAY ON CAUSE AND EFFECT, IN CONNECTION WITH FATALISM AND FREE AGENCY :"—*Am. Bib. Repos.* Jan., 1840, Vol. III. pp. 174—193. *Ibid.* July and October, 1840, Vol. IV. pp. 217—242, and 467—485.

By the Author of the "Essay."

THE writer of the above mentioned Essay on Cause and Effect,* did not design to enter the lists in any theological or metaphysical controversy, but rather to excite other and more competent minds to engage in the discussion. As this aim has been so happily accomplished, and the matter is fairly in the hands of others, fully competent, the writer will notice Dr.

* This "Essay" appeared in the *Repository* for October, 1839, p. 381.

Woods' articles only so far as is needful, either to explain misconceptions, or to suggest topics for farther discussion.

A great part of Dr. Woods' remarks are based on the supposition, that the article he criticises teaches, that emotions and desires are not under the control of the will. An article on this subject in a preceding number of this work,* exhibits the writer's views more at large, and it is supposed that nothing there presented is inconsistent with any thing advanced in the *Essay on Cause and Effect*. The appalling deductions made by Dr. Woods, it will be seen, do not result from any thing actually presented, but merely from a misapprehension.

Most of the remaining part of Dr. Woods' criticisms are based on another misconception of the ideas expressed in the original article. But in order to present this part of the subject clearly, the writer asks attention to the following definitions and remarks, which are either expressed or assumed to be true, in the article on Cause and Effect.

Power :—a simple idea, gained when any change takes place.

Power is spoken of in several relations, as the following illustration will show. A man may have all the power and skill needful to swim, and yet may not be able to exercise this power for want of the appropriate fluid. In this case, he has power in one sense, and no power in another; that is, he has *constitutional* power, but not *actual*. But suppose the man has power to secure the appropriate fluid, then he has actual power, in case he performs a previous act, and no power if he does not. Before he performs the act he has *indirect* actual power, and after it is performed, he has *direct* actual power. In these relations, therefore, it can be asserted, that a man has and has not power to swim. He has power in one sense, i. e. indirect actual power. He has not power in another sense, i. e. he has not power, *until* he performs a previous act. This distinction between actual and constitutional power, and between direct and indirect actual power, is very important in this discussion.

Impossible signifies without power.

Impossible, absolutely, signifies that there is no power *anywhere* to make a given change. For example:—God exists. A thing cannot be, and not be at the same time. These propo-

* An Essay on the Power of the Will over the other Faculties:—Am. Bib. Repos. October, 1840, p. 378.

sitions express things which there is no power, *anywhere*, to make otherwise. The last is called a *contradiction*. The following is another example of an absolute impossibility. *Salt* is that which has power to produce a given sensation, so that, without this power, it is not salt. It is, therefore, an absolute impossibility for salt not to produce the given sensation, for that is a contradiction. It is saying that a thing has, and has not a given power at the same time, and in the same sense.

Impossible, relatively :—That is, impossible without a previous change, but possible with it. Thus it is relatively impossible for salt to produce a given sensation, when it is not in certain circumstances, though, in relation to the possible existence of these circumstances, it is possible.

Certain, absolutely :—A thing is absolutely certain, when there is no power *any where* to make it otherwise.

Certain, relatively :—A thing is relatively certain, when there is no power, anywhere, to make it different, without a previous change.

Producing cause :—That peculiar power possessed by each individual existence, which enables it, in given circumstances, to produce a change.

Occasional causes :—Those circumstances which are indispensable antecedents, in order to enable a producing cause to act.

Producing causes are of two kinds: first, those which in given circumstances have power to produce either of two kinds of change (i. e. mind), and those which, in given circumstances, have power to produce a particular kind of change, and no power to refrain from producing this kind, or to produce any other kind (i. e. matter). These last are called *necessary* producing causes.

Changes are of two kinds: first, those changes where the thing changed had power to refrain from this particular kind of change, and to produce another instead; secondly, those changes, where the thing changed had no power to refrain from this particular kind of change, and no power to produce any other instead. The first are called *actions* of mind; the last are called *necessary changes* or *effects*. If these distinctions are correct, then the maxim: "every effect has a cause," would be more properly expressed thus: "every change has a cause."

Volitions :—Changes in mind, which take place when desires are excited, and the mind decides either to gratify or not to gratify these desires.

Mind is the producing cause of volition—that is, mind is that which has power, in given circumstances, to produce the changes called volitions.

The question now in discussion:—Has mind, when desires exist, the power to decide in either of two directions, without a change of circumstances? The fatalist says, “no;” his opponent says, “yes.” Both are required to prove their positions.

Proof is that which produces belief. It is divided into two kinds, *intuitive*, or that which results from the constitution of mind, and *rational*, that which results from a course of reasoning.

The opponent of fatalism establishes his position thus: That the mind has this power, called *free agency*, is an *intuitive truth*; and this position is established by the words and actions of all mankind, which prove that they believe it, from the very constitution of mind.

The fatalist *attempts* to prove his position thus: He first assumes the following as an *intuitive truth*:—“Wherever there is a particular kind of thing as an invariable antecedent of a particular kind of change, which is an invariable sequent, the antecedent is a necessary producing cause, and the sequent is a necessary effect.” This is the major proposition. He then *assumes*, without proof, the following as his minor proposition: “*Volition to gratify* is the invariable sequent of the *strongest desire*, as the invariable antecedent.” Then follows his conclusion:—“Therefore the thing changed, i.e., mind, has no power to refrain from this particular kind of change, and no power to produce any other. When, therefore, his opponent claims that free agency is established by one intuitive truth, the fatalist claims that it is demolished by another, and may say that his intuitive truth is as good as the one that opposes it. The writer of the “*Essay on Cause and Effect*” endeavored to meet the fatalist, not by questioning the intuitive maxim, which is the major proposition, but by denying the minor, and showing that the fatalist has no way to establish this proposition but by begging the question and reasoning in a circle. The writer did indeed concede the truth of the major proposition, in order to meet the argument where it could most readily be destroyed; but it was a species of hypothetical reasoning, amounting to this: “Suppose I grant your major—your minor is false and cannot be established.” In criticising the writer, Dr. Woods assumes, that the writer concedes and teaches the major propo-

sition as true. What the writer actually asserted was this:— That there is no method of proving (by a course of reasoning) that any thing is a producing cause, except by establishing an invariableness of antecedence and sequence. For, according to the writer, mind is established as a producing cause, not by reasoning, but by *intuition*. The writer might assert this, and yet not necessarily assert that *every thing* which is established as the invariable antecedent of an invariable sequent is, *in all cases*, proved to be a producing cause. Yet the writer does not wish to throw off the responsibility of advocating that maxim, as an intuitive truth; for it is believed by the writer that it can be established as such, as thoroughly as any other. Men never find such invariableness of antecedence and sequence, without *believing* that the antecedent is the necessary producing cause, and the sequent the necessary effect, and proving their belief by words and actions.

But Dr. Woods turns upon the writer and says, that according to this, the writer teaches fatalism, and brings the following cases as examples.

1. Where the writer allows, that *motives, of some sort*, are invariable antecedents of volition. But the writer made a distinction between those invariable antecedents that are *occasional causes*, and do not have invariable sequents, and those invariable antecedents that have invariable sequents, and are thus proved to be producing causes. Every volition has a desire, of some sort, as antecedent. But to make motive the producing cause of volition, there must be a particular kind of desire that has a *volition to gratify*, as the invariable sequent. For, if some desires sometimes have a volition to gratify, as a sequent, and the same desires have a *volition not to gratify*, sometimes, as a sequent, there is no particular kind of thing, as an invariable sequent to some particular kind of thing, as the invariable antecedent.

2. The other case is, where the writer concedes that, in all those cases, where the strongest specific desire coincides with the dictates of the understanding, the mind always *chooses to gratify* it. But to make this prove motives to be producing causes, *every* volition to gratify must have such a coincidence, as the invariable antecedent. This is not so;—sometimes a volition to gratify has this for antecedent, and sometimes it has not. But Dr. Woods claims that a perfectly holy mind invariably *chooses* according to the dictates of reason; and that, according

to the writer, this is a case of fatalism. But to establish any such invariableness as the writer concedes to be a proof of fatalism, Dr. Woods must prove, that a perfectly holy mind never chooses to gratify desires that relate to matters where reason cannot decide what is for the *greatest general good*, inasmuch as they have no bearing at all on such a question, being simply the question whether the agent shall take one kind of specific enjoyment or another different kind, either of which may be equally for the general good. This cannot be done. In reference to God, it must be borne in mind, that *his* differs from all other minds, in seeing all things and changes in one view, so that he cannot have those *successive, new* desires which pertain to finite minds. No finite mind is capable of educating a system of psychology from that eternal, infinite mind, whose great plan has existed from eternity, and who therefore is, in this respect, not the pattern of created minds. The writer, therefore, feels warranted in still claiming, that no man can establish that invariableness of antecedence and sequence between motive and volition, which fatalists claim, as proof that mind has no power to choose otherwise than as it does.

The writer now would present answers to some inquiries that have been urged in connection with this subject.

1. What is the foundation of certainty that God will not change, or do wrong?

Ans. On the writer's theory, not the fact that he has not power to decide in either of two directions, *when desires exist*, but the fact that it is an *absolute* impossibility to change the nature of things. There is no power, anywhere, that can change God's constitutional nature, so that he can either desire pain or choose without a desire. Nor is there any power that can make his choosing wrong appear to him any thing but what it would be, *pure evil*, and what he therefore has no power to desire. It is not the want of constitutional power, but the want of an *occasional cause*, which there is no power to produce, that makes it an absolute impossibility for God to do wrong.

2. Has God power to put free agents into such temptation that they have no power to choose, except in one direction? No; for this is a contradiction. A free agent is one that has power to choose in either of two directions, and he cannot have this power and yet be destitute of it, in the same sense and in the same circumstances. It is a contradiction, and therefore an absolute impossibility.

3. How then can God govern free agents so as to prevent their interference in his plans? *Ans.* By his control of *occasional causes*, so that at any time he can prevent a given volition, either by change of susceptibilities or change of circumstances.

4. But if volitions are not the necessary effects of motives, as producing causes, *how* can God foresee future volitions? *Ans.* This, God has not revealed, but he has revealed *the fact*, that he does foresee every volition of every one of his creatures.

5. What is the kind of inability which is asserted when it is said that a perfectly honest man *cannot* steal—that perfectly holy minds *cannot* lie—that the carnal mind *cannot* obey the law of God?

Ans. The phenomena described in the essay referred to, on the power of the will over the other faculties of mind, furnish the data for explaining this language.

A *governing volition* is one that, while it exists, makes it an *absolute* impossibility to have a contrary volition. It is perfect or not perfect, just in proportion as it controls and prevents all conflicting volitions.

A *perfectly* honest man is one who has a perfect governing volition to be honest, and *while this exists*, it is an absolute impossibility for him to steal; for it implies a contradiction. So a perfectly holy mind is one that has its governing volition to do right, perfect; and while this remains, it is impossible to choose to do wrong.

A carnal mind is one that is destitute of a governing purpose to obey the law of benevolence, and while thus destitute, it is *impossible* for all its specific volitions to be conformed to this law. But in all these cases, as the mind has power to form a new governing volition, it has *indirect* power to do what in the other sense it has not power to do.

On this theory man has power to do all that God requires, inasmuch as he has power to produce both the generic volitions *directly*, and the specific volitions, *indirectly*, that God requires. But so long as his generic volitions are not in conformity to God's law, it is absolutely impossible for his specific ones to be so.

6. But what is the "cause, ground, and reason," why a volition is in one direction and not in another? Why, for example, did a man choose an estate and give up the path of honesty? The cause for his choosing the estate is twofold; first, the motive, or occasional cause, which God's providence pro-

duced; secondly, his own mind, which produced the volition. But why did he not choose the honest course? Because the mind has not power to choose *both* ways, and so in choosing one, it has not power to choose the other. The answer, then, is this: "because he chose one way, and had not at the same time power to choose the other."

The writer would now refer to some other points of Dr. Woods' criticism. On p. 178, he maintains that "strongest motives" are not "a particular kind of motives." He says that desires for food, desires for property, desires for honor and the like are "particular kinds of motives," and sometimes one kind is the strongest desire, and sometimes another kind.

It seems to have escaped Dr. Woods, that the same things are often placed in different classes, according to their different relations. For example, weights are classed as heavier, heaviest; lighter, lightest, in reference to their power; and they are also classed as lead weights and iron weights, in reference to the materials of which they are made. And sometimes lead weights may be the heaviest, and sometimes iron. So of motives or desires. They are classed as stronger or weaker, in reference to their vividness; and they are also classed with reference to the objects that excite them. It must be apparent to Dr. Woods, on reflection, that the writer was correct in saying, that placing the strongest desires as invariable antecedents to the *volition to secure*, was making "a particular kind of motive" an invariable antecedent.

The writer would here remark, that there are sentences in the article on "Cause and Effect," where the writer uses the term "invariable antecedent," without specifying which kind is meant; but inasmuch as the writer had previously pointed out the distinction between such as were *producing* and such as were *occasional* causes, fair interpretation requires, that where the term is ambiguous, that sense is the true one that makes the writer consistent with himself.

On p. 182, Dr. Woods employs the term "strongest motive" with some adroitness. The plausibility of his position is made by the fact that, in common parlance, men use the term "strongest desire," or "strongest motive," to express *either* that which excites the strongest specific desire, *or* that which appears best to the reason. For example, a man says, "I wanted such a thing *the most* (i. e. felt the strongest desire for it), but I chose the other, because I thought it was *best*." Then, if asked: "Did you not feel a stronger desire to do what was best, than

to gain the other thing?" he will answer, "yes." Thus, he seems to assert that he felt the strongest desire for both, which is an apparent contradiction; but is made consistent by the fact that the term is used in two senses. In one case, it refers to the strongest specific desire; in the other, to the dictates of the understanding.

But in which sense does Dr. Woods use the term, when he asks if all men do not choose to gratify the strongest desire, or yield to the strongest motive? The following seems to decide his use of the term. On p. 182, he says: "I would inquire whether the writer is certain that it is not a law of our rational nature, that we should choose and act in accordance with that which appears to us as the highest reason, or strongest motive? If it should at last become evident that this is the law of our rational nature, then a power to act contrary to it would be a power to subvert the very constitution of mind, and divest ourselves of rationality. This *seems* to teach, not only that we always do choose and act according to that which appears to us as the highest reason, but that we have no power to choose otherwise. Would Dr. Woods wish to have men *not* choose in accordance with what seems to them the highest reason? And if they always do choose as reason dictates, how could they do better, and where is the doctrine of depravity?"

In regard to Dr. Woods' disclaimer, repelling the charge of fatalism, the writer would inquire if the doctrine of fate, as taught in all ages, is not simply this—that *mind* (including Creator and creatures) has no power of any kind to choose otherwise than as it does in the circumstances where it does choose? And as all changes in matter depend on mind, it is *absolutely* impossible for any event to be otherwise. Now, does not Dr. Woods teach that, in the circumstances which actually exist, mind has no power of any kind to choose differently from what it does? And is there any possible theory, except that mind *has* this power, or that it *has not*? And does not every man either agree with the writer, or else agree with Dr. Woods, in holding fatalism as it is taught by the Hindoos, Mohammedans, Stoics, Collins, Priestley and Hobbes?

Dr. Woods' disclaimer does not alter the position of things, for this reason—that there are two senses to every term he uses, of directly opposite meanings, as based on the two opposing theories. With Dr. Woods' sense to these terms, this disclaimer is a direct assertion of fatalism, as will appear by what follows. The columns below give the two opposing uses of each term.

Definitions in Dr. Woods' sense.

Free agent—An intelligent, sensitive mind, that has power to decide to secure that which excites the strongest desire, and no power to decide otherwise.

Volition—A change or decision of the mind, produced by the strongest motives, which the mind has no power to prevent or to make otherwise.

Moral agent—A mind governed by motives, as necessary, producing causes.

Accountable being—A being placed under law with penalties, and required in all cases to choose right, even when it has no power (i. e. when the strongest desire is to do wrong).

Proper subjects of law—Beings who have power to choose as they do, and no power to choose otherwise.

Blame and praiseworthy actions—Actions that are right or wrong, compared with a rule of duty, without reference to the power of the actor to choose to act differently.

Liberty or freedom of will—Power to do as we will, without power to will otherwise than as we do will.

Definitions in the opposing sense.

Free agent—An intelligent, sensitive mind, that, when desires exist, has power to decide either to gratify or not to gratify each desire.

Volition—A change or decision of the mind, when it has power to refrain from one kind of choice and to make another.

Moral agent—A mind governed by motives, so that in all cases of choice, it has power to choose differently from what it does, without change of circumstances.

Accountable being—A being placed under law, with penalties, having power in all circumstances either to obey or disobey.

Proper subjects of law—Those who have power to choose either to obey or disobey, and a knowledge of obligation.

Praise and blameworthy actions—Actions where the agent had a knowledge of law and penalty, and power in the given circumstances to choose either to obey or disobey.

Liberty or freedom of will—Power to choose differently from what we do, without a change of circumstances.

The writer would now inquire, first, whether the above is not a fair and correct exhibition of Dr. Woods' meaning, when

he uses these terms according to his theory; and secondly, whether his disclaimer, with his sense to each term, is not as direct an affirmation of fatalism as can be made? His disclaimer is as follows: "Fatalism is the opposite of the doctrine that teaches, that we are free moral agents, the proper subjects of law, under the government of a wise, righteous and benevolent God, and blameworthy and praiseworthy according to our conduct."

Of course, in claiming not to be a fatalist, Dr. Woods holds the affirmative of the above in *his sense* of the terms, viz.; we are "free moral agents,"—that is, we are under law and governed by motives as producing causes, so that we have no power of any kind to choose differently from what we do. We "are under the government of a wise, righteous and benevolent God," and yet he requires us to choose what we have no power to choose, i. e., the course of holiness, when we do not feel the strongest desire for it. We "are blame and praiseworthy according to our conduct"—that is, we deserve praise and blame for our actions when we have no power to choose to act otherwise. Let the reader decide if this is not a correct exposition of Dr. Woods' disclaimer, and if so, is not this fatalism? On p. 222, Dr. Woods seems to claim that his theory of free agency is an intuitive truth. If it is so, then Dr. W. can prove it such, by showing that the words and actions of mankind, in all ages, indicate that they believe that, whenever they make a choice, they have no power, in those circumstances, to choose otherwise. If he cannot show this, has he any right to claim this as an intuitive truth?

Dr. Woods claims that Calvin, the two Edwardses, West, Smalley, Bellamy, Dwight, Day and Beecher, and almost all the presidents and professors of our colleges and theological seminaries, and most of the ministers and Christians of all the orthodox denominations hold his theory, and are opposed to that presented in the "Essay on Cause and Effect." The writer is not acquainted with all these worthies, but is inclined to doubt the entire correctness of this claim. Is it not more probable that the greater part of these persons really hold the writer's theory of free agency, and, owing to great confidence in the investigations of great and good men, have not studied the subject *de novo*, for themselves, and, in consequence, have never supposed Dr. Woods, or any of the above writers, to differ from themselves?

On p. 241, Dr. Woods seems to consider *self-denial* as referring to the conflict that takes place whenever incompatible desires coexist, and the mind chooses that which is "most agreeable." His opponents consider real and virtuous self-denial to consist in that act of mind which decides to give up what excites the strongest specific desire, and to take that which, though it excites a weaker specific desire, appears to reason as the greatest good on the whole.

The writer is indebted to Dr. Woods for suggesting a defect in the definition of motives in the original essay. The writer gives the following as a substitute. "Motives are either excited desires, or those things that excite desires, or those susceptibilities which can be excited by objects of desire." In the former piece the writer omitted one of these senses in the definition.

In Dr. Woods' articles he quotes Edwards, Day and Whately, as sustaining his views of free agency. The writer supposes this presents three topics for future discussion.

1. Is teaching the invariableness of antecedence and sequence, between *strongest desire* and a *volition to secure*, teaching what *proves fatalism*—i. e., is the maxim assumed by fatalists as their major proposition really an intuitive truth?

2. Do Edwards, Day and Whately teach the invariableness of antecedence and sequence between *strongest desire* and *volition to secure*?

3. If it is a fact that the major proposition of the fatalist is an intuitive truth, does it not account for the perplexing mazes, apparent contradictions, and profound depths, which have been supposed to belong to this subject? Has it not been the fact, that the defenders of free agency have conceded that invariableness of antecedence and sequence between the *strongest desire* and a *volition to secure*, which (if the major proposition of the fatalist is a truth) *proves fatalism*, and then have vainly struggled to prevent the inevitable conclusion?

The writer would put what is involved in the above queries in another form.

May not the following proposition be affirmed as true? Whoever teaches that a particular class of desires are the invariable antecedents of a particular class of volitions (i. e. volitions to secure) as invariable sequents, teaches what proves fatalism; i. e., teaches what proves that mind has no power, in the circumstances when it does choose, to decide otherwise.

Suppose this is denied. Then the writer asks: How do you

prove that in the circumstances in which the balances move downward, they have not power, at the same time, to move upward? The only reply that can be given is, they *never did* move upward in these circumstances, therefore they have not the power. Then the writer asks: Why, if it is conceded that mind, in given circumstances, never did move but in one way, is there not precisely the same proof that it has no power to move otherwise, as there is that the balances have no power to move otherwise?

But if it is urged that mind is different from matter, and that it may invariably *choose right*, and yet have power to choose otherwise;—in reply the writer would say, that this is not a case where a particular kind of desire is the invariable antecedent of a particular kind of volition, as an invariable sequent. A free agent may invariably choose right, and yet there would not be that invariableness of antecedence and sequence that proves a necessary, producing cause.

Note. The writer found, after reading the criticisms on the Essay on Cause and Effect, that for want of more care either in the writer or the readers, it has been misconstrued in the following cases.

1. Where the writer uses the term "invariable antecedent," without expressly specifying which kind is intended, though the scope of the piece fairly shows it.

2. Where the writer says that there is no mode of proving mind to be a producing cause, meaning by it, no mode of *reasoning* can prove it. It is established as an *intuitive truth*, as the writer shows, and a fair reader would consider this exception as implied.

3. The last case is made by the omission of the generic definition of producing cause. The writer, in constructing the definition of producing cause, had in view the case in hand, where the fatalist attempts to prove that mind has not the power of free agency, by an argument that makes *motive*, instead of mind, the producing cause of volition. And as this argument, not only would make motive a producing cause, but a *necessary* producing cause, the writer gave the specific definition. But afterwards, in claiming that "the mind is the producing cause of volition," the writer did not observe, till it was pointed out, that the generic definition also was needful. The writer uses the term in the generic sense when claiming that "mind is the producing cause of volition," and the specific sense when claiming

that fatalists support their doctrine by attempting to prove that motive is the producing cause of volition. The preceding article supplies the deficiency by inserting a generic definition as well as the specific one.

ARTICLE IX.

EXAMINATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF PERFECTION, AS HELD BY
REV. ASA MAHAN, PRESIDENT OF THE OBERLIN COLLEGI-
ATE INSTITUTE, REV. CHARLES FITCH, AND OTHERS AGREE-
ING WITH THEM.

By Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Prof. Theol. in the Theol. Sem., Andover, Mass.

THE attention of the religious public has, of late, been frequently called to the subject above mentioned, and much has been written and published on both sides of the question at issue between the parties. It is not my object to notice all the particular opinions and arguments which have been advanced by writers engaged in the controversy. I can promise no more than to take a summary view of the points which are regarded as of the first importance; to consider the manner in which the doctrine has been defended, and the chief arguments on which it rests, and to inquire what conclusion a candid regard to truth will lead us to adopt.

I have read several publications on the subject, particularly the Discourses of Mr. Mahan, which he had the kindness to send to me; the Letter of Mr. Fitch, and Dr. Weeks' Letter in reply; several Lectures of Mr. Finney, published in the Oberlin Evangelist; Dr. Pond's and Mr. Folsom's articles in the Am. Bib. Repository, and finally Mr. Mahan's article in reply to Mr. Folsom.* My design however is, to give the reader my reflections, and to show exactly how the subject lies in my own mind, avoiding entirely whatever might have a personal bearing. Though I must take the liberty to say, that I entertain the kindest feelings towards the writers above named, who have advocated the doctrine of Perfection. When I cast my eye over Mr. Mahan's Discourses and Mr. Fitch's Letter, I was

* American Biblical Repository, October, 1840.

gratified with the spirit of love, tenderness and devotion, which breathed in their writings, and could not but indulge the pleasing thought, that God had granted them a high degree of his gracious influence, and raised them to an elevation of Christian affection and joy, to which they had never before attained. My interviews with Mr. Mahan, in connection with what he has written, have left the impression on my mind, that, whatever may be the natural tendency of his peculiar opinions, he himself has had the love of God shed abroad in his heart, and that the error, into which I think he has fallen, results, not from the want of Christian feeling, but from a hasty interpretation of Scripture, and a wrong method of reasoning. It is in accordance with his express desire, that I have undertaken to review what he has published on the subject; and I am persuaded that he would be far from wishing, that my personal regard to him should prevent a free and thorough examination of his system, or of the manner in which he defends it.

I begin with a general remark, the correctness of which no one will question. *When a man undertakes to sustain and propagate a novel system,—a system different from what has commonly been entertained by the best of men,—it is inadmissible for him to set forth, as a part of his system, any opinions which are held by those, from whom he professes to differ.* He may show, if he can, that the principles which are common to him and to others, when rightly carried out, involve his peculiarities, and that those who do not embrace his system are inconsistent with themselves, in holding to those common principles. He is at liberty to show, that they stop short of the mark, and must suffer loss. But can he, with propriety, mention those commonly received principles, as *peculiar to him*, in distinction from others? Can he take any advantage from them, to prove the excellence of *his system*, above the common system? Can he in any way properly make the impression that they belong to *him*, more than to evangelical ministers generally?

In this respect, I am constrained to say, that Mr. Mahan, Mr. Fitch and others have, however undesignedly, committed an obvious fault, and one which is likely to mislead incautious readers. In various instances, they exhibit certain views, and lay down certain principles, as peculiar to *them*, in distinction from others, which in fact are held as fully by others as by them. Such a proceeding is evidently unfair, and whatever advantage may seem to be derived from it, is unjust.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE GOSPEL.

Mr. Mahan represents it as a principle belonging to his system, in distinction from the common system, that God has made full provision in the gospel to render Christians "perfect in every good work to do his will." In his *Discourses*, p. 16, where he professes to set forth his system, in contrast with the common system, he says: "On one side" (that is, on his side) "it is affirmed, that grace is provided in the gospel to render the Christian, even in this life, perfect in every good work to do the will of God. On the other side it is affirmed, that no such grace is provided." And in the *Repository* for October, 1840, p. 409, where he undertakes to show in what respect he differs from others, he repeats the same thing. In his *Discourses*, p. 93, he says: "The only existing difference" (that is, between his views and those commonly held) "respects the extent of the provisions and promises of divine grace, in regard to Christians in this life." And when he comes, p. 129 and onward, to state more practically what he regards as the peculiar excellence of his system, in distinction from the one commonly received (such a distinction being everywhere implied), he points to this, namely: "that God has made full provision, not only for the pardon of every sin, but for the entire perfection of believers in holiness, and for every particular necessity which may come upon them in time and eternity."

Attentive readers will perceive that the idea of such a distinction, between the advocates of Perfection and others, has full possession of Mr. Mahan's mind, and is interwoven with the whole texture of his *Discourses*.

Mr. Fitch takes the same ground. See *Guide to Perfection*, for February, 1840. He states it as the first point of inquiry between him and his brethren, *whether God, in the economy of his grace, has made provision to save his people from their sins*; and he affirms it to be his belief that such provision is made.

Now some readers will be inclined to exclaim: What a powerful recommendation is this of the doctrine of *Perfection*! What a striking argument in its favor! We find from the writings of these men, that the doctrine has this peculiar excellence, namely; it asserts that full provision has been made by divine grace for the entire deliverance of believers from sin. How precious such a provision! How plainly taught in the Bible! And how strange it is that Christians have so long

overlooked it ! How great the mistake of those who differ from these writers, and who do not believe that God has made provision for the entire sanctification of believers !

And yet it is a fact, that devout Christians and orthodox divines have, in all ages, maintained this same precious doctrine, that *full provision is made in the gospel, not only for the forgiveness of sin, but for the complete sanctification of God's people*. I might fill volumes with quotations from evangelical writers, from Augustine down to the present day, in which this grand sentiment is strongly asserted and clearly illustrated, and is set forth as the foundation of hope and the spring of effort to believers. Let any one read the practical writings of Calvin, Flavel, Owen, Bunyan, Watts, Doddridge, President Davies, Good, and numberless other authors, ancient and modern, and he will find that they exhibit this sentiment in all its preciousness. I hope to be excused, if I take the liberty to say, that no truth has been more familiar to my mind, or more zealously inculcated in my preaching and conversation than this, *that the Saviour has made provision for the entire deliverance of his people from sin ; that the gospel contains a remedy for all our spiritual diseases ; that there is a fulness in Christ, adequate to supply all our need*. It has been the same with others. I could name many, whom I have known personally, who have zealously preached this doctrine, and have rested upon it, living and dying, as the rock of their salvation. By evangelical ministers generally, this doctrine has been regarded as one of the grand peculiarities of the gospel. In their view, the gospel is no gospel without it. And yet I must confess that neither I, nor my brethren generally have given this great gospel truth the place which it ought to hold in our preaching. And Mr. Mahan might, with perfect propriety, have noticed this, and might have truly said, that, in many instances, it has been so far neglected, as to make the impression upon others, that it was no part of our belief. But we do believe it, and we always have believed it ; and we have sincerely and earnestly published it, as the ground of hope to man. We are, I acknowledge, under particular obligations to Mr. Mahan, for holding forth this truth so clearly, and giving it such prominence in the gospel plan. And if he had labored merely to wake up his brethren to juster views of the importance of this fundamental article of their faith, and to greater diligence and fervor in explaining, confirming and applying it ; his labor would have been directed

to a noble object, and would not have been in vain. But for him to say, or imply, that orthodox ministers have not believed and taught this truth,—why, he might as well say, they have not believed and taught the divine authority of the Bible. The fact is, the more devoutly ministers and Christians have studied the word of God, the more they have known of themselves, and the more earnestly they have sought the teachings of the Holy Spirit, the better have they understood the provisions of the gospel, and the more entirely have they relied upon the all-sufficient grace of Christ. I am glad to see, that, as Mr. Mahan has come to entertain more exalted views of the gracious provisions of the gospel for the sanctification of believers, he has ceased to give such prominence, as he formerly did, to the ability or free-will of man, and has expressly renounced it, as furnishing any ground of hope for sinners, or any spring of holiness to Christians, and has been brought to rely wholly on the grace of Christ, and to look to him for the whole of salvation. Luther did this, when he first emerged from the darkness of popery. William Cowper did this, at his first conversion. Devout Christians have all done this, though with different degrees of clearness; and multitudes of them have done it in as high a degree and with as much comfort, as Mr. Mahan. I have recently become acquainted with the biography of Mrs. Hawkes, a humble Christian in the common walks of life, who derived special benefit from the instructions of Cecil. And I shall here make a single quotation from one of her letters, showing her cordial reliance on the grace of Christ for the whole of *sanctification*. She says to her correspondent: "You want to know how I have been conquering *self*. Alas! I have only been fighting against *self*, but am still very far from being a conqueror; and I am thankful to say, as you do, *Jesus shows me my strength is in him*; and my desire is, to be as a little child. When I want to act, I go to him for wisdom and strength. If I feel anger, I run to him, and show it to him. When I feel pride rising upon any occasion, I go to him, and confess it. To him I take every sin, as it arises—every want, every desponding thought. To him I go for every good thought, every good desire, every good word and work, crying, *Lord, help me in this,—Lord, help me in the other*. *It is thy grace alone, that can produce any thing good in me*. What else is meant by Christ's living in me, and I in him? It is by this simple faith, that we must bring forth good fruits; and to obtain it,

we must plead the promises. How are we to be transformed in the spirit of our minds, and to be changed into his image, from glory to glory? Not by looking within, but by looking to Jesus." Now how does this differ from the views exhibited by Mr. Mahan in the following passage (Discourses, pp. 153—4). He says, just as thousands have said before: "The promises are adapted to every possible condition. They descend to the sinner in the lowest depths of guilt and depravity, for the purpose of lifting him out of the horrible pit, and rendering him a partaker of the divine nature. They meet the Christian, in a state of partial holiness, for the purpose of raising him to a state of perfect love. Now, to use the promises so as to become possessed of the blessings they proffer to us, four things are necessary: that we know our need; that we apprehend the particular promise of Christ which was designed to meet that particular necessity; that we repose full confidence in the ability and faithfulness of Christ to fulfil the promise; and that we cast our whole being upon him, for the specific purpose of securing a fulfilment of the particular promise before us. For example; the sinner is brought to feel himself to be in a lost condition. Here he is met with the declaration of Christ: *I came to seek and to save that which was lost;—and whosoever cometh unto me, I will in nowise cast out.* Let the sinner cast himself directly upon Christ, for the definite purpose of securing a fulfilment of this promise. Are you in darkness? Go directly to Christ for the fulfilment of the promise: *I will lead the blind by a way which they knew not.* Is your heart hard and unfeeling? Go to Christ and cast yourself upon his faithfulness for the fulfilment of the promise: *I will take the heart of stone out of your flesh and will give you a heart of flesh.* Do temptations beset you? Go to Christ with the promise: *who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able, but will with the temptation make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.* Are you about to enter into new scenes, or spheres of action? Go to Christ with the promises: *lo, I am with you always; and, my grace is sufficient for thee.* In short, whatever your condition, remember that you are addressed by your Saviour with some specific promise, perfectly adapted to your case; and your life depends upon your casting yourself at once upon the faithfulness of Christ, for the fulfilment of that promise."

Now all this, which I have quoted from Mr. Mahan, is just and scriptural, exhibiting the true spirit of the gospel. And

all that is wanted is, that he should have frankly said : *this is nothing new. It is the good old way, in which evangelical writers and Christians have always understood and applied the provisions and promises of the gospel.* I could easily cite many passages of the same import, and still more striking, from Bunyan's Jerusalem-Sinner Saved, McLaurin's Sermons, Good's Better Covenant, and the writings of John Newton. And I have hoped that orthodox ministers were about to give up what remains among them of a cold, abstruse, philosophical way of preaching, and to adopt more fully the determination of Paul, *to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified*, and to make him *all in all*. May the day soon come when this shall be the case universally. And let us, who differ from Mr. Mahan in other respects, be careful to profit by his remarks on this subject ; and let us copy his earnestness in holding forth the all-sufficient provisions of the gospel for the entire sanctification of believers.

My aim has been to do full justice to Mr. Mahan, in holding the great principle above considered ; and at the same time to show, that orthodox writers and preachers have generally held the same principle, and that, in this respect, Mr. Mahan has made no advance upon the common faith of the Christian church. Of course it must be wrong for him or any others to suppose, that holding this principle can be turned to the advantage of his system in distinction from the system commonly received by the orthodox.

But Mr. Mahan thinks that his peculiar doctrine is inseparably connected with the fact, that provision is made for the entire sanctification of believers. He believes that his doctrine certainly follows from this, and is involved in it. This, then, shall be my next point of inquiry. *From the fact that provision is made in the gospel for the complete sanctification of believers, does it follow that they will be completely sanctified in the present life?* Let us dismiss all other points till we have disposed of this. It is a matter of reasoning. And those who are accustomed to reasoning know how important it is to give a fixed attention to the point under consideration, and to be careful not to wander from it.

The question at issue may be taken up in two ways. First: *Do the provisions of the gospel, taken by themselves, certainly prove that believers will ever be completely sanctified?*

Now, if the actual and complete sanctification of believers

certainly follows from the mere provisions of the gospel for that purpose, it must be on this principle,—*that if God has made provision in the sense intended, for the accomplishment of a particular end, that end will actually be accomplished.* This is clear. For if such provision may be made, and yet the end fail of being accomplished, then we can no longer infer such accomplishment from such provision; and in order to make out a conclusive proof that the end will be accomplished, we must argue from some other premises besides the simple fact that provision is made for it.

Our question then is: *Do the provisions of the gospel for the complete sanctification of God's people prove that they will in fact be completely sanctified?*

Now, Mr. Mahan is no stranger to reasoning; and he will, I am persuaded, bring to the consideration of this subject an active, discerning intellect, and a kind, candid heart. I shall then make my appeal directly to him. And I ask my dear brother: Has not God, in this favored land, made full provision for the comfortable support of all the inhabitants?—such provision, that all who enjoy the other common blessings of life in an ordinary degree may, by suitable exertions, obtain such a support? But does it follow, from such provision, that all the inhabitants will actually obtain a comfortable support? I ask again: Is not provision made in the gospel for the salvation of all sinners to whom the gospel is published? This, my brother, in common with others, is accustomed to teach, as a matter of great moment. But does it follow from this, that all who hear the gospel will be saved? May not something else come in to prevent that salvation for which provision is made? If so, then the general question returns: Can we infer from the simple fact that provision is made for the accomplishment of a particular object, that the object will actually be accomplished?

But, my brother, who is fond of argument, will bear with me, while I take up the question in the other way alluded to. He often asserts that God has made provision for the complete sanctification of believers *during the present life.* This I admit; and I ask him whether God has not made provision for the complete sanctification of believers during the present *day*, and the present *hour*, yea, the present *minute*? I should think it strange if he should hesitate a moment to answer in the affirmative. A mind like his will, I am sure, quickly see what astounding consequences would follow from the denial. How,

then, does he dispose of this matter? From the fact, that provision is made in the gospel for the complete sanctification of believers the present hour and minute, does he draw the conclusion that they do all in reality obtain complete sanctification the present hour and minute? And if not, how can he draw the other conclusion, namely, that they are completely sanctified during the present *life*, because provision is made for it in the gospel? May not some other cause intervene to prevent the accomplishment of the object, for which such provision is made? And may it not hinder the accomplishment for a longer as well as for a shorter time?—for a few years as well as for an hour or a minute?

The other circumstances, such as promises, prayers, etc., which may be combined with the simple provision of the gospel, and which may be supposed to insure the accomplishment of the object, will be considered in another place. Our present inquiry is, whether, from the simple fact that provision is made for the entire sanctification of believers *in this life*, we can infer that such sanctification will actually take place? And I think I may regard it as a point agreed to on all hands, and certainly by the brother with whom I am arguing the case, that such an inference cannot be drawn.

THE ATTAINABLENESS OF PERFECTION IN THE PRESENT LIFE.

Mr. Mahan brings it forward as a question on which his opinion differs from the one commonly entertained: "whether we *may* now, during the progress of the present life, attain to entire perfection in holiness." (Discourses, p. 15.) And in his second Discourse he makes it his particular inquiry, *whether a state of complete holiness is attainable in the present life*. He informs us that he does not use the words *attainable* and *practicable* with reference merely or chiefly to our natural powers as intelligent, accountable agents, but with reference to the provisions of divine grace. And he lays it down as a truth, which distinguishes his system from the one generally held, that "complete holiness is, in the highest and most common acceptance of the term, *attainable*." And in the last number of the Repository (p. 409) he states it as a point peculiar to him and his party, "that we *may* render to God the perfect obedience which he requires." But we hold to this as much as he

does, and, as I suppose, on the same conditions; that is, we *may* render perfect obedience, if we apply ourselves to the work *as we ought*, and *fully avail ourselves* of the gracious provisions of the gospel. He surely would not say that we *may* render perfect obedience in any other way.

I must therefore protest here, as I did in the former case, against Mr. Mahan's claiming that, as belonging peculiarly and exclusively to him and to those who agree with him, which belongs equally to others. We hold as decidedly as he does, that, in the common acceptation of the term, complete holiness is *attainable* in the present life. When we assert that a thing is *attainable*, or *may* be attained, our meaning is, that a proper use of means will secure it; that we shall obtain it, if we do what we ought; and that, if we fail of obtaining it, truth will require us to say we *might* have obtained it, and that our failure was owing altogether to our own fault. The *attainableness* of any thing surely does not mean the same thing as its being *actually obtained*. For it is very common to speak of many things, for example, the improvement of the mind, and a state of competence, as things which are *attainable*, or which *may* be obtained, but which never are obtained. The same as to the blessings of the gospel. Mr. Mahan would doubtless say, as others do, that salvation is *attainable* by all who hear the gospel; that under the dispensation of grace, any and all sinners *may* be saved; meaning, that means and opportunities are provided; that the way is prepared; that salvation is freely offered to them on the most reasonable terms; that a proper conduct on their part will secure the blessing, and that if they do not obtain it, they themselves, and they only, will be the faulty cause of the failure. When we say a thing is *not attainable*, we mean that, whatever we may do, we cannot obtain it, and that our failing to obtain it will not be owing to any misconduct or neglect on our part. It is often and truly represented, that impenitent sinners, at the judgment day, will have the painful reflection that the blessedness of heaven was offered to them, and was put within their reach,—that they *might* have been saved, but refused the infinite good.

See, now, how Mr. Mahan treats this subject in his Discourses, pp. 45, 46, and elsewhere. He says, the church and the ministry, almost universally, believe that perfection is *unattainable*. He means all who dissent from his views. And then he inquires, how Christians can aim at perfection, *with the belief*

that it is not attainable. But this is not our belief. It therefore becomes evident, that his representation is not correct, and that all the advantage he derives or seems to derive from it, is unjust.

But there is a question here which must not be overlooked. Both parties hold, that complete holiness is *attainable*. Does this prove that it is *actually attained*? Here again I shall address myself to Mr. Mahan. Do you not hold, my brother, that salvation is *attainable* by all sinners who hear the gospel? But do you infer from this, that all will be saved? Further: Do you not hold that complete holiness is *attainable* by all believers *now*, this very *day*, and this very *minute*? Doubtless you do. But your writings show, that you are far enough from thinking that all believers *are* completely holy now. If you really thought them to be so, why should you show such grief at their short-comings? And why speak, as you do, of Christians "partially sanctified?" And why labor, with such zeal, to stir them up to make higher attainments, and seek after perfection? Now, if you yourself do not think that *the actual attainment* of perfection can be inferred from its *attainableness*, can it be right for you to employ modes of reasoning which imply, or seem to imply, that you do think so?

DIVINE PROMISES.

Mr. Mahan and others place great dependence upon these for the support of their doctrine. The question which I shall now consider is, whether the promises of God, *when rightly interpreted*, do really support the doctrine.

It is hardly necessary to say that I perfectly agree with Mr. Mahan in the confident belief, that God will fulfil all his promises, taken in their *true meaning*. No one, surely, can expect them to be accomplished in a sense which they were never intended to bear. The first inquiry, then, must be, as to the true meaning of the promises referred to. The great and precious promise of the New Covenant, on which Mr. Mahan founds his fourth Discourse, is this: "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people, etc.; and all shall know me, from the least to the greatest; for I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins will I remember no more." Mr. Mahan says, that Christ, here and in other places, promises to

believers "a confirmed state of pure and perfect holiness, such as is required in the moral law." The moral law requires pure and perfect holiness at the present time, and at all times. We must then suppose Mr. Mahan's meaning to be, that God here *promises* perfect holiness to believers now, and at all times. But really, my brother, how does the text just recited, containing the great promise of the New Covenant,—how does it show this? Is it certain, that God's putting his laws in the minds of his people, and writing them in their hearts is precisely the same as bringing them to "a confirmed state of pure and perfect holiness?" Is it certain, that the law cannot be written in the heart, *in some degree*, when it is not done perfectly? Is it a thing so evident that it may be taken for granted, without any proof, that there cannot be *real* obedience where there is not *perfect* obedience?—some degree of holiness in those who are not completely holy? To me it is manifest, that the above-mentioned promise may be accomplished in *different degrees*. It is accomplished in a lower degree, when God by his Spirit brings men to repent, and to render cordial obedience to his law *in a small measure*. It is accomplished in a *higher* degree, when he brings them to render obedience *in a larger measure*. And it is accomplished in the highest degree, or perfectly, when he brings them to render an *unceasing* and *perfect* obedience. And this is only saying, what is true in a thousand cases, that a good work may be done, or a favor conferred in different degrees, and that its being done in one degree does not necessarily imply that it is done in another and higher degree. It would seem that no one could mistake or doubt concerning a matter so plain as this. And yet the conclusiveness of much of Mr. Mahan's reasoning turns upon this one point. Take the promise above recited, that *all shall know God from the least to the greatest*. I ask Mr. Mahan whether this promise has ever been completely fulfilled, respecting either the children of Israel or any other nation? If he says yes, I ask, when? If he says no, as he doubtless will, then I ask, how, on his principle of interpreting the promises, he can vindicate the faithfulness of God? Will he say, although the promise has never yet been fulfilled, it will be *hereafter*? Then I ask, why the same may not hold in respect to all the texts in which God promises to make his people completely holy? If God may be faithful in respect to the promise, that *all shall know him*, because he will fulfil it at a distant, future period, though for thousands of years it has re-

mained unfulfilled; may he not be faithful in respect to his promise, *that his people shall be made perfect in holiness*, if he fulfils it to them *a few days hence*,—that is, when they are removed to the heavenly state,—although it may not be fulfilled during the short period of the present life?

But with respect to the promise of God, that the world shall be converted and all flesh see his salvation, we may take another view. It is manifest that the promise, in the full extent of its meaning, has not yet been accomplished. But has not something been done *towards* its accomplishment? Have not multitudes, in different parts of the world, been converted to God? Has not the kingdom of Christ been extended more and more? And may not the promise, that the whole world shall be turned from sin, be intended to include not only the final event of the universal reign of Christ, but all the events of the same kind which are introductory to it, that is, all instances of the conversion of sinners, and especially of the spread of the gospel in pagan countries? And, accordingly, may not such a promise, like many of the prophecies, have a gradual, progressive accomplishment,—an accomplishment extending through a long period of time, and leading on to a complete fulfilment in the end? And if God, in his unsearchable wisdom, sees fit to accomplish his word of promise or prediction in this way, does it become us to say either that he does not accomplish it, or that he does not show his faithfulness as clearly, as if he should accomplish it at once? Unless we fall into such a train of thought as I have suggested, we shall be under the painful necessity of admitting, that the most precious and glorious promises of God respecting the enlargement and prosperity of his kingdom, have not, to this day, been accomplished in any respect or in any degree,—that they have not even *begun* to be fulfilled.

The same remarks apply to the promises of the New Covenant respecting the sanctification of believers. Take the precious promise, that Jesus "shall save his people from their sins." And look at all believers now living. Has Jesus already saved them all completely from their sins? Is it true that, at the present time, there is no sin, no moral defilement in any of them? Mr. Mahan does by no means believe this. Has the promise, then, been *really fulfilled* in regard to the great body of Christians now living? Yes, we say, *really fulfilled*, though not as yet *completely fulfilled*:—*really fulfilled*, inasmuch as Jesus has *begun* to save them from their sins, and given them a degree of

true holiness :—but not *completely* fulfilled, inasmuch as sin, in different degrees, still dwells in them. We can take no other view of the subject, unless we hold either that the promise remains wholly unaccomplished respecting the present race of believers, or else that every true believer is now in a state of sinless perfection. But Mr. Mahan does not hold that all believers are now perfect. He considers Christians generally as very deficient in faith and obedience, and presents complete holiness before them, as an object to be *sought*, not as *already obtained*. Will he then say, that the precious promise above named has not, in any degree, been fulfilled respecting them? I think he will rather say, whatever may become of his theory, that as the gracious Redeemer “has begun a good work in them,” he has begun to save them from their sins, and so has, *in a measure*, really fulfilled the promise.

Take one promise more :—“I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean : from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you.” Let this be admitted to relate to all believers. Has it, then, been *already completely* fulfilled in respect to every one of them, so that no moral pollution remains? Mr. Mahan will say, clearly not. Has it, then, been really fulfilled in *any degree*? Certainly it has been. Their being true Christians implies, that God has made them clean *in some measure*,—that they are really sanctified *in a degree*. Now, who will say, that God may not cause his faithfulness to be seen and admired in regard to a promise, which has already been fulfilled in some degree, and to some extent, but is hereafter to have a more extensive and more perfect fulfilment?

But as this is one of the main points,—one of the hinges on which the existing controversy turns,—I am not yet ready to dismiss it. My wish is, to examine the question as to the accomplishment of the divine promises which relate to the sanctification of believers, so thoroughly, that all difficulties may, as far as possible, be removed, and that we may have no occasion to dwell on the subject again.

Come then, my brother, let us reason together a little farther on the subject before us. In what manner are we to understand the promises and declarations of God which you have so often quoted, *in regard to the time of their complete fulfilment*? We agree that the promises are, and what a complete accomplishment implies. And we agree that they will, first or last, be completely accomplished. The great, and, it would seem,

the only inquiry remaining respects the *time* of such accomplishment. To this let us give our undivided attention.

I understand your position to be, that the divine promises and declarations clearly imply, *that believers will be sanctified completely during the progress of the present life*. But is this position tenable? When the Scripture declares, that Jesus shall save his people from their sins, it certainly does not expressly declare *when* he will do it. In what way, then, do you *ascertain* the time when? The apostle says, that "Christ loved the church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it—and that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it might be holy and without blemish." But he certainly does not tell us, in the passage itself, that Christ will accomplish all this for the whole church during the *present state*,—that he does now, in this life, actually present the whole body of believers to himself without spot or blemish. If, then, you prove this to be the meaning of the passage, you must do it by other considerations. The apostle, in another passage, says, that "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." But he certainly does not say, in the passage itself, that Christ will do all this for us *during our continuance in this world*. I must therefore ask again, by what other considerations do you make it out, that this is the *proper meaning* of the passage? I agree with you that in the New Covenant, God promises to give to his people all that he requires of them in his law. This was a principle which Augustine often advanced, and to which he attached great importance. Multitudes from that day to this have done the same. Indeed, this sentiment is virtually held by all devout Christians. It is wrought as an element into their faith and their prayers. But does this precious promise of the New Covenant mean, that God will work in them a complete conformity with his law, *while they are passing through the present world*? It is evident from what you have published,* that you consider this to be the proper meaning of the promise, and you often and very plainly signify, that unless believers are completely sanctified in the present life, the promise fails. But how does this appear? Because a promise is not fully accomplished at a *particular time*, does it follow that it is *never* accomplished?

* See Repository for Oct. 1840, p. 410, and elsewhere, and many passages in the Discourses.

Much depends on this inquiry ; and I pray you not to pass over it hastily. A promise was early made that a Saviour should come ; but thousands of years passed away, and he did not come. Did the promise therefore fail of its accomplishment ? God made a promise to Abraham, that he would give to his seed the land of Canaan for an inheritance. Can we say that God did not fulfil this promise, because he deferred the fulfilment for so many hundred years ? God has promised to deliver his people from all iniquity and to make them perfectly holy. And suppose that, *in the end*, he perfectly fulfils it. Does he fail to fulfil it, because he does not fulfil it sooner ? I trust that my dear brother, with whom I am so freely discussing this subject, will, after a few days more, be so happy as to be admitted into the heavenly world, and there be freed forever from all moral evil, and, through divine grace, made perfectly holy. And suppose he then looks from that blessed world upon the present state ; and suppose that, in the light of heaven, he sees (what he may not now always see) that he was, all the way through life, liable to mistakes ; and that, in his best frames, he had some remains of sin,—but was at length delivered from it, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. Will he say, or think, that God failed to accomplish his promise, because he did not accomplish it sooner ? If a thing is finally done, can any one say it is not done, because it was not done before ? If we see hereafter that, according to the divine promise, the knowledge of God fills the earth, and the whole world is converted ; shall we then say the promise has failed because so long a time passed away before it was carried into full effect ?

Just look at the principle brought into view, 2 Pet. 3 : 3, 4, 8, 9. The apostle first says, that “in the last days there shall be scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, *where is the promise of his coming ? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*”

From the long delay of Christ's coming, those scoffers took occasion to call in question the certainty of the event, and the truth of the promise. With direct reference to this, the apostle introduces the same principle as that above alluded to, and says : “Beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as

some men count slackness, but is long-suffering," etc. He delays the fulfilment of his promise, not from slackness, as some suppose, but for wise and benevolent ends. Now, when you say, or imply, that the promise of God, to redeem his people from all iniquity and make them perfectly holy, requires that he should do all this during the period of the present life; do you not overlook the principle, which the apostle represents as so highly important, and so adapted to solve the difficulty he had to encounter? God has promised to bestow upon his people the grace of perfect sanctification. But, according to the common belief of the Christian church, they are, through all the days of their life, sanctified only in part. And will you, on this account, say, *where is the promise of his grace?* If you do, I must answer you in the words of the apostle: "Beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack,"—he does not forget his promise to redeem his people from all iniquity, because he takes time for it. The difference between a day and a thousand years is nothing with the Lord. What *is to be* is, with him, as though it were *now*. If he accomplishes the promise in future time, he is as faithful and true as though he did it to-day. If Christians find themselves perfectly holy when they enter heaven, they will most surely acknowledge and admire the goodness and faithfulness of God in completely fulfilling his gracious promise, though they will remember that, through all the days and years of this imperfect life, they had to struggle against "the law of sin in their members."

You see how the matter stands. And I must beseech you, my brother, no longer to argue, from the faithfulness of God in regard to his promises, that he must completely sanctify his people during any part of the present life; inasmuch as his faithfulness will be fully vindicated, and will shine forth with infinite glory, when it is made manifest in heaven, that the gracious work has at length been finished. Never, then, suffer the thought to enter your mind, that we do not consider the promises as precious as you do, or that we do not as confidently expect their fulfilment. And let me now press the inquiry, whether the divine promises, *when rightly understood*, afford any support to your favorite doctrine?

As this is a point on which so much depends in the discussion, let us not be weary in examining it thoroughly. Let us

view it on all sides with the closest attention, so that we may, if possible, be sure to guard against error, and to find the truth. The truth is incomparably precious, and is worthy to be searched for with untiring zeal. Allow me then to dwell on this particular topic a moment longer. And if we should happen, in any respect, to pass over the same ground again, let us do it with increased watchfulness and care.

You have quoted many of the gracious promises which God has made as to the entire deliverance of believers from sin. Suppose now, my brother, I quote the same promises, and say, these promises plainly imply, that God will completely sanctify his people *as soon as they believe*. Suppose I say; here is the promise of God, that "Jesus shall save his people from their sins;" and this implies that he will completely save them from their sins at once, when they become believers; and unless he does this, his promise falls to the ground. And here we have the declaration of God, that Christ came to redeem his people from all iniquity; and this must mean that he will redeem them from all iniquity the very hour and minute in which they believe in him; and if they remain a single hour without perfect holiness, the declaration is not accomplished. What objection can you make to all this? Will you say, I have no right to limit the fulfilment of the divine promise or declaration to a *single hour or minute*? But why have not I as good a right to give to the divine promise *these narrow limits*, as you have to give it limits of a little larger extent? Show me what authority you have to say, the promise must be fulfilled in a year, or in ten or twenty years, or during the present life (which may not be half a year), more than I have to say, it must be fulfilled the present hour or minute. Take time to look at this matter carefully; and then bring forward the reason why you limit the fulfilling of the promise to the few fleeting days of the present life, and yet say it is not limited to the present hour or minute.

PRAYERS FOR PERFECT SANCTIFICATION.

Mr. Mahan argues much in support of his doctrine from the prayers of Christians. As to the fact that Christians pray, and pray earnestly for complete sanctification, I agree with him. It is, in my view, essential to the character of true believers,

that they should sincerely pray, that the blood of Christ may cleanse them from all sin, and that the God of peace would sanctify them wholly. And they do unquestionably desire and pray that God would sanctify them wholly during the *present life*, yea, during the *very day and hour and minute*, in which they offer up acceptable prayer. And one thing more I hold to be unquestionable, that is, that God will certainly, in the highest and best sense, answer their prayers, and bestow upon them the precious blessing of complete sanctification; yea, will do exceeding abundantly above all that they ask or think. Mr. Mahan (Discourses, p. 35) repeats the words of John: "This is the confidence we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us;—and whatsoever we ask, we have the petitions that we desired of him." He then adds: "Have we not here positive proof, that when we pray in faith for perfect holiness, that blessing will be bestowed upon us?" I answer, yes; it will certainly be bestowed. But *when*? He thinks it must be during the progress of the *present life*. But why such *large* limits? Why not during the *present hour*? How can he prove that God will so answer our prayers, as to accomplish the whole work of sanctification during the period of this life, any more than I can prove that he will accomplish it during the present hour? He appeals to the reader, and says: "Is it possible for us to believe, that Christ himself prayed, and taught his disciples to pray, and that the Holy Spirit inspired apostles and saints to pray for a blessing, which the Scriptures require us to believe God will not bestow upon his people?" I answer, it would be strange indeed, if any one should believe this. But what has this to do with the point at issue? For admitting, as all do, that God will certainly give the saints the perfect sanctification which they pray for, the question in debate still remains; that is, *when* will God do it? The invaluable gift of perfect holiness will be *truly* bestowed, if bestowed at all. And the prayers which Christians so often and so earnestly offer up for this blessing, will be as really and fully answered, if answered at a later period, as if answered earlier. The patriarchs longed and prayed for the coming of the Messiah. And were not their prayers as really answered by his coming after so long a time, as if he had come before? God has promised to answer the humble, confiding, importunate prayers of his children; and he certainly will answer them. Heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than one

of his promises shall fail. This is our firm belief; though Mr. Mahan charges us with affirming that we ought to offer up prayer for complete sanctification, "with the certain expectation of not receiving the blessing." It is a mistaken charge. Our certain expectation is, that we *shall* receive the blessing. But while we believe that God certainly answers the prayers of his children, we do not forget that he does it at the time, and in the manner which he sees to be best. Sometimes he answers their prayers immediately, and the blessing comes while they are yet speaking. Sometimes he grants them precious blessings, even before their prayers are offered up. Sometimes (as in the case of Paul, 2 Cor. 12) he withholds the particular good sought, and grants another of equal or superior value. Sometimes he begins to answer prayer soon, but gives not a full answer for a long time. For example; in all past ages his people have offered up the prayer dictated by Christ: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven." His kingdom has come to *some extent*, but not generally. His will has been done *truly*, but hitherto very imperfectly. We however look for the time when the prayer will be more fully answered in the universal prevalence of love and obedience. God sees this way of answering prayer to be the wisest and best. And when we come to be competent judges, we shall see it to be so too. And Mr. Mahan seems to have brought himself, unawares, into contact with the same view of the subject (see Disc. pp. 32, 33). He represents the two petitions above mentioned as containing a pledge that the events shall take place. But have they taken place to the full extent of these petitions? Has the kingdom of God fully come, and his will been done on earth as in heaven? Mr. Mahan says, "we have the pledge of Christ that they shall be granted, *when* asked in faith." Have they not been asked in faith? Did no one of the apostles or primitive Christians ask them in faith? Has no Christian, from the time when Jesus dictated the prayer to the present day, offered it up in faith? Has not Mr. Mahan, or Mr. Fitch, or Mr. Finney, or some other good man offered up this prayer in faith? And yet we see it not yet fully answered. What then has become of the pledge, "that it shall be granted *when* asked in faith?" Do these writers mean, that these petitions, when offered in faith, shall be answered *immediately*? If so, then they must be driven to the painful conclusion, that neither they themselves, nor any

other Christians have ever offered them up in faith. But we have been led to suppose, from their representations, that they would doubt almost any thing sooner than they would doubt the reality and strength of their own faith. And we have supposed that they must, times without number, have prayed in faith: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as in heaven." And as they are confident that they have thus prayed, and confident too that God heareth them, "and that they have the petitions which they have desired of him;" why do they not come forward boldly, and say: "God's kingdom is come, and his will is done on earth as in heaven. We have prayed in faith for this; and God has not failed to answer our prayers. We prayed for this some time ago; and God has not *delayed* to answer our prayers. He *has* answered them; and "we have the petitions we desired of him." And whatever may be appearances to the contrary, his kingdom certainly *has* come, and his will is now done on earth as in heaven. Yes, it must be so; for God has heard us. And though the eye of sense cannot see it, the eye of faith must see, that the world is now filled with the knowledge of God; that his will is perfectly obeyed by the whole human family, and the earth converted into a paradise." What hinders them from saying this? They *must* say it; or they must say they have never prayed in faith for the coming of Christ's kingdom; or they must say, God does not answer prayer; or else they must adopt the principle which I have endeavored to defend; namely, that God often extends his answer to prayer over hundreds, and even thousands of years, accomplishing the inestimable good desired *gradually*; bestowing the blessing for which his people pray, in an *increasing measure*; and, in the end, bringing about a result, which will display clearly and gloriously, his unfailing faithfulness, in the *complete* fulfilment of his promise to *answer prayer*. If they adopt this principle, and apply it to the case in hand, they can no longer argue in support of their peculiar doctrine respecting perfection, from the prayers which Christians offer up for complete holiness, or from the certainty that God will answer their prayers. The Bible teaches that Christians ought to pray and do pray for perfect sanctification, and that God will answer their prayers, and grant the blessing they pray for. But where does the Bible authorize us to take the other step, and limit the time when God must give the answer, to *the present day, or the present year, or to any part of the present life?*

Mr. Mahan (Disc. p. 33) quotes the prayer of Christ, that all believers "may be one," and "may be made perfect in one." He says, "the union here prayed for is a union of perfect love;" which I think very obvious. He then argues, that this love will exist among believers, or that Christ prayed for what God will not bestow. The latter he does not for a moment admit. Of course he holds that this "union of perfect love will exist among believers." *Will exist!* I ask you, *when?* You doubtless remember that Christ offered up this prayer eighteen hundred years ago. And now, after fifty generations, you say, the prayer *will* be answered, and that perfect love "*will* exist among believers!" Pray, my dear brother, why don't you say, it *has* been answered,—that union of perfect love, for which Jesus prayed, *has* existed ever since Christ offered up the prayer, and *does now* exist? As to the prayers of common Christians, you may say, there is a deficiency;—they are wanting in faith, or in fervor. But you cannot say this of the prayer of Jesus. It was a prayer entirely, and in the highest degree, pleasing to God. Do you say, God *has* answered it? No. You say, he *will* answer it. And thus you virtually acknowledge that the faithfulness of God, in answering prayer, did not require him fully to answer the prayer even of Jesus, during his life, or during the life of fifty generations of his followers. You virtually acknowledge, that God may be truly said to hear and answer prayer, even the prayer of his beloved Son, though he does not fully grant the blessing desired for thousands of years. On what pretence then can you any longer maintain, that God cannot properly be said to answer the prayers of believers for perfect holiness, unless he makes them perfectly holy at the present time, or, at farthest, during some part of the present life?

One word more on this point. Prayer for any good plainly implies that the good is not already obtained. For if obtained, why should it be prayed for? The prayers of prophets and apostles for their own complete sanctification, or that of others, had a manifest reference to a *future* good, a blessing *not yet received*. Jesus prayed thus for his disciples: "Sanctify them through thy truth." They had been *sanctified* in part. What Jesus prayed for was, that they might be sanctified in a higher degree, yea, completely; a blessing which he looked upon as *future*. So the apostle prays for believers at Thessalonica: "the Lord make you to *increase* and abound in love." Their

love existed in an imperfect degree, and needed *increase*. He prayed, too, that the Lord would establish their hearts "unblamable in holiness before God, at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints." He prayed for a *future* good, and he fixed his eye upon the second coming of Christ, as the time when it was to be completely accomplished. Again, he prayed for believers, "that God would fulfil in them all the good pleasure of his goodness, and make them perfect in every good work, always implying, that the blessing prayed for had not yet been fully obtained. And does not every Christian feel this to be the case, when he hungers and thirsts for righteousness, and cries earnestly to God for complete sanctification? Not long since, I heard, with great delight, the fervent prayers of my brother Mahan, for the entire subjection of all the powers of the soul to Christ,—for entire sanctification. Doubtless he prays in the same manner still. And when he thus prays, he doubtless looks upon perfect holiness as a blessing *to be bestowed* upon him by the grace of God, not as already bestowed. For if already bestowed, it should be made the subject not of *petition*, but of thanksgiving. And in that case, I should expect that my brother, instead of crying to God and wrestling with God for perfect holiness of heart and life, would stand forth with devout confidence, and say: *God, I thank thee that I am perfectly free from sin, and perfectly conformed to the holy image of Christ.* But does he pray thus? And would he like to hear any other man pray thus? No. Whatever may be the speculative notions of true believers, when they come before a holy, heart-searching God in prayer, they will follow the promptings of their own humble, contrite spirits, and will beseech God to cleanse them from all sin, and make them perfect in holiness. And, however advanced they may be in the divine life, they will continue to pray thus as long as they live, always feeling, as the apostle did, that they are "not already perfect," and always reaching after it, and beseeching the God of all grace to bestow the long desired and precious blessing upon them in all its fulness.

Here I must close the discussion for the present. And in a review of the ground over which I have passed, I request Mr. Mahan, and every other advocate of "the doctrine of perfection," seriously to consider whether they have not, however unintentionally, claimed or seemed to claim various important principles as *peculiar to them*, which are equally held by evan-

gelical ministers and Christians generally ; whether they have not in this way made a wrong impression upon the less intelligent and less cautious members of the religious community ; and whether they have not thus been laboring to establish and propagate their opinions by means which are evidently wanting, I would not say in honesty, but in candor and fairness. I now very cheerfully leave them, and all who read these pages, to judge, whether any valid argument in support of " the doctrine of perfection " can be drawn from any of those points which I have examined ; that is, from the provisions of the gospel, from the attainableness of perfection, or from the promises of God, or the prayers of his people. The arguments which Mr. Mahan derives from these considerations are the principal arguments on which he rests the truth of his system. And I am greatly mistaken if these principal arguments of his do not prove to be altogether inconclusive and fallacious. And I shall be greatly disappointed if my respected brethren, who have recently advocated the doctrine of perfection, do not feel themselves bound in truth to abstain from any farther attempt to uphold their scheme by the arguments which have here been noticed.

There are several other topics introduced by Mr. Mahan, to which I wish to give a particular and respectful consideration ; but this I must defer to another opportunity.

ARTICLE X.

EXPOSITION OF ROMANS 8 : 18—23.

By Edmund Turney, Theol. Sem., Hamilton, N. Y.

THE sense of this passage depends principally upon the word *κρίσις*. Before attempting to give its meaning, we will notice a few facts in relation to the object designated, which will aid us in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

1. *Κρίσις* seems to designate a *definite, individual object*. The collective sense, generally assigned to the term in this passage, is unsatisfactory and improbable. Except when used to express the *act of creating*, it commonly takes, in the New Testament,

the sense of *κτίσμα*; and properly denotes a *created thing, a creature*. "Neither is there any *creature* that is not manifest in his sight." Heb. 4: 13. The same use occurs in Rom. 8: 39, 2 Cor. 5: 17, 1 Pet. 2: 13, Mark 16: 15; and also, we think, in Col. 1: 15, 23, Gal. 6: 15, Rom. 1: 25. The use of *πᾶσα* in verse 22 is worthy of notice. If *κτίσις* denotes the creation in general, *πᾶσα* is employed merely to give emphasis to the expression, and this verse is to be regarded as little more than a repetition of the preceding context. But if *κτίσις* designate an individual object, and *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* denotes the *whole community** to which it belongs, we can account for the different expressions. The compound form of the verbs employed in verse 22 ought not to be overlooked. The argument of the apostle appears to be this: The *κτίσις* (the particular *κτίσις* alluded to) is at present "subjected to vanity," and is "waiting for" deliverance: nor is this surprising; "for we know that *every κτίσις—in common*—is groaning and travailing in pain until now."

2. The *κτίσις* is destined to experience a *renovation at the resurrection*. A careful examination of the passage will make this perfectly obvious.

3. The *κτίσις* has a *personal interest and participation* in the glory of the saints. It is represented as awaiting, not merely a renovation coincident with, and similar to "the manifestation of the sons of God," but the same manifestation. Besides, the apostle directly asserts that the *κτίσις* "shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the children of God."

4. The *κτίσις* is an *object possessing life and sensation*. It is represented as longing—waiting—willing—groaning—travailing in pain. These expressions can hardly have been used in reference to a senseless and inanimate object. None but the strongest reasons should lead us to adopt such an interpretation.

5. There is a *manifest distinction* between the *κτίσις* and the *Christian*. The simple expression *καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις, even the creature itself*, is sufficient to show that it is distinguished from the sons of God, and is something inferior to them. A comparison of verses 22 and 23 will place the fact beyond dispute.

* *Πᾶσα* is here taken, not in the sense of *ἕκαστος*, *each, every one indifferently*, but as denoting an *entire class—the whole in distinction from a part*. See Butt. 127 : 6. Comp. Mark 16 : 15, Phil. 1 : 3, Eccl. 3 : 17.

We are now prepared to inquire into the particular application of this term. In what are these conditions fulfilled? We cannot understand by *κτίσις*, *the human race, men in general*. This collective sense cannot be reconciled with the supposition that it designates an individual object. And such an explanation is inconsistent with the fact that the *κτίσις* is looking forward to the resurrection for its deliverance; and is destined to participate in the glory of the saints. Will all men, indiscriminately, be "introduced into the liberty of the glory of the children of God?" And is it true that men in general are *not willingly* subjected to vanity?

For similar reasons, we cannot understand by *κτίσις* the *material universe, the inanimate creation*. The opinion, that the material universe will finally be renovated, is more a matter of conjecture than of revelation. The only passage which can be urged with any confidence in favor of this sentiment, is 2 Pet. 3: 13. But, the apostle's particular conception of a *new heaven* and a *new earth*, we are unable to determine. Yet, no one can imagine the actual participation of inanimate nature in the glory of the children of God. And not only the description of the *κτίσις* as a sensitive object, but the peculiar subjection to which it is doomed, shows conclusively that the material universe cannot be intended. In what way the various elements and objects of nature are subjected to *vanity*—*τῇ ματαιότητι*—in any authorized sense of that term, has never been shown. Vanity, however, is not the only evil to which the *κτίσις* is subjected. *Bondage and corruption* pertain to its present condition. But how can inanimate nature be regarded as in bondage—especially in the *bondage of corruption*? Is the fact that the ground was *curled* for man's sake, so as not spontaneously to yield its productions, a sufficient reason for applying to it the expressive language of the apostle?

Is there any object, then, within the range of our knowledge, in which the necessary conditions of the *κτίσις* are fulfilled? Such an object, we think, is the *animal part of the human constitution—the body* (the Christian) *regarded as the subject of instinct and sensation*. To maintain this interpretation, it is necessary simply to show, that the proposed application of *κτίσις* is natural and authorized, and that it meets the exigencies of the passage.

I. Is this sense of *κτίσις* natural and authorized? It will be admitted, we presume, this use of the term is not unnatural in

itself. To distinguish the animal from the spiritual part of man, and to speak of them as distinct, is common to profane and sacred writers. The apostle frequently represents the body and the spirit as possessing desires and performing actions peculiar to themselves. He speaks expressly of the *outward* man or animal nature, as distinguished from the *inward* man or the spiritual nature. 2 Cor. 4: 16. The body, thus distinguished from the spirit, may very fitly be styled *the creature*. If the material part of the universe may be designated *κτίσις*, may we not suppose a similar usage in relation to the material part of man? In perfect accordance with this suggestion, the body of man is the only part of his constitution which God is represented as having properly created. Gen. 2: 7. A sufficient reason for this use of *κτίσις* may be found in the likeness of our animal nature to the brute creation. In mere physical constitution there is no essential difference.

But is this use of *κτίσις* sustained by other examples? This question it is not necessary to decide. If it can be shown that this application of the term is natural, and not inconsistent with its acknowledged signification, the exigency of the passage will bear us out. Does any one mistake the force of *οἰκία* in 2 Cor. 5: 1, because no instance of a similar use can be found in the New Testament, or, perhaps, in the language? Does not *κτίσις* itself, in 1 Pet. 2: 13, properly denote an ordinance or institution?—a sense unusual, if not elsewhere unknown? The apostles employed the language of common life. This use of *κτίσις*, though it may be confirmed by no Greek author whose writings are extant, might have corresponded with the “*usus loquendi*” at that time. A usage may have prevailed among Christians similar to that which is common at the present day in relation to the English term “*creature*.”

II. Do the exigencies of the passage require or sustain this sense of *κτίσις*? The sentiment of the passage appears to be closely connected with the preceding context. In verses 10 and 11, the apostle assures his brethren that even their bodies, though doomed to death because of sin, shall be restored to life and immortality, by virtue of the resurrection of Christ and the indwelling of the Spirit. In verse 13, he reminds them, that, by mortifying the deeds of the body through the Spirit, they shall *live*, in the sense just explained—in their entire nature. Comp. John 11: 25, Col. 3: 4, 5, 1 Cor. 15: 22, 1 Thess. 5: 10. He then adds: For as many as are led by the Spirit of God,

they are the sons of God. Having paused to prove this assertion, he completes his argument in verse 17: "If children (or sons), then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; *if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.*" With a vivid conception of the privilege of being glorified with Christ, the apostle exclaims: For I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are of no weight in comparison with (*ἀποῦ*) the glory which is to be manifested upon us. This sentiment he wishes deeply to impress on the minds of his brethren. He is anxious to satisfy them, that, although in a suffering condition, they are destined to attain to those glorious privileges which, as the children of God, they had been encouraged to expect. The time of their "manifestation" has not yet arrived; the enjoyment of their promised inheritance is beyond the present life. Comp. 1 Pet. 1: 3—9; 4: 12, 13; James 5: 7; Gal. 6: 9; Heb. 12: 1, et seq.

The apostle proceeds to show that the inheritance of the saints is yet to be revealed, from the *present condition of their animal nature*; which, though destined to participate in their glorification with Christ, is still subjected to degradation and suffering. "The earnest expectation of the creature is awaiting the manifestation of the sons of God." Their animal nature, as it instinctively shrinks from suffering, may be represented as looking and longing for deliverance: and as its redemption is necessarily involved in being glorified with Christ, its present condition is an evidence that "the manifestation of the sons of God"—the exhibition of their real character and the revelation of their glory—is to be *waited for*—is to be realized only in a future state. "For the creature has been subjected to vanity." The animal constitution is doomed to remain, during its present state of existence, in degradation and misery—to experience the effects of sin.

It has been usual to connect *ἐν ἐλπίδι*, *in hope*, with *ὑποτάχθη*, *has been subjected*, and to regard the intervening expression as a parenthesis; but the harshness of this construction, arising especially from the unnatural repetition of *κρίσις*, seems to forbid its admission. By connecting *ἐν ἐλπίδι* immediately with *ὑποτάξαντα*, *him who subjected it*, these difficulties are avoided, and an apposite sense is secured. Adopting this construction, we may thus express the sentiment of the passage: The creature has been subjected to vanity, not willingly indeed—not without desires and indications of release, but in consequence

of one who has subjected it in hope—who has placed it in a hopeful as well as suffering condition—hope that* even the creature itself shall be liberated from the bondage of corruption—that even the animal nature shall be delivered from its present infirmities and afflictions, yea, even from the confinement and corruption of the grave—into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

In verse 22, the apostle, to confirm his argument, appeals to a fact universally known and acknowledged: "For we know that every creature in common groans and travails in pain until now." He has just said that the creature is at present subjected to vanity; and this subjection is involuntary. The former position is sustained by the fact that *all* creatures alike are in a suffering condition; the latter by their *groans and pangs* in this state of subjection. *Πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* may denote all men considered merely as *sensitive beings*, and need not include the brute creation. We know, says the apostle, that all creatures in common—the saints in their animal nature as well as others—are groaning under infirmity and affliction even to the present time. The full liberty of children—"the manifestation of the sons of God"—has not yet been realized.

The state and feelings of Christians, as *rational and spiritual beings*, are next appealed to as proof that their inheritance is future. "And not only so, but even we ourselves, though we have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, *the redemption of our body*." *Kai avtoi and kai hmeis avtoi en iavtois*, we suppose, were designed to distinguish Christians, not so much from the *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*, as from their own animal nature. This supposition, indeed, is the only satisfactory explanation of this peculiarly emphatic repetition. Not only is the creature—the animal part of our constitution, subjected to vanity and waiting for deliverance, but even we ourselves—we in our proper persons, though partakers of the renovating influence of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption—our manifestation as the children of God—the resurrection and glorification of our bodies.

The passage, as thus explained, is invested with a peculiar

* Should the reader prefer to follow our English version in rendering *ἐν* because, it will accord equally well with this interpretation.

interest. It furnishes an additional proof of a doctrine which was once the life of the Christian church. It makes no allusion, indeed, to the longings of the heathen for immortality. It presents no splendid description of the renovation of the material universe. But it introduces a theme far more welcome to the child of God. It points him directly to his glorious destiny—to the resurrection and glorification of his body. It derives an argument for the confirmation of his faith from facts furnished by his consciousness and experience. It reminds him that he is “a joint heir with Christ,” and consequently, destined to enjoy the glory which is to be revealed. Thus he is encouraged to look beyond the grave for “the manifestation” of his real character, and the enjoyment of his promised inheritance. His very afflictions become a source of consolation, by becoming the evidence of his future bliss. He is assured, by all that is endearing in his relation to God as his Father, by all that is real in the conscious witness of the Spirit, nay, by all that is unwelcome in his present degraded and suffering condition, that he shall finally be raised in the likeness of his Saviour, and shall then participate in the glories of the heavenly kingdom.

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF WIGGERS' HISTORY OF AUGUSTINISM AND PELAGIANISM.

By Professor Henry P. Tappan, New-York City.

An Historical Presentation of Augustinism and Pelagianism, from the original sources: by G. F. Wiggers, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Rostock, etc. Translated from the German, with Notes and Additions, by Rev. Ralph Emerson, Prof. of Eccl. Hist. in the Theol. Sem. Andover, Mass. Andover: Gould, Newman & Saxton. pp. 383.

THE history of Christianity may be taken up under two phases,—the narrative of external and visible events, and its philosophical and dogmatical history. Both are important, both are indispensable. Nor may the one be viewed separately from the other: for they have ever acted upon each other reciprocally.

cally. External events have influenced philosophies and dogmas, and the latter have influenced the former.

But the point particularly to be considered under the second phasis, and one unquestionably of the highest moment, is the connection between Christianity, taken in its utmost purity and simplicity, and the philosophies and dogmas which were abroad in the world when she made her appearance upon the theatre of humanity, or which were called up and modified upon the occasion of her presence. In this work we have to disintegrate the Christianity of Christ and his apostles from the opinions of men; and to show how these various, and often contradictory opinions were combined with the simple element of revelation, thus producing all the different forms of nominal Christianity, of sects and heresies.

The Bible is not peculiarly a book for philosophers and scholars; it is a book for benighted, erring, lost men of every grade. Coming from the purest source and on the most benevolent mission, ere we had entered upon its examination, we might reasonably expect to find it beautifully adapted to its end. Has God given a rule of duty and a revelation of truth, only to involve us in endless disputations? Has he opened to us a way of redemption, and given us a promise of eternal life, accompanied with a pressing exhortation to "lay hold" upon it; and yet, is this way enveloped in such obscurity, and this promise given so doubtfully, that we are compelled to turn away from the glory of the prize, and from the consideration of the urgency of our circumstances, in order to settle curious dogmas, and to balance nicely the "oppositions of science?"

Some of the lepers, the blind, the deaf, the halt, the maimed, the paralytic, in the days of Jesus Christ, may have been men of very curious and subtle minds, and given much to philosophical speculation; and ere they could be persuaded to avail themselves of his miraculous power, they may have thought it indispensable to determine the possibility and the modes of miraculous interposition. We find, however, that Bartimeus experienced the healing benefit, without any previous disquisition upon causes and modes: and the blind man mentioned by the apostle John, when called upon to account for the restoration of his sight, could only reply: "One thing I know, that whereas I was born blind, now I see."

These instances may be taken as a type of the whole dispensation of grace. Men of philosophical genius, taste and learn-

ing may find much to speculate about. Still, the fact is before us, that in the days of Christ and his apostles and in all subsequent times, multitudes of our race, who were destitute of philosophical genius and acquirements, have, under the simplest presentation of "Christ and him crucified," believed unto salvation. In their ignorance, or in their neglect of philosophy, they found nothing wanting to the energy of their faith, or to the strength and comfort of their hope.

The world in which we live is wonderfully and beautifully adapted to our wants and uses. The appropriation, in the first instance, is not made by men of deep science, but by men of limited attainments and ordinary pursuits. Before philosophy, with her thoughtful brow and all penetrating eye, was born; before science had measured the earth and the heavens, and weighed the winds, the mountains and the oceans, and decomposed matter into its fine and subtle elements, there was skill in agriculture and mechanical art; there were a thousand practical rules in being and in use; and nature was extensively known, and her good things enjoyed, as the gifts of a familiar and bountiful parent.

Afterwards came philosophy and science. They expanded the mind, they elevated the nature, they extended the dominion of man. But they did not disclaim the facts which had been already observed; they did not quarrel with the practical and useful rules which had been formed by a spontaneous induction. A multitude of these rules were substantially just, and were never to be laid aside: philosophy might explain but not supersede them. Others were led on from a crude to a perfected state, by nicer experiments, and more thoughtful observations and comparisons. Others were superseded by the discovery of new rules more useful. And many fields of useful and bountiful productiveness were laid open, which were unknown before.

Philosophy and science perfected art, and gave to industry a gigantic power. The new discoveries, and the more exact knowledges, while they extended and perfected what had gone before, worked into it harmoniously and benignly. The introduction of a better implement for tilling the earth, or an improvement in ship-building, or a more wholesome and palatable manufacture of bread, or a finer, warmer and more beautiful manufacture of garments, or a more convenient and nobler architecture would be benefits alike obvious, whether introduced

by laborious and unscientific experiments, or by the application of mechanical, chemical and æsthetical principles. And while these higher efforts were in progress, and before any palpable and sure result in any branch had been attained, the old, homely and useful rules and usages held sway, and produced their accustomed benefits. The rude and unwieldy plough would not be laid aside, and the earth suffered to lie untilled, because a skilful mechanician had given out that he was about to produce a more convenient implement: nor would the mariner cease to regulate his navigation by the jutting headlands and capes, and by the sun and stars, because a report had gone forth that an instrument would soon be abroad, which would enable him to sail in the dark night, and to launch away from the land into the unknown ocean.

Now, what the plain facts of nature are to men universally in common life, in all that relates to our physical and social being, the Bible is to men universally in common life, in all that relates to their spiritual, responsible and immortal being. The Bible is a plain array of facts, rules, precepts, doctrines and promises. It is of universal interest and moment, and it is given in the simplest and most appropriate language.

The incarnation of the Son of God, his miracles, his sufferings and death, his resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven are all given clearly as facts. And so, likewise, all the teachings of Christ and his apostles consist in the announcement of facts, in the statement of truths in simple and intelligible propositions, in drawing obvious and forcible conclusions from generally admitted truths, and in urging these upon the attention of men with great earnestness and simplicity, accompanied with solemn comminations and "exceedingly precious promises."

Many of these facts and truths are mysterious in their nature; as the incarnation, miracles, death and resurrection of Christ, the mission of the Holy Spirit in regenerating, sanctifying and comforting the heart, the resurrection of the dead, and the world to come. And even many, which are more generally professed to be understood, have their measure of mystery; as the doctrine of the atonement and intercession of Christ, and of justification by faith. There are a multitude of curious philosophical inquiries which may be started respecting these truths; and we do not deny the interest and importance of these inquiries. But ere we commence these inquiries, we have the

facts and the inspired propositions in all their integrity, containing rules of duty and objects of faith and hope, in their sublime utility—bringing peace, salvation and eternal life to a sinful and lost race.

Paul's mind partook of that character which we call philosophical; and there is reason to believe that he was both philosophically and classically educated. Some of the writings of John, particularly a part of the first chapter of his gospel, may produce the same impression. We believe, however, that a philosophical aspect in the portions referred to will present itself strongly only to those who traverse the pages of the Bible on a philosophical hunt, and who are eager to find food and authority for preconceived theories. Paul and John, after all, only affirm truths upon divine authority; or where deductions are made, they arise spontaneously and obviously, and by no intricate and difficult logic. The spirit of all Scripture is conveyed in the noble declaration of John: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life; that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you."

What is true of the writings of the apostles is true likewise, in an eminent degree, of the teaching of Jesus Christ. He, certainly, has nothing of the manner of a speculating philosopher. The only approach to a concealment of his meaning is found in his parables. The truths conveyed under these are very simple and striking, and were readily explained to his disciples when they applied to him in private, and would, undoubtedly, have been explained to any other persons who should have manifested the same interest in his instructions. This mode of teaching was at the time intended as a rebuke of the unbelieving Jews. The exposition of these parables the evangelists have given in full.

Few, comparatively, have the genius and the learning to enter upon the deep philosophical researches connected with the truths of the gospel. If there be any man, or any number of men who can enter upon these researches, with the true philosophical spirit, after a true philosophical method, and become to the metaphysical world what Kepler, and Galileo, and Tycho Brahe, and Leibnitz, and Newton were to the physical world—great and sure interpreters—then may we gain higher views of our own being, and of the being of God and his moral govern-

ment ; then, the facts and inspired propositions of the Bible, received in all their simplicity, shall become the sure foundation of an enduring philosophy, which, rising like a glorious pyramid, shall hide its top in the impenetrable light wherein God dwelleth and knoweth himself alone.

Until that day of great illumination come, there must be diverse theories and speculations, by men of diverse powers, learning, prejudices and aims. But while these theories are building up, or crumbling, and these speculations wax warm and even fierce in the conflict with mighty antagonists, do not the facts and inspired propositions remain the same? Is it necessary that all the unlearned, or plainly educated, all men, women and children, who can find food and life and light and happiness in the gospel, should become involved in the unintelligible conflict, and be arrayed against each other by the names and fierce watchwords of sects and parties?

Mark, friends—remember, gentlemen—that whether the Copernican or the Ptolemaic system be true, we have the same succession of day and night, the same kind presence of the heavens, the same bountiful and motherly bosom of the earth ; that whether the phlogistic or the anti-phlogistic theory be true, we can still plough and reap, and make bread from the “fat kidneys of wheat,”—that whatever may be the true cosmogony, social order and quiet duty and enjoyment exist independently of the determination of these difficult points. And so, likewise, while the metaphysical doctors of the church are involved in their complicated ontologies, theodicies, psychologies, anthropologies ; and, in the zeal and towering wrath of disputation, are hurling at each other the tortuous and lurid thunderbolts of logic ; the gospel of Christ, like a sweet lake among the green hills, lies still, calm and transparent, reflecting the light and the forms of heaven. We may all go together, the learned and the unlearned—even the conflicting doctors may go together into “the green pastures and beside the still waters.” We may intermit our inquiries respecting the foundations of these everlasting hills, respecting the causes and laws, the path and motions of the sun and the stars over our heads, respecting the sources and the inherent properties of these pure and healing waters. This light is pleasant to the eye ; this is a glorious scenery of the earth and the heavens ; the fruits of this tree of life are not forbidden ; of these waters we may drink freely. Let us ascend this green hill and sit beneath this cross. What peace ! what

beauty! what a heavenly influence breathes here! Here lies a wondrous telescope: let us look through it. We see the land which is afar off:—the heavenly city stands revealed.

In the world of nature, the facts were first given, and loved, and generalized into useful rules; and philosophy came on slowly afterwards as the interpreter of the unquestionable facts. But even here the wildness of speculation often did violence to the simplicity of nature; but then, the error did not reach our common life, and the majestic voice of nature soon silenced the voices of strange children.

But when Christianity appeared, she found old religions and philosophies, boastful of their descent, proud and stern in their pretensions; all alike contending for the mastery, or forming alliances to make conquest and pre-eminence doubly sure. She came, not as a philosophy, but revealed herself as the face of nature upon the morning of creation, when light was first spread abroad: there were forms and objects to behold, and influences to feel and enjoy. There was undoubtedly a philosophy connected with all this. But as the sun with his light and warmth reached the little bud of earth, and opened its petals, and painted its colors, and presented its beauty and fragrance to the sense of man, without deigning to explain the curious and beautiful work; and as the soul of man found itself in wonderful union with a corporeal body, admirably fitted to its uses, without comprehending the nature of this union, and saw a universal life working in organic nature without comprehending its interpenetration and its plastic energy; so, in this spiritual world of Christianity, there was the union of divinity with humanity, and the communication of influences from a heavenly spirit, and the penetrating and vivifying power of a higher life, plainly given, and producing its palpable and glorious works of moral purity, beauty and order, while no explanation of the modes and conditions of this process was vouchsafed.

The first followers and adherents of Christianity received her as "little children." They were generally persons of sober minds, intelligent enough to perceive and apply facts, but carried away by no philosophical pride and enthusiasm. And while the days of persecution lasted, even the philosophical, who truly embraced the gospel, were more eager after eternal life than speculation; as, during a siege, the philosopher will sometimes lay aside his books, or leave the laboratory, and take shield and spear in the common emergency.

But the presence of the old philosophies was soon felt. The facts and doctrines proclaimed, obviously had philosophical relations. Plato, and Epicurus and Zoroaster, as well as Jupiter, Isis and Arimanes, felt the pressure of the new religion.

First, therefore, appeared a collision between facts and truths of inspiration, and established dogmas. The affirmations of Christ and God were in conflict with the deductions of a speculative reason. This conflict began when Christ, at twelve years of age, disputed with the doctors in the temple. It continued during his life, and extended more and more after his death. Speculative philosophy rejected his miracles and denied his resurrection. Paul met it at Mars-hill when he preached Jesus and the resurrection. Paganism and philosophy went hand in hand, but they were prostrated before the facts of the gospel. Christianity triumphed, but philosophy was not extinguished. Now philosophy put on priestly garments, and became the commentator of God's revelations. Mighty tomes, under saintly names, and creeds, and confessions, bearing the broad seals of synods and councils, are the memorials of her work.

It must here be admitted that many great and good men wrote nobly and wisely; and that even those fathers, who philosophised much and crudely, made many happy expositions, gave out many excellent and striking thoughts, and spoke often in eloquent and soul-stirring exhortations. Still it may be safely affirmed, that Gnosticism, Manichæism, Platonism, and other forms of philosophy pervaded and influenced the thinking of the fathers.

There are therefore two general forms of Christianity so called. First, Christianity as contained wholly and truly in the Bible, consisting of facts narrated, and of doctrines affirmed under the authority and inspiration of God. Secondly, Christianity as presented in the creeds, and confessions, and writings generally of the Christian fathers. It is indeed assumed by the devoted adherents of the latter, that they have presented Christianity according to the just scriptural idea.

In order to determine the question thus at issue, it would be necessary to examine the writings of the fathers, together with the acknowledged creeds and confessions.

Now three results are possible. 1. The integrity of the facts and truths of the gospel may be preserved; and the additions made may consist of just philosophical principles and expositions. 2. The integrity of the facts and truths may be preserv-

ed; and the additions made may consist of the dogmas of a false philosophy. 3. The integrity of the facts and doctrines may be violated, and false dogmas may be added.

Wherever the integrity of the facts and affirmations of the gospel is preserved, ample ground for Christian union and fellowship exists, whatever may be the philosophical differences. As well might we refuse to work together by the light of the sun, or to cultivate, on common rules of agriculture, the fruitful earth, or to eat the same bread, because we differ in our theories in physics.

Next to the direct denial, or to the open perversion of the gospel, is the evil of commingling with its pure stream the various philosophies of men; and then presenting the adulterated, or at least the compound element, as that which came forth from the original source. Whether it be owing to the incapacity or imperfect discipline of the human mind, or whether the subject contains inherent difficulties, no branch of knowledge has presented so many contradictory and conflicting dogmas, and involved men in such fierce and interminable disputes as metaphysics. Now what can be more disastrous than to have all these disputes foisted into the gospel of Christ,—a religion not given to the “wise and prudent,” but unto “babes;” and not intended for the exercise of human wit, but to save the perishing sinner!

One most effectual means of bringing to an end the evils of which we have spoken, and of giving freedom to religion and to truth, is to introduce the profound and thorough study of the philosophical and dogmatical history of Christianity, into our systems of theological education. Let our students learn the origin of the numerous creeds and confessions of the church,—of the stately systems of theology,—of all these learned, venerable, and authoritative dogmas. Initiate them into philosophical history and criticism. Let them not be confined to the bare facts of external history; but enable them to penetrate into the heart of these movements. Give them the simplicity of heart, the independence of thought, the learned furniture and skill to separate pure, primitive and apostolical Christianity from strange philosophical admixtures. Could this sort of learning be more widely diffused, many a self-named defender of the faith, full of honest and fiery zeal, might be surprised to find himself, instead of an august champion for what was “once delivered to the saints,” the poor hero of a profane and stale philosophy.

Doctor Wiggers has done a worthy service in this department

of church history, by his learned, judicious and impartial "Historical Presentation of Augustinism and Pelagianism." And next to him, the English public will feel themselves indebted to his learned translator, for his very spirited, graceful and lucid version; and for his ingenious "notes and additions." This work cannot be commended too highly to the attention of clergymen and theological students. The translator aptly remarks: "There are probably three classes of men who will like to read such a work as this. First, those who have been called Pelagians: for they will honestly wish to know whether they ought any longer to reject the appellation; and how far, if *at all*, they should own its justness. Secondly, those who have called them Pelagians: as they will wish to know whether, in whole or in part, they have rightly bestowed the appellation;—and whether, to any extent, it may also be applicable to themselves. Thirdly, those who have neither given nor received the name, but who would fain be better able to judge of the propriety with which it has been so currently applied and so promptly rejected, on the right and on the left." And we would add, fourthly, those who boast of the title of Augustinians; that they may know how far they are entitled to this distinction, and how far, upon serious reflection, they may be disposed to consider it a desirable distinction. Let us no longer take or give names in the dark; and although "names are things," let us learn that there are "things" which are better than their "names" purport.

The Augustinian and Pelagian controversy embraces topics which were agitated before the time of the two distinguished leaders from whom it takes its name; and which have never ceased to be agitated since their time. It does not appear, that of the earlier fathers there were any who could with justice be assigned strictly to the one form of doctrine or the other: and of the multitude of ecclesiastical writers who flourished subsequently, there was certainly a wide diversity of doctrine, bearing the same general designation of Augustinism and Pelagianism, but which, only in the case of the latter, attained to a distinctive title—that of Semi-Pelagianism.

With the aid of Dr. Wiggers—to whose authority we dare confidently appeal, and whose "presentation" we have it in our power to verify by going to the "original sources"—we shall endeavor to present a brief, but we hope a clear compend of the two systems. Departing from his order, we shall adopt one which is, in some degree, chronological.

I. THE PRIMITIVE STATE OF MAN.

The Augustinian Theory.

Adam possessed a rational nature made after the divine likeness. This nature was highly developed, so that he was more noble, wise and excellent than any who ever came after him. He likewise possessed free will, as a power to sin or to refrain from sinning. This free will was not sufficient of itself to enable him to stand: but the aid of grace was afforded which rendered it sufficient; and yet this grace was not irresistible grace. The free will of man was one of inferior degree. He possessed the *posse non peccare*—the ability not to sin; but not the *non posse peccare*—the inability to sin. The power to do good, and the *non posse peccare* constitute the highest form of freedom. This is the freedom of God as the immutable good, of angels, and the “just made perfect.” But man, being made out of nothing, is at first an inferior and mutable good. Had Adam persevered, he would finally have attained to the higher freedom, the *non posse peccare*.

Before the fall the passions were subject to the reason. Hence there was no inordinate and evil concupiscence of any kind. “The connexion of the sexes would indeed have taken place in Paradise; but in such a way, that either no sensual passion would have been excited, or it would have been subject to the dominion of reason, and would not have risen in opposition to its dictates.”

The body which he inhabited corresponded to the purity and excellence of his mind. It was majestic, beautiful, free from disease and pain, and immortal. He did not possess the immortality of angels, and of the bodies of the risen saints. It was an immortality which depended upon the fact of his not sinning. Had he persevered in holiness, with the attainment of the *non posse peccare*, there would have been conjoined the impossibility of dying; and he would have passed into a spiritual body.

Eden was the fitting habitation of a being so holy and happy. Even the beasts were tame and gentle, and lived on the common vegetable aliment. And “if extreme old age would finally have worked their dissolution, so that human nature alone should possess eternal life; they would have been removed from Paradise, or would have gone forth, led by a sense of impending

death; so that death might happen to no living thing in that place of life."

The Pelagian Theory.

"The state of man before the fall was the same as it is now." He was a being of intelligence, free will and passions, with the ability to sin or to refrain from sinning. Then as now, his body was subject to disease and death. Hence, "the words, in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die, referred to spiritual death, i. e. sin." "The primitive state of the first man was superior only in this, that no example of sinning had yet been presented for imitation; and the first man who came into the world as an adult, had the full use of reason at the beginning," and the perfect exercise of his freedom. "Even concupiscence, which Augustine held as something evil, and as the mother of all evil, but which the Pelagians explained as a natural passion, was found in Paradise."

"Julian, a follower of Pelagius, admitted that Adam was created immortal, in the sense, that if he had not sinned, he would have obtained immortality by eating of the tree of life."

II. FREE WILL.

Augustinian Theory.

Augustine represents the will before the fall as an activity, entirely able and free to sin; also able and free to do good by the aid of grace actually communicated. Since the fall, it is an activity free only to sin, and totally unable to do good. The highest form of freedom is the *non posse peccare*.

Pelagian Theory.

In the original constitution of man, the will is an activity capable of both good and evil. In this lies its freedom; and in this "freedom to good and evil consists the superiority of the rational soul; in this, the honor and dignity of our nature." By the sin of Adam the capacity of good and evil action was neither lost to himself nor to his posterity. "Free will is as much free will after sins, as before sins." "It depends on man whether he will be good or evil." "He can even again become good when he has been bad, through his own exertions and aided by grace."

III. THE FALL OF ADAM AND ORIGINAL SIN.

Augustinian Theory.

Adam was free to sin, and he sinned. This Augustine takes as a primary fact. He does not account for the sin of Adam out of Adam himself: he was the cause of the first transgression.

Original sin is Adam's sin considered as participated in by all his posterity. Adam, as the first man, comprehended within himself his whole posterity. In the very act by which he sinned, they sinned likewise. And hence, whatever consequences affected Adam personally, affected his posterity. These consequences are condemnation to eternal death; temporal death; evil concupiscence or disordered passion in general, and sexual desire in particular—attested by the shame of nakedness; the pains of parturition; the necessity of labor, and the production of thorns and thistles; all moral and physical evils, and the loss of personal beauty. "The nature of man, both in a physical and a moral view, is totally corrupted by Adam's sin." All these consequences are penal consequences.

In this sin, Adam, and all his posterity in him, lost the ability to do good and became the slaves of sin. Even infants, although they should die while infants, are guilty, and subject to penal consequences, because they sinned in Adam.

Pelagian Theory.

Adam sinned only for himself. His sin is not original sin in relation to his posterity. Every one who comes after him is born into the world as pure and free as Adam was created, and is in a less advantageous position, only in respect of the weakness of infancy, and the necessity of growing up under the influence of sinful example.

IV. BAPTISM.

Augustinian Theory.

The subjects of baptism are infants and adults. In general baptism is indispensable to salvation. The only exceptions are cases in which faith unquestionably exists, but the rite is rendered impossible by the peculiar circumstances of the individual. Those who believed in Christ as the future Mediator, before his advent, are exceptions also. All unbaptised infants and all

heathen, as they are destitute of both faith and baptism, are lost. The damnation of infants will be of a milder form : and the heathen, who lived comparatively just and pure lives, will be adjudged to milder punishment than licentious idolaters.

The efficacy of baptism, in respect to infants, is to remove the guilt of original sin. All who are baptised in infancy, if they die before they are capable of actual transgression, will assuredly be saved. It is presumed, however, that the grace of the Holy Spirit is given at the time of baptism, for their spiritual regeneration. In the case of adults, baptism effects a complete redemption from sin, both original and actual. "Baptism, in Augustine's view, was the means, not only of obtaining pardon from all sin, but of being freed from all evil."

The Eucharist is involved in baptism ; so that all the baptised are to be at once admitted to its participation. Hence it is to be administered even to infants.

In the case of infants, baptism alone is sufficient for salvation, because they are incapable of exercising faith. In the case of adults, faith and baptism are alike indispensable, unless the rite is clearly impossible. In the case of adults as well as infants, while the external rite was imperatively demanded, so that even faith could not, in ordinary circumstances, save without it ; still the regeneration of the heart was effected by the accompanying influences of the Holy Spirit : but these influences were secured by the performance of the rite.

Pelagian Theory.

In the case of adults, the Pelagians affirm the efficacy of baptism no less than the Augustinians, except in respect to original sin, which the former deny. In the case of infants, there is no efficacy in baptism to the removal of original sin, because there is no original sin. But inasmuch as both parties practised infant baptism, and united in attributing to it an efficacious operation on the soul itself, it became necessary for the Pelagians to show the necessity and uses of baptism in an uncorrupted being. This they attempted, by making the extraordinary distinction between eternal life and the kingdom of heaven. To the first the infant is entitled, on the ground of natural uncorruptedness ; to the second, by the rite of baptism, elevating the spiritual being to a higher excellence than naturally belongs to it. Subsequently, they conceded the object of

infant baptism to be the remission of sins, which should afterwards be committed.

Baptism, as generally expounded and practised in the church, was based upon the theory of original sin. The Pelagian dared not rebel against the authority of the church in relation to this rite, and therefore he found himself in an awkward position when he broached his doctrine. The Augustinian, on the other hand, employed the generally received notion of the efficacy of baptism as an argument for the doctrine of original sin: but then he had to meet the consequence of an indiscriminate condemnation of all unbaptised persons, heathen, infants, and even adult believers, unless the baptism of the latter were impossible.

V. GRACE.

Augustinian Theory.

By the fall, Adam, with all his posterity as comprehended in him, lost all freedom of will to the performance of good. If man, therefore, be left to rely wholly upon himself in this fallen condition, he cannot attain to any good whatever. Now, "God has in himself the hidden causes of certain acts, which he has not implanted in the things he has made; and these causes he puts in operation, not in that work of Providence by which he makes natures to exist, but in that by which he manages as he will, the natures that he constituted as he chose. And there is the grace by which sinners are saved. For as it respects nature, deprived by its own bad will, it has of itself no return, except by God's grace, whereby it is aided and restored." This grace or special power of God must be prevenient to every act, emotion, or movement, even the slightest, which man makes for the recovery of holiness. Hence, faith, love, the knowledge of what is truly good, the "power to will good," and every good act in particular are all dependent upon "the supernatural and immediate inward operation" of grace or these "hidden causes."

"In bestowing this grace, God has no respect to the worthiness of man—for man can have no worthiness at all—but God here acts after his own free will. By what reasons of propriety he is influenced it is not for us to decide." This grace is *irresistible*. Man cannot controvert its effects if he would; or, rather, working in his will to restore his freedom, resistance on his part is not supposable. The operation of these "*hidden causes*," or grace, does no violence to the original constitution of man, but is in accordance with it.

The grace afforded to man before the fall was the operation of the same "hidden causes," but it was then given merely as an aid co-operative, but after the fall as a power restorative.

Pelagian Theory.

Grace is of wide signification. It embraces the fact of our creation out of nothing, the endowments of reason and free will, and the dignity and manifold advantages which result from them. In the original and permanent constitution of our being, all men possess the power and possibility of doing good. By the promulgation of the law, and by the instructions of Jesus, the performance of good is rendered easier: Hence these are gifts of grace. The communication of supernatural influences is the highest measure of grace. As the Christian receives higher gifts than he who is not a Christian, so he can attain a higher degree of moral perfection. Supernatural influences are given only to him who merits them by the proper and faithful use of his natural powers. The understanding, and not the will of man, is the seat of supernatural influences. The death of Christ, the forgiveness of sin, and baptism are all likewise grace. There is no irresistible grace.

According to Augustine, human nature, in its best estate, is weak and imperfect, and requires the aid of grace, or the "hidden causes." The whole power and possibility of not sinning which Adam possessed depended upon grace. According to Pelagius, "human nature itself in which we are made is grace," and of itself sufficient to do good. Thus strongly contrasted are the two systems.

VI. REDEMPTION.

Augustinian Theory.

"The consequences of redemption extend to the soul, by freeing it from sin and its punishment, and to the body, by raising it to felicity." The power of the "hidden causes"—the supernatural, inward working or grace is the immediate efficient of the deliverance from sin with consequent glory and blessedness; but the death of Christ is the ground of the communication of this grace. The object of Christ's incarnation was not merely to suffer for us to free us from sin and the devil, and by his doctrine and grace redeem us from all imperfection; but also to inspire us by his example, to the ardent pursuit of holiness.

As to the extent of the atonement, Augustine is explicit. Christ died only for the elect. In Augustine's scheme of predestination, grace is confined to the elect. Hence, the death of Christ, which is made the ground of the communication of that grace, can contemplate only the elect.

Pelagian Theory.

"All sinners are pardoned by God simply for Christ's sake; are freed merely on his account from the guilt and punishment of their sins." Thus far this theory agrees with the preceding. "But since, according to Pelagius, men are able to live without sin, and to practise virtue by their own power, so all men are not sinners; and hence the atoning virtue of the death of Christ is imparted to those only who have actually sinned." The death of Christ, however, was not superfluous to those who needed no atonement. The teaching and example of Christ, the communication of supernatural influences, and the grace of baptism would lead to a more perfect excellence than could be attained without them.

The death of Christ, as an atonement or otherwise, is not limited to any particular class or number of men. All who will may partake of its benefits.

VII. PREDESTINATION AND PERSEVERANCE.

Augustinian Theory.

"By Adam's sin the whole human race became a corrupt mass (*perditionis massa*), and justly subject to eternal damnation; so that no one can blame God's righteous decision, if none are saved." Of this "mass" "no one can be freed but he who has received the gift through the grace of the Saviour." The whole race is not only lost, but irretrievably lost, unless God interpose to save them. God, indeed, must be supposed to have power to save any number, or even the whole; for all must be saved to whom he imparts "irresistible grace."

Before the creation of the world, by an unconditional decree, without reference to human merit—for merit there was none—"God elected a definite number" to salvation. For these alone Christ died; and to these alone grace is imparted. The rest, who constitute by far the greater number, are left to perish by that just doom in which all are by nature included. "The

number of those who are predestinated to the kingdom of God is so certain, that not one shall be either added to them or taken from them." "For the salvation of the elect, God employs means."

"*Perseverance* is a special gift to the elect, which is afforded to all the elect, and to none but the elect." This gift of perseverance amounts to an "inability to apostatize." The final cause, or the reason of the salvation of the elect number, lies simply in the will of God. He has mercy on whom he will have mercy.

Pelagian Theory.

Predestination is conditional. "God designed those for salvation who, as he foreknew, would believe in him and keep his commands; and reprobated those who, as he foreknew, would remain in sin."

Perseverance depends upon the exertion of the free will: and those, who have hitherto been "saints" and "elect according to the foreknowledge of God," may fall away and be lost.

Passing over the external history of this controversy—which our author has given with great clearness, and placed in interesting points of view—as well as much other matter of deep interest—for which, as well as for the more ample details of the respective theories, and the arguments with which the great disputants met each other, we must refer our readers to the work itself, with the earnest hope that they will not forego the benefit of a careful study of so rare a production,—we shall now proceed to examine, as far as our limits will permit, these two antagonistic systems.

Philosophical systems are suggested and conditioned by human experience. But, not only is that experience which is common to man allowed to exercise an undue authority, and, from a mere condition, to be elevated to the rank of an ultimate authority over the Reason—the only source of immutable truth—national peculiarities, the temperament, education and fortuities of the individual become, at least a strongly modifying, and often the determining power of a philosophical system.

Augustine was born in Numidia, and educated in Carthage. By his temperament, derived perhaps from his native climate,

and his habits, formed amid the elegant dissoluteness of a wealthy city, he was addicted, up to the time of his conversion, in the highest degree to sensual pleasure. His mother was a woman of exemplary piety; and had, from his earliest years, labored to restrain his hot and jovial temper, and to initiate him into the Christian life.

It appears that, from an early period, Augustine was subject to severe conflicts between an enlightened conscience and his voluptuous propensities. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the full career of pleasure and ambition, and at the age of nineteen, he should have found strong and peculiar charms in the doctrines of the Manichæans; a sect who referred the origin of sin to the necessary weakness of man, arising from his union with matter, the great principle of evil. In such a doctrine, the voluptuous heart could find relief from the rebukes of conscience.

When he was released from the bonds of this sect, and, under the full conviction of moral obligation and the power of divine love, entered into the fellowship of Christ, the revulsion of feeling which he naturally experienced led him zealously to oppose the doctrines which he had once espoused. Hence one of his earliest works against this sect, was "his first book on Free Will;—a work which he afterwards completed while a presbyter at Hippo, and in which he endeavored to refute the theory of the Manichæans on the origin of evil. They derived evil from a distinct nature, which was coeternal with God; Augustine, from the free will of man." The composition of this treatise is a remarkable event in the history of Augustine. In it, he clearly exhibits the will as endowed with the power of choosing good or evil; and solves at once the question respecting the origin of the sin of the first man.

No man perhaps ever went through a severer ordeal in turning from the "carnal" to the "spiritual mind," than this venerable and distinguished man. After he had become a disciple of the "pious Ambrose," and had abandoned the Manichæans, and while he was drawn by sincere aspirations towards a higher life, "his heart was still encompassed by the allurements of honor, of gain and of sensual love. But he was recalled from the abyss of sensual delights, by the fear of death and the future judgment." After addicting himself to the study of Plato and Paul, and experiencing various conflicts, both of opinion and feeling, he comes to the period of his entire devotion to a holy

life. "Worldly concerns, it is true, had no longer any charm for him; but love still held his heart a captive. In this disquietude, and impelled by his longing for a better mode of life, he went to Simplicianus, formerly a rhetorician, and a zealous Christian, and who afterwards succeeded Ambrose in the episcopal chair at Milan. With some emotion, he heard from him the account of the conversion of Victorinus. Soon after this, a certain Potitianus described to him the life of St. Anthony, and the conversion of two high commissaries. This made the most lively impression on his heart. He betook himself to a garden, where his friend Alypius followed him, who had been present at the conversation. A violent contest arose between his sensual and spiritual nature. He knew the better; and yet sensuality and the power of habit held him a prisoner in their chains. He fell into a violent passion. He tore his hair; smote his forehead; grasped his knees. He then withdrew a little from Alypius, and cast himself under a fig-tree. A flood of tears broke forth; and he implored the divine mercy for grace. Augustine believed he heard a divine voice, calling to him in the words: *Tolle, lege*; *Tolle, lege*:—Take up, read; Take up, read. He dried his tears; rose up; went forth where Alypius sat, and where he had been reading the book of the apostle. He seized and opened it; and the first words on which his eyes fell, were *Rom. 13: 13*,—not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof. Now his heart was completely changed and converted to God. He went with Alypius to his mother. With joy she learned the change which had taken place in her son. Now Augustine was at rest. External things no longer troubled his heart, and he began quietly to meditate on the manner in which he should direct his future life."

There were obviously two elements co-working to form Augustine's views of original sin;—the doctrine of the Manichæans respecting the seat of the evil principle, and his own experience of the "law in his members, warring against the law of his mind." He had indeed abandoned the sect of the Manichæans, and had even written against their doctrines, on the points where these doctrines invaded moral responsibility, and that freedom of the will on which alone responsibility can be based. With respect to the origin of evil, he rejected their theory of a coeternal evil principle. But there were points in

the Manichæan doctrines which had wrought strongly in his nature, and which wrought there still. When in the wild career of sensuality he had sought to justify himself, or at least to silence the rebukes of conscience,—the weakness and the unavoidable concupiscence of the flesh presented the expedient. And now that he had engaged in a struggle for godliness and heaven, although he no longer sought to excuse the motions of sin, and hush the accusing voice within, still the very energy and painfulness of the struggle by which the spirit endeavored to master the flesh, would revive, however unconsciously of the source from whence it sprung, the idea of the vitiosity of matter. It was not difficult to make his interpretations of Scripture correspond with opinions which had worked themselves out of the two most excited states of his strongest passions,—their conquering state, and their state of being conquered; since, in addition to the strength which these opinions derived from the circumstances of their formation, they seemed to find a support in the language of the apostle. This evil concupiscence, to his consciousness, had always been working in his nature, and had at no period been introduced by his will. What he observed in himself he found verified by his observations upon others. It was therefore an inherited concupiscence.

Again: the manner in which he had yielded to its impulses, notwithstanding the instructions, prayers and tears of his mother, and notwithstanding his own frequent perceptions of the higher beauty and excellence of godliness; and, in addition to this, the fact that even while under the instructions and example of Ambrose, with strong yearnings after spirituality of mind, he found himself unable to break away from the fascinations of pleasure, but was held in a sort of compulsive bondage until the divine voice spoke to him in the garden, and, by an interposition which appeared to him almost if not altogether miraculous, gave him freedom and peace, naturally influenced his opinions respecting the slavery of the will. And here again, it is probable that the doctrines of the Manichæans, unconsciously to him, reappeared and gave their touch to the mould of his thoughts.

The evil concupiscence and the loss of freedom consequent upon it, in the long line of inheritance, necessarily brought him back to the first man. He had already made the will of Adam responsible for sin, and in doing so had made it a free will; and he had also made men universally responsible for

sin. But as the first man alone had a free will, how shall his posterity retain their responsibility, when they sin necessarily by a will enslaved to the evil concupiscence? There was but one way in which the difficulty could be evaded or removed. As each man, by a long but regular series of generations, had derived his being, with all its powers physical and mental, and all its vitiosity from Adam, so each man could be conceived of as in some sort existing in Adam. When therefore Adam sinned, the whole race, potentially contained in him, sinned likewise. The will of the individual was indeed enslaved to the evil concupiscence; but then, in Adam, by an act of the all comprehending free will of the race, he had freely sinned, and inherited a bondage of the will, a guilt and condemnation which were therefore justly his due. Having formed his theory, Augustine found many passages of Scripture which plainly affirm that we all have become sinners *through* or *by means* of Adam, and were therefore not difficult of accommodation,—particularly, as they appeared in the Latin version, the only one which he used.

Augustine's entire system finds its cardinal basis in his theory of original sin.

1. *The condition of infants, and the nature and efficacy of baptism.* The whole race sinned in Adam, and are condemned with him for the first sin: infants, therefore, are condemned; and dying, without divine interposition, are inevitably lost. This divine interposition appears in the rite of baptism. All baptised infants will be saved, if they die in a state of infancy. Adults, also, are saved from original sin by baptism, and cannot be saved without it.

Augustine, in his theory of original sin, creates an extraordinary form of guilt; and he creates an equally extraordinary form of purification to meet it. It certainly is not more difficult to believe, that the application of water in a solemn rite, should remove guilt and eternal condemnation, than that this guilt and condemnation should spring from a personal participation in Adam's sin by all his posterity. After this, perhaps, we ought not to be surprised even at the farther extension of the efficacy of baptism, so as to make it embrace the removal of actual sin and physical imperfection. In the extraordinary virtues attributed to it, we behold one form of that portentous corruption of Christianity, which, from early and small beginnings, gradually

diffused itself abroad, until the simplicity of Christ, and the sublime spirituality of his doctrines were supplanted by gorgeous and complicated ceremonies, and manipulatory devotions.

2. *Grace.* Salvation through the death of Christ is actually revealed. But how can it take effect with a race totally enslaved to sin, and without the slightest ability to good? Clearly, the work of restoration cannot begin with man, not even in the feeblest initiatory step; for he is incapable of forming the remotest purpose of returning to holiness. Salvation can take effect, therefore, only by a divine interposition: and as this interposition does not lie in any visible, natural influences, it must consist of "causes hidden" in God himself, and directly acting upon the human will and affections.

3. *Limited Redemption.* All men do not believe; all men are not saved. But why? Because, all men being unable to make any effort for salvation, God is pleased to provide salvation, and to communicate grace only to a part. The whole race, by original sin, are condemned, lost and helpless; and only those are and can be saved, whom God elects as the subjects of redemption and grace.

4. *Election.* According to Augustine, this cannot be a mere purpose to receive all, who, by making certain efforts, comply with the prescribed conditions, which conditions are within the scope of their ability: but, on the contrary, it is an absolute predestination, which contains within itself the only causal influence which can, in any manner or degree, lead the sinner to Christ. It is impossible that the sinner should go to Christ, unless he wills to go; but he cannot will to go, because he has no freedom of will or ability to good: he goes, therefore, only as God elects him to go, and gives him grace accordingly.

Let us now turn to the system of Pelagius. The origin of Pelagius and his early education are unknown. His life, as far as known, was unstained: he was exemplary in the practice of virtue, and earnest in its inculcation. The strength of human passions, the feebleness of human resolutions, and the fierce conflict between matured habits of dissoluteness and a quickened conscience, which characterized his great opponent, probably never appeared in him to a degree to tempt him to doubt the freedom of the will. Besides, he appears to have been under no prejudices derived from early associations with any philosophical sect.

Pelagius asserted the doctrine of human freedom. This ground of obligation, which Augustine admitted only in the instance of the first man, he extended to the whole human race. He erred, however, in his deductions. It is but reasonable to believe that he was driven into many extreme positions, by the persecution which he experienced. Truth requires to be quietly and securely followed. The excitation of fierce dispute, the competition and mutual abuse of parties, the arrogance of power, the obstinacy of the calumniated and trodden down, the subtleties to which the persecuted are compelled to resort, the inconsistencies and self-contradictions which fear extorts are all foreign to her sweet and quiet walks, her soft and gentle voice, and her benign and heaven-beaming countenance. Augustine and Pelagius were both acute men, and men of rare gifts. The holy walks of Truth were open to them both; and they would have met her more frequently, had they been less eager to search out each other in hot debate.

The error of Pelagius was just opposite to that of Augustine. The latter, by extending the effects of Adam's fall to every faculty of his being, was led to the denial of human freedom; and was then driven to his theory of original sin, with all its consequences. Pelagius, in dwelling too intensely upon the inherent freedom of man, overlooked the possibility of a corruption derived by natural generation, without impairing that freedom. He analyzed too exclusively one faculty of our being. This was his great philosophical error.

Man can will both good and evil. So far he was correct. But the consequence which he drew—therefore man can be good or evil—is not legitimate. Man has intelligence, and therefore he can know. He has will, and therefore he can choose and do. But it does not follow, that, because he has affections of love and hate, he can direct these affections to any object known by his intelligence and selected by his will. The intelligence may affirm what objects *ought* to be loved, and what objects *ought* to be hated; and the will may direct the whole attention to the contemplation of these objects and their qualities, and call up any known influence within its reach, that may conduce to the required affection: but the affection itself can no more be a creation of the will, than a perception of the intelligence.

It is a fact of universal consciousness, that the affections of man are, in many important points, opposed to the decisions of

reason and conscience. While this opposition exists, man cannot be called good in a perfect sense. Moral responsibility, except in the case of Adam, cannot extend to the mere fact that this opposition exists; for it was induced by his act alone. His posterity are responsible only for their personal acts,—that is, the determinations and volitions of the will, together with their involved consequences as the end or aim of the acts. A multitude of these personal acts have directly for their end or aim the excitation and gratification of desires and passions at war with reason and conscience. Those acts, which resist the demands of the corrupt passions, and aim to obey the reason in the acknowledgment of its supreme authority, contain the very element of praiseworthiness.

Now, let it be supposed that an individual, up to a given moment, has, in every personal act, obeyed the reason and denied his impure propensities: it is not philosophically conceivable that he has incurred any guilt on account of the mere existence of these propensities; on the contrary, his virtues have taken a nobler cast from the stern resistance to temptation under which they were moulded. But is he perfectly good? No. The evil element is within him; and therefore we know not but the next demand of conscience may be one which he shall choose to disobey. He contains perpetually within his own nature motives to transgression.

Two forms of evil are found in man;—the evil of a depraved moral sensitivity, or a sensitivity at war with reason, wherein lie motives, temptations and inducements to personal or free acts of sin; and the evil of positive acts of the free will, transgressing the law of conscience. Pelagius obtained his perfect man by shutting out of view the first form of evil, and concentrating his idea in the second. If it were not for the first, in the absolute freedom of the will, perfection would seem an easy attainment. But inasmuch as the first is continually present, until perfection is actually gained,—besides the bare possibility of sin which attaches itself to the free will,—there is the probability arising from the subjective motives lying in the sensitivity. The man is never deprived of responsibility, because he is never deprived of free will—the power of striving after self-regeneration; but the probability of transgression found in his depraved faculty, exemplified in the history of so many generations, has grown to a moral certainty. Christianity made her appearance after the long experiment of ages had been made upon

unaided human nature: she did not dispute or set aside the philosophical grounds of responsibility, and the capacity of man to choose the good and seek the highest possible elevation of his being. She assumed these; and, without waiting any longer for *what he might do*, she took up the facts of *what he had done*, and brought in a glorious and efficient remedy for the evils of which he had failed to relieve himself.

Pelagius, therefore, not only failed in his anthropological and psychological analysis; he failed also in perceiving the just relations of Christianity, considered as a system of truth, to philosophy in general, and its universal and intense necessity considered as a remedy for human guilt and fallibility. In *doing away* from human nature all fixed depravity, and in resolving the recovery of moral purity into obedient acts of will, he did away the necessity of the supernatural influences of the Holy Spirit. He indeed believed that these influences were actually given; but they were given, not as indispensable to holiness, but as enabling the Christian to attain to higher degrees of holiness than were possible without them.

He believed in the atonement of Christ for all who had actually sinned: but, according to him, there were some who had not sinned. No one would dispute the position that a sinless man stands in no need of an atonement: and the only difficulty Pelagius would have to encounter, would be to find a sinless man. An individual under his system, if convicted of actual transgression, would rely upon the atonement of Christ, just as any other Christian. His exertions for the attainment of holiness would be most energetic; and he would not neglect prayer for the Holy Spirit. If any one should profess never to have sinned, it would not appear difficult to convince him of his folly.

Under the system of Augustine on the other hand, with the same reliance upon the atonement, there would, if legitimately carried out, be a less energetic appliance of a moral discipline for self-purification.

In estimating the systems of Augustine and Pelagius comparatively, we must consider their legitimate tendencies theoretically, and their actual results historically.

1. The legitimate tendencies of Pelagianism, theoretically considered, are in some points highly dangerous. It may be granted, in Christian charity, that Pelagius was himself a good man: it must be acknowledged, also, that his representations of the freedom and ability of man are calculated to quicken the

sense of responsibility, and to rouse to great activity in duty. But, in removing the attention from an inherent depravity, and insisting upon the sinlessness of some men, and in giving the influences of the Holy Spirit only a secondary place in the work of sanctification, his system would naturally cause men to think lightly of the moral evils of the world,—encourage a false security, and lead to self-deception,—introduce a confident self-reliance, to the neglect of prayer for the Holy Spirit—and beget self-righteousness, instead of humility, penitence and faith. The historical results have but too faithfully realized the theoretical tendencies.

2. The legitimate tendencies of Augustinism, theoretically considered, have dangerous points likewise. It is impossible for any one to embrace in his convictions of personal guilt the sin of Adam. On this ground, therefore, no one can be made to realize his responsibility. If any one could be made to believe, that all his present acts of sin spring out of an inherited corruption, by necessity, and that no freedom to good remains in man, all sense of responsibility would perish, and a reckless and unbridled licentiousness would ensue. Again: could any one be induced practically to receive the doctrine, that redemption and grace are limited to an elect number, and that thus, all exertions after salvation are not only impossible to any but the elect, on account of original sin, but would be unavailing if they were possible, the hardened repose of the fatalist would inevitably ensue.

The historical results of Augustinism, however, have not generally answered to its theoretical tendencies. We cannot easily theorize away our sense of guilt, or our consciousness of freedom of will. Hence, while Augustinism was proclaiming to men their responsibility, based upon their participation in Adam's sin, of which those acts are the necessary consequences; they simply felt their responsibility, and passed by the tortuous theory, which, in seeking to explain, would have destroyed it.

Hence, again, while Augustinism was proclaiming its limited redemption, its absolute election, and the slavery and inability of the will, men, when awakened to the awful question of eternal life or death, thought only of the richness of the divine grace, and the free, universal and urgent offer of pardon and salvation through the cross of Christ; and, instead of pausing to settle metaphysically their freedom and ability, strove mightily to "enter in at the strait gate," and to "lay hold on eternal

life." And even the most orthodox preachers, when they had left the schools of theology, and came forth into "the fields ripe unto the harvest," found themselves constrained to forget their "excellency of speech" and "wisdom of words," to preach simply "Christ and him crucified," and to urge men to "flee from the wrath to come." Augustinism became thus a philosophy of the schools, and a form of doctrine, by which to test the so-called orthodoxy of candidates for the ministry; but, as if by common consent, was laid aside in the practical exposition of the gospel.

There were also in Augustinism several points, which, taken under a general consideration, and out of their strict philosophical connection, were well calculated to invigorate the Christian virtues,—such as the views taken of the deep depravity and guilt of man, of the majesty of God and the authority and purity of his law, of the efficacy of the divine grace, and the agency of the Holy Spirit; and herein lay the vitality of this system. Pelagianism, on the contrary, was calculated to draw away the attention from these points; and herein lay its weakness and its dangerous tendencies. The Bible, in opposition to Augustinism, evidently bases the responsibility of man upon his actual freedom and ability; and, in opposition to Pelagianism, maintains his depravity and his need of the supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit, for regeneration and sanctification.

In conclusion, we must advert to a cardinal error into which both Augustine and Pelagius fell,—an error which has been perpetuated to mar the beauty of Christian theology, and the peace of the church. Neither of them distinguished between the dogmas which they derived from philosophical speculation; and the facts and affirmations of the gospel; but they wove both together into one motley web. Their theology was, in part, philosophy, and, in part, gospel truth. But each claimed the authority of the Bible and reason for his whole system. The separate and distinct elements incorporated, were each made responsible for the whole. Had they been perfect philosophers, the union of the two elements would have taken place easily and harmoniously; and the two men would likewise have harmonized. But just so far as they were bad or imperfect philosophers, their theology became exceptionable and defective.

As differences in philosophical speculation are frequently immense; nay, as these speculations do even contradict each other, it follows that theologies constructed in this way must

prove essentially hostile. Thus it was with Augustine and Pelagius. And what was the result? The disputant, who succeeded in gaining the suffrages of synods and councils, had all his philosophical errors baptised into the pure light of truth, and handed down to future generations, as an awful and unquestionable orthodoxy. The disputant whom synods and councils condemned, notwithstanding the degree to which he embraced the gospel, and the philosophical truths which may have been contained in his system, was branded as a heretic, and his name and doctrines were handed down to posterity as utterly acquired and anathematized.

In subsequent ages of the church, the spirit of this controversy has reappeared. Bishops and pastors have left their simple and noble work of teaching and comforting the ignorant and miserable from the pure gospel, to deal in subtle and unprofitable points of philosophy; and have changed a system of plain revelations into an elaborate and intricate Mosaic-work of dogmas. Men of high genius, of varied and extensive acquirements, of the worthiest principles, and devoutly attached to the gospel of Christ have been subjected to the severest rebukes of the hierarchy, have been degraded, driven into exile, and loaded with popular infamy, because they chose to philosophize less, or philosophized to a better purpose than the received authorities, or, perhaps, because they halted upon a mere technicality. The unlearned, the professors in the ordinary walks of life, have been drilled into the use of abstruse forms of speech; expressing their attachment to Christianity, and affording evidences of faith to their ecclesiastical judges, from their skilful and ready use of set and approved phrases, rather than from the spontaneous outbursting of inward experiences in the language of nature, and by a pure and unimpeachable life. Even children, instead of learning the simple hosannas, wherewith they were wont to greet the presence of the Saviour, have had their mouths filled with rigid formulas of nicely-balanced philosophical orthodoxy. Honest and good Christians, who had their Bibles by heart, and who could talk, and pray, and sing, both with the spirit and the understanding, if left untrammelled, have been held in fear and hesitancy lest they should use an unlucky word that might savor of heresy. There has been both the tyranny of ecclesiastical power, and the tyranny of an artificial public opinion; and men who were entitled by their gifts to walk forth with an open brow, and to use a ready and fearless

speech, have been compelled to skulk along cautiously, and to drawl out their words in thoughtful measure and combination. The church has been distracted with logomachies; and her great lights have been forever discussing, shaping, lopping off, adding to, remodifying, attacking or defending systems of theology, while multitudes of poor men have been left in ignorance and sin. Bibles, with heavy covers and iron clasps, have been worn out in the handling to furnish texts for polemical discourses, instead of being multiplied to meet the wants of the world. We have been toiling to make truth more perfect ere we could consent to give it a universal diffusion, although Christ said: Preach it—preach this gospel which I have given you to every creature.

Men are ever ready to bow to the authority of the hoary and venerable Past. The old principles of theological construction, and the old models have been obsequiously followed. We are still teaching in our schools old philosophies under the holy name of Christianity; and Christianity amid the murky light of old philosophies. Bacon, in his review of the progress of Natural Science, under the glorious and glowing conviction of the upward growing of the noble mind of man into a purer light, a wider reach of vision, and a more intimate converse with Truth on her empyreal seat, dared to pronounce antiquity the feeble infancy of our race. As yet, there has been too faint an echo of the Baconian oracle in our schools of theology.

Might we imbibe some of the Baconian boldness and good intent, though we should fail of gaining, in high measure, his far-reaching insight, we would suggest, as we are able to conceive them, the parts of a just theological education.

1. The student of theology should receive a preliminary discipline in general science and literature, profound and elegant, that the immortal mind may be richly fed, and drawn out to vigorous exertion; and learn both to know and to trust to its high capacities.

2. The great study should be that of the Scriptures in the original tongues,—together with antiquities, sacred and profane,—and general history in its connections with the sacred narrative and the prophecies. The great aim here should be to arrive at a clear and simple knowledge of all the facts and affirmations of the Bible in all that relates to the redemption of man from the great evil under which he labors, to the duties he is called to perform, and the hopes of the glorious future which he is permitted to cherish. These facts and affirmations should

be sought out in the direct intent in which they were originally given. The object is not to chase the shadowy forms of speculations and theories, or even to dig in rich philosophical mines ; but to collect, by the purest induction, the facts of revelation and duty. We are, with Mary, to sit at the feet of Christ and learn the one thing needful. In this way, we shall find the genuine and simple Christianity of all pious hearts of all ages. We shall attain to the unity of the faith and the universal fellowship of the saints.

3. As a separate element, we would take up the study of philosophy, according to its legitimate methods, and with a spirit thoroughly independent. We would study it as we would study any other science. Here the history of philosophy ought to be introduced. Crude views arise from lazily following authorities, instead of developing one's own consciousness,—from rash and imaginative outthrows of the intelligence, instead of quiet and patient reflection,—and from picking out of theological systems the prejudices and dogmas which disputants gave out in the heat of controversy, or under the necessities of the received orthodoxy. When we have established our philosophy upon its own foundations, we may then seek for its connections with revealed truth and religious duty. This will be one of the most important parts of these studies : it will be the application of philosophy to its sublimest use.

In making this application, however, the independence of the two elements must be preserved : the facts and affirmations of revelation have their own basis, and are neither to be distorted nor supplanted ; and philosophy, having its basis likewise, is not to be hastily modified because of a supposed discrepancy between any of its doctrines and revelation. Let us steadfastly adhere to just laws and methods, and by and by the discrepancy may disappear. Galileo would have been in a gross error, had he directed the Copernican system against the truth of the Bible : the cardinals were in a gross error, to direct the truth of the Bible against the Copernican system. It is often permitted us to see only particular spheres of the great universe of truth, without comprehending the law of harmony which binds them all into one. But if we are ever to comprehend the universal harmony, we must first know what is contained in the particular spheres.

4. The history of Christianity, under the two phases indicated at the beginning of this article. Of these, the philosophical and

dogmatical history of Christianity is the chief. The external history is important, but only as the development of the other.

To our age and to our country peculiarly belongs the great work of disintegrating the pure gold of Christianity, from the dogmatical incrustations of the dark and stormy ages of the past. A vast experience has been accumulated; the old philosophies all lie open before us; every department of knowledge is gloriously advanced and of free and inviting entrance; the ancient countries throw open their rusty gates, and reveal their old memorials, and the laws and customs of early generations. We are not imprisoned in pretended citadels of truth, proudly erected by popes and emperors, and guarded by inquisitions and standing armies; we are not even held in bondage to the fear of presbyters or bishops. We tread the earth as our rightful inheritance. We find no man who can claim to be more than a man, and who is endowed with the right to dictate to us how we are to think, and what we are to believe. Truth is light and life and happiness; she is also strength, authority and might. She will defend herself; she will advance herself; she will uphold her own cause. She does not depend upon sages, synods and hierarchies. She can live without their logic, their decrees and their excommunications. Unbounded freedom of thought and investigation, she has given to every mind as its birthright; and while she commits her sceptre, made of eternal light, to no meaner hand, she graciously declares: "Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors; for whoso findeth me, findeth life, and shall obtain favor of the Lord." Men are ever prone to make to themselves a little world of their own dogmas, and then to fancy that it is the great world of truth. Within these narrow confines, they have the authority of their own past, of their own sages and doctors; here they confidently give their own learned expositions. Here they triumph, and vaunt themselves; here they exclaim: The world is ours,—it yields to our philosophy. But after all, this their world lies within a particular building, or a little neighborhood, or at most in a sect or party. In other buildings and neighborhoods and sects and parties, there are other worlds, with their old authorities, their sages and their doctors.

These are all alike vain pretensions. One of the great characteristics of Christianity is universality. She embraces the world of truth, and she is revealed for the world of man. We

may not, we cannot confine her to a sect or party, or lead her in chains after the triumphal car of some exclusive and proud philosophy. It is not enough that we satisfy ourselves, and meet the inquiries and difficulties of our own party. We must be prepared for all inquiries and for all difficulties. We may bring inquiries to a pause, and smooth over difficulties in the small orb of our own adherents, by appealing to authorities, and repeating the magic words of established expositions, but this does not stop inquiries in other spheres; this does not remove the difficulties of minds determined to think; this does not scatter the morning light over the broad face of the world.

Let Biblical criticism do for Christianity what legitimate and diligent investigation has done for nature—bring out to view her simple facts. And then, if we proceed to philosophize, let our philosophy be like that of Newton, the outgrowth of the facts under the light of reason.

5. Sacred Rhetoric. This is the Rhetoric of the Bible. In teaching to the people at large Bible truth, we ought to copy the methods and the style of the Bible. When Jesus Christ sent forth his disciples "to teach all nations," he had respect to the facts and doctrines of his gospel; and if we seek for a method and style, nothing can be more simple, pure and beautiful than his own.

It would be both a curious and useful work to examine the most celebrated sermons delivered during the different ages of Christianity. The subjects would be exceedingly various. There would be discourses, scientific, physiological, psychological and ontological. There would be opinions and truths of every kind, mingled indeed with Scripture truths. There would be all varieties of style, but for the most part either a stately and florid eloquence, or an elaborate, didactic and logical stiffness and precision, or loud denunciatory thunder, and polemical satire, keen, vivid and blasting as the lightning. There would indeed be contrasted with these, other sermons constructed after the gospel models, exhibiting a rhetoric learned at the feet of Christ, or in the assemblies where the apostles spake. But we fear they would be comparatively few.

Philosophical and even polemical discussions, under certain relations, may become the duty of every minister of the gospel, as it may be his duty to act in a variety of offices: but simply as a *preacher*, he has the gospel to proclaim and nothing but the gospel,—not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, lest the

cross of Christ should be made of none effect, but in a style so simple, and in a method so directly the reverse of a philosophical method, as to seem "foolishness" to worldly and speculative minds, which have not examined the true intent of the gospel, nor comprehended its genuine authority and power. This true intent is to "convince men of sin, of righteousness and a judgment to come," and to lead them to life and immortality by the cross of Christ: this genuine authority and power are the "wisdom of God and the power of God," manifested in the original inspirations, and the ever present influences of the Holy Spirit.

O great Head of thy Church, hasten the day, when the mitre of the hierarch and the gown of the philosopher shall be laid aside for the simple garment of salvation; and thy ministers shall go forth, without contention and in perfect love, thy lowly and faithful lamp-bearers, to fill the world with thy pure light, and thy zealous and untiring messengers of grace, to call in all the poor and wretched to thy marriage feast!

ARTICLE XII.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Oxford Divinity, compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches: with a special view to the Illustration of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, as it was made of primary importance by the Reformers; and as it lies at the foundation of all Scriptural views of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rt. Rev. Charles Pettit M'Ilvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Prot. Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. Philadelphia: Joseph Whetham & Son. 1841. pp. 564.*

THE far-famed Oxford Tracts, or "*Tracts for the Times*," first published in England, were, a few months since, reprinted in New-York, preceded by the promise of a large selection of other English publications in support of the doctrines which they advance. The friends of these doctrines, who are understood to be numerous in the Episcopal church in this country, as well as in England, have been zealous in commending

them to the diligent reading and reception of the clergy and laity of that denomination. "Thus," says our author, "has the controversy been forced upon those, who, while the publications were confined to the transatlantic church, and only introduced among us by scanty importations, would have been content to leave it with those to whom it especially belonged, however deeply convinced themselves, that Oxford Divinity was most justly accused."

The "*Oxford Divinity*," however, is by no means confined to the "*Oxford Tracts*." It is found in other writings of various authors, some of whom are known as leaders, others as followers, all disclaiming any association with the Oxford divines, as a school or party. None of these publications contained a full and satisfactory development of the "*Divinity*" in question. Its parts were disjointed and scattered over a wide surface, and mingled with an attractive display of other matter to which none could object. While thus diffused, no one was responsible for all its peculiarities, nor could it be met excepting at detached and disconnected points. But this embarrassment has been, in some measure, removed by the publication in England, and the reprint in this country, of "*A Letter by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D. Regius Professor*," etc., addressed to the Bishop of Oxford. The object of this work,—which contains more than two hundred well-filled pages,—is to lay before the Bishop, on behalf of the author and his fellow-laborers, "an explicit confession" of their faith on the points whereon they have been accused, and especially to vindicate their doctrines from the charge of a tendency to Romanism.

Bishop M'Ilvaine examines the system as here exhibited. Dr. Pusey proclaims it as the *via media* of the church of England, "distinct from the by-ways of Ultra-Protestantism on one side, and neither verging towards, nor losing itself in Romanism on the other." By *Ultra-Protestantism*, a word which occurs with singular frequency in the works of the Oxford divines, our author understands them to mean whatever relates to religion, "negatively or positively, for or against, only excepting *Romanism* and *Oxfordism*." And this extended application of the word would seem to be justified by the use of it in Dr. Pusey's "Letter." The controversy, then, is really between Protestantism in general, or the doctrines of the Reformation, and Romanism. So Bishop M'Ilvaine considers it; and the question which he raises and makes it the object of his work to answer, is this: "Is Oxford Divinity conformed essentially to the doctrine of Rome, on the question

of justification; or to the opposite doctrine of the standards of the church of England, and of her daughter-church in America?" This question he meets with boldness, and after an *Introduction*, and statements preparatory to the right estimation of the Oxford doctrine of justification, and its righteousness, he proceeds, in ten chapters, to compare it with the doctrines of the schoolmen, the Council of Trent, the Romish church, and the Anglican church, on the same subject; in the course of which he also exhibits its effects upon other doctrines and parts of Christianity. He claims to have thoroughly studied the *system*, as it is exhibited in the Tracts and the other sources referred to by Dr. Pusey. The result is a settled conviction that, whatever may have been the intention of those who maintain it, this divinity is in fact an abandonment of the distinguishing principles of the Protestant faith, and a systematic adoption of the root and heart of Romanism, from which have proceeded all its corruptions and deformities. The first step of its departure from the Protestant faith, is its rejection of that cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, *justification by faith*. This is pronounced, by Newman, Pusey and Keble, "an abuse of the doctrine of justification,"—"a real corruption,"—"another gospel." According to their system, baptismal regeneration lies at the foundation of justification before God. An inherent righteousness, they maintain, is communicated by the sole instrumentality of baptism, and is the only ground of justification; and for sins committed after baptism, they more than intimate their confidence in the Romish doctrine of penances and indulgences, excepting for "*mortal sins*," for which neither Oxford nor Rome has made provision.

Such are the characteristic doctrines of that *Ancient Christianity* which is attempted to be restored by the Oxford divines. To these may be added several external forms of worship, the duty of praying for the dead, etc., all of which are in accordance with the usages of the Romish church, and have heretofore been strenuously rejected by Protestants.

In the work before us the whole system is discussed and resisted with much point and directness, and with an accumulation of proof, which shows the Bishop of Ohio to be thoroughly at home in the subject. The book is also written in a spirit of courtesy and charity which is highly creditable to the author. We cordially commend it to the perusal of all who feel an interest in the Oxford controversy, and especially to our brethren of the Episcopal church, whose Protestantism has been, and perhaps still is, not a little endangered by the

specious and learned disquisitions of the Oxford divines. While we thus express our high opinion of the substance of our author's work, we regret that our friend the Bishop has not trained himself to a more condensed style of writing. His argument is unnecessarily expanded, and the volume, we think, is much larger than was needed. It is, however, well "got up" by the publisher, and presents an attractive appearance to such as can afford to gratify a taste for handsome books.

2.—*Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern ; much corrected, enlarged and improved from the primary Authorities : by John Lawrence von Mosheim, D. D., Chancellor of the University of Göttingen. A new and literal Translation from the original Latin, with copious additional Notes, original and selected : by James Murdock, D. D. In three volumes. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New-York : Harper and Brothers. 1839 pp. 470, 484, 506.*

The original work of Mosheim appeared in 1755. It was originally written in Latin, and such was its popularity that it was soon translated into the English, French, Dutch and German languages ; though many distinguished scholars have devoted their lives to this department of investigation, the "Institutes" continue to be held in the highest estimation. Prior to 1832, the only English translation of this work was that of Dr. Maclaine, which was published in 1764. In his preface, the Doctor admits that he has "taken considerable liberty with the author,—following the spirit of the narrative, without adhering strictly to the letter, and often adding a few sentences to render an observation more striking, a fact more clear, a portrait more finished." Indeed, his translation is no translation at all ; it is a mere paraphrase ; and the liberty taken is the more unpardonable, as he gives us no clue by which to detect the changes he has made.

Dr. Murdock has performed an important service, therefore, in offering to the public "a close, literal version,—containing neither more nor less than the original." But this is far from expressing the full extent of our obligations to him. The translator is himself profoundly learned in all that relates to the Church ; and his notes have greatly enhanced the value of the work. Indeed, we know of no single book, in any language, which is so valuable to the student of ecclesiastical history.

In preparing the present edition, Dr. Murdock has compared the translation with the original, sentence by sentence ; the

references, to a considerable extent, have been verified anew; and several topics have been subjected to further investigation.

3.—HARPERS' SCHOOL-DISTRICT LIBRARY; THIRD SERIES. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1840. 50 volumes, 12mo.

The two preceding series of this Library, the *first* of 50, and the *second* of 45 volumes, were noticed with commendation in the Repository for January, 1840. At the same date, we announced the *third series* as in the progress of publication. It has since been completed and submitted to our examination. It is truly a choice selection of books. *Fifty volumes*, the works of authors of established reputation, prepared under the eye of competent revisers and readers, printed in the most economical manner and bound in an attractive and uniform style, are no trifling possession for a family or a neighborhood. Added to the preceding series they constitute a library of 145 volumes, most of which are among the best books to be found on the same or similar subjects, for popular reading and instruction; embracing *History, Voyages and Travels, Biography, Natural History, the Physical Sciences, Agriculture, Manufactures, Arts, Commerce, Poetry, Belles-Lettres, Philosophy, etc., etc.* In respect to some of these volumes, different opinions may be formed by the best judges, and some of them might doubtless be exchanged for better works; but, as a whole, the collection is admirably adapted to its object. The enterprising publishers, aided by the counsel of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of New-York, and other able advisers, have thus provided, for all who will avail themselves of this selection, what the organs of no single school district could have procured without their aid, a well arranged and uniform library of the most approved works on so large a variety of the topics of useful knowledge.

The *Third Series* contains several works which we have already noticed in the Repository, viz. Keightley's *History of England*, 5 vols.; Murray's *British America*, 2 vols.; Upham's *Outlines of Imperfect and Disordered Mental Action*; and Dick's *Sidereal Heavens Illustrated*. The following are the remaining volumes of the series:—Hale's *History of the United States*, 2 vols.; Renwick's *Life of Dewitt Clinton*; Renwick's *Practical Mechanics*; Parry's *Voyages for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage*, 2 vols.; Mackenzie's *Life of Commodore Perry*, 2 vols.; Irving's *Life and Writings of Goldsmith*, 2 vols.; Bryant's *Selections from American Poets*; Halleck's *Selections from the British Poets*, 2 vols.; *History*

of the Moors of Spain, translated from the French of M. Florian ; Lives of Distinguished Men of Modern Times, 2 vols. ; Dr. Nott's Counsels to Young Men ; Head's Life and Travels of Bruce ; Page's Life and Writings of Dr. Johnson, 2 vols. ; Potter's Political Economy ; Life and Travels of Mungo Park ; Brougham, Sedgwick and Verplanck on the Advantages of Science and Literature ; Dana's Life before the Mast ; History of Lost Greenland ; American Husbandry, 2 vols. ; History of Massachusetts, 2 vols. ; History of New Hampshire, 2 vols. ; Renwick's First Principles of Chemistry ; Renwick's Lives of Jay and Hamilton ; A manual of the Duties of Domestic Life ; Dwight's History of Connecticut ; Miss Sedgwick's Stories for the Young ; Crowe's History of France, 3 vols. ; Walter Scott's History of Scotland, 2 vols.

The influence of such a library, owned and read in the school districts of our country, would be beyond the bounds of calculation, in elevating the thoughts and promoting the intelligence and refinement of the nation. A plan so well devised cannot be too highly commended to the favor of the rising and spreading population of our great republic. It will be well if books, thus selected with care, shall be so appreciated as to take the place of much of the indiscriminate and light reading which now everywhere obtrudes itself upon the attention of the young, to dissipate and enfeeble the mind and corrupt the taste.

Several of the works embraced in this series are worthy of separate notices. Among these we would name the volumes on *Chemistry* and *Mechanics* by Prof. Renwick. But our space will only allow us to add, that we regard them as excellent elementary works, well worthy of a place in a select District or Family Library.

4.—*Essays on the Distinguishing Traits of Christian Character : by Gardiner Spring, D. D. Sixth Edition, Revised by the Author.* New-York: J. A. Hoisington. 1840. pp. 123.

This little book, we presume, is the familiar acquaintance of many of our readers. It was first published in 1813, and, as the present title-page indicates, has passed through several editions. We have read it in former years with profit, and have known it to be blessed of God in guiding inquiring minds to the knowledge of the Saviour, as well as in detecting the false dependences of the deceived. It now appears in an improved form, but with no change, as the author assures us, "except in a single page in the last Essay."

- 5.—*The Principles of Physiology, applied to the Preservation of Health and the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education: by Andrew Combe, M. D., Physician Extraordinary to the Queen in Scotland, and Consulting Physician to the King and Queen of the Belgians. From the Seventh Edinburgh Edition. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1840. pp. 360.*

The writings of Dr. Combe are too well known and too highly appreciated, to need a formal commendation from us. The work here named is perhaps the most popular and useful of his publications. More than twelve thousand copies of it have been sold in Great Britain, and a translation, in Germany, has met with a favorable reception. In this country several large editions have been disposed of. The present edition is prepared with questions and answers, at the end of the chapters, to fit it for the use of schools. In this form it has been successfully introduced into several of our best academies and other seminaries of instruction. It is gratifying to perceive the evidence afforded, by the reception of this book, that the great importance and usefulness of physiological knowledge is beginning to be properly appreciated, as an indispensable branch of general instruction.

- 6.—*A Greek Grammar, for the use of Learners: by E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Third Edition. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jun. 1840. pp. 284.*
- 7.—*A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools, containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes and a Lexicon; adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles: by C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Prof. of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jun. 1840. pp. 453.*

We are glad to perceive, in the department of classical education in this country, many signs of encouragement and promise. We have scholars whose merits are acknowledged in the high places of learning in other lands: we have books which are inferior to none of their kind: we have teachers who are laying the broad and sure foundation of a thorough and finished scholarship.

These volumes we regard as among the signs of better things to come. The work of Mr. Sophocles has been placed, by the most competent judges, at the head of the numerous grammars which are now used in this country. Those who

examine it with care will be satisfied that this estimate is not rashly made. The author is a native of Greece, and has obtained a mastery over the niceties of the language, which is hardly to be expected from others. In addition to this, he has applied to the best sources for assistance, and has successfully wrought the materials which he found into his own plan. The arrangement of the book is excellent; his rules are laid down with clearness and precision; and his illustrations are happy.

In the preparation of the Reader, Prof. Felton has departed somewhat from the usual method. He has confined his selections, and we think wisely, to a few authors; and these are made with a view to excite a lively interest in those masterpieces of composition, which are the best teachers of simple and refined literary taste. He has drawn most copiously from Xenophon and Lucian. Extracts of considerable length are given from Herodotus, Thucydides, Lysias, Homer, Euripides and Aristophanes. The Notes and Lexicon, which occupy more than one half of the volume, are the fruit of a careful and matured scholarship. Prof. F. explains only those passages which need explanation. His aim is to encourage and direct the industry of the student—not to supersede it. The difficulties of the language, in general, he does not profess to solve; but he performs a more valuable service, by showing where the solution may be found.

8.—*The Dew of Israel and the Lily of God, or a Glimpse of the Kingdom of Grace: by Dr. F. W. Krummacker, Author of "Elijah the Tishbite," "Elisha," etc. From the Second London Edition.* New-York: Robert Carter. 1840. pp. 262.

This volume is characterized by many of the peculiarities of the author's previous works. There is the same rapid succession of novel and striking conceptions, the same beauty and aptness of illustration, the same sweet and tender spirit pervading the whole. It is made up of a series of discourses, addressed, more particularly, to Christians; and no one who loves the truth, in its simple and earnest presentations, can read them without manifest advantage. The name is taken from the text of the first discourse: "I will be as the dew unto Israel; he shall grow as the lily."—Krummacker is uncommonly felicitous in his expositions and illustrations of Scripture. For this reason, his writings, we think, deserve the attention and the study of those who are called to preach the gospel.

- 9.—*Life and Death of the Rev. Joseph Alleine, A. B., Author of "An Alarm to the Unconverted," etc. : written by the Rev. Richard Baxter, his widow, Mrs. Theodosia Alleine, and others. To which are added his Christian Letters ; with a recommendatory Preface by Alexander Duff, D. D., one of the Church of Scotland's Missionaries to India. From the last Edinburgh Edition.* New-York : Robert Carter. 1840. pp. 275.

The plan of this "Life" is altogether unique. It is the joint production of nine different writers. The largest and the most interesting of these fragments was prepared by the widow of Mr. Alleine. Such a biography must, of necessity, be very defective in method and unity : indeed it is not so much a continuous life as a series of sketches. Still the book may be read with great profit. It makes us acquainted with an eminently holy man. In the midst of trials, such as few have been called to encounter, his course was a lovely illustration of the quiet and humble temper of the gospel. Strongly as we sympathize with him, in his persecutions and his protracted bodily pains, a deeper feeling is excited by the contemplation of his life—that of veneration for his piety.

His "Christian Letters" occupy about one half of the volume. We know of nothing which breathes a better spirit. In the language of John Wesley, "he seems to excel in bowels of mercy, meekness, gentleness, in tenderness, mildness and sweetness of spirit, even to his bitterest enemies." Mr. Wesley does not "scruple to give these letters the preference, even to Mr. Rutherford's, as expressing, in a still higher degree, the love that is long-suffering and kind, which is not provoked, which thinketh no evil, and which hopeth, believeth and endureth all things."

- 10.—*A Book for the Sabbath : by J. B. Waterbury, Author of "Advice to a Young Christian," and "Happy Christian."* Andover : Gould, Newman and Saxton. 1840. pp. 230.
- 11.—*The Sabbath : a brief History of Laws, Petitions, Remonstrances and Reports, with facts and arguments relating to the Christian Sabbath : by Harmon Kingsbury.* New-York : Robert Carter. 1840. pp. 391.

These volumes are valuable and timely. The Sabbath is vigorously assailed from many points : its enemies are bold and resolute. Our noble system of internal improvements has become a mighty engine to effect its overthrow. Our canals

and railroads, almost without exception, desecrate the day by wholesale. In high places there is a diminished regard for the institution, and a diminished respect for the feelings of those who love its privileges. And there is a growing sentiment in the community, we fear, that the claims of the Sabbath must be compromised, and the commands of God must be reconciled to our convenience.

The first of these volumes is divided into three parts. In the first part the author presents the foundation on which the Sabbath rests; in the second, he dwells on the practical improvement of the day; and in the last, he gives a series of meditations and prayers, answering to the number of Sabbaths in the year. His leading aim is to "urge upon the church a conscientious discharge of Sabbath obligations; believing, that, when their example is right, this blessed day, if not rescued entirely from profanation, will at least exert its legitimate influence. The work makes no pretensions to great depth or learning: but the discussions are lucid, the illustrations apposite and the style uncommonly pleasing. Its influence cannot fail to be happy.

The volume of Mr. Kingsbury is exceedingly valuable as a repository of facts. If disposed, we might criticise the arrangement, and point out other defects; but we should do injustice to the author to subject his book to the rules of practised writers. Its merits are superior to those of mere style. In the first chapter, he has brought together the laws of Congress and the different States, so far as they relate to the Sabbath; the second is devoted to a detailed history of the Sunday mail question; the third and fourth are on the expediency of fearless effort, and the necessity of the Sabbath. In the fifth chapter, fifteen objections to the Sabbath are fully and satisfactorily answered. The rest of the volume contains an earnest appeal to the different classes of society in behalf of this institution.

12.—*The Family a Religious Institution; or, Heaven its Model.*
Troy: Elias Gates. 1840. pp. 204.

The author of this volume is the Rev. E. Hopkins, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Troy, N. Y. He justly remarks, that the subject which he discusses, "from its very nature and relations, can never be divested of deep interest and profit, while the parental relation continues." "The polish of the marble will continue the same under the hands of successive workmen;" "the lustre of the gold cannot be effaced by attrition."

The leading topics of the work are, *the Family a Religious Institution, the Family Constitution, the Chief Matter of Parental Solicitude, Habits of Childhood, Parental Duties and Responsibilities, on the Culture of Filial Obedience, the Season of Parental Effort, on Guiding the Affections to God, and the Family Covenant.* These are all presented with ability and interest. Many of the considerations urged upon parents are peculiarly solemn and weighty. The book cannot fail to be useful.

- 13.—*The Inquirer Directed to an Experimental and Practical View of the Work of the Holy Spirit: by Rev. Octavius Winslow, Author of an "Experimental and Practical View of the Atonement."* New-York: R. Carter. 1840. pp. 282.

This is the second of a series of works, which the author intends to publish, under the general title of "Experimental and Practical Views of Divine Truth." The first in the series appeared in 1838, entitled "Experimental and Practical Views of the Atonement;" and the third is soon to be published, by the name of the "Inquirer directed to an Experimental and Practical View of the Glory of Christ."

The subjects discussed in the present volume are, *the God-head and Personality of the Spirit, the Spirit a Quickener, the Indwelling Spirit, the Sanctification of the Spirit, the Sealing of the Spirit, the Witness of the Spirit, the Spirit the Author of Prayer and the Spirit a Comforter.*—It is the aim of the author to present these topics in a simple, unpretending dress, resorting mainly to Scripture for his arguments and illustrations. The book is—what it professes to be—experimental and practical. No Christian can read it carefully, without resolving to be more humble and watchful in his intercourse with the indwelling Spirit.

In justice to the author, however, it should be observed, that his discussions are not superficial, because they are practical. With some of them we have been particularly pleased. We are not prepared to assent to every position which he takes. Still, the purpose and the spirit of the work we cordially approve.

- 14.—*The Works of Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France.* New-York: Robert Carter. 1840. Seven Volumes, 12 mo. pp. 404, 420, 358, 455, 395, 420, 377.

This edition of the Works of Dr. Chalmers is designed to

include, in a uniform style, all the publications of the eloquent Scottish divine. Seven volumes are already out; two, on *Natural Theology*; two, on the *Miraculous and Internal Evidences of the Christian Revelation, and the Authority of its Records*; one, on *Moral and Mental Philosophy*—their connection with each other; and their bearings on doctrinal and practical Christianity; one, on the *Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life*; and one, on the *Christian Revelation, viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy*; to which are added, *Discourses illustrative of the connection between Theology and General Science*. The publisher is entitled to much commendation for this very seasonable and beautiful addition to our Theological Literature; for, though most of these works were before accessible to scholars, and some of them had been extensively circulated in this country, it was very desirable that the entire productions of their eminent author should be not only in all our public Libraries, but in those of professional and other gentlemen of the Christian community.

We have no partiality for the style of Dr. Chalmers. Nor are we prepared to adopt all his *speculations* without modification. He does not write the most perfect English. His composition wants that chaste, severe expression, which, like the simple drapery of the Roman statuary, outlives all the successive forms of a gaudier costume. He would have shown a better taste in preferring the style of Reid or Locke to that of Dr. Thomas Brown. And there may be reason to doubt, whether the very ardor, with which he urges his way over the fields of his bold investigation, is not sometimes inconsistent with those *proportioned* and *just* views, which, as they are the rarest, are also the best characteristics of moral and theological speculation. This last remark might be illustrated by reference to the Dr.'s exhibition of the *historical* argument for Christianity; and to his first chapter on Natural Theology, in which an important distinction is made between the *facts* and the *ethics* of moral philosophy. In the first case, we are almost left to overlook the immense weight of the *internal* evidence of our religion; and in the last, cannot but feel, that in the eloquent demonstration of a *real* difference, the author has pushed the distinction beyond the truth.

His unquestionable merits, however, are illustrious; they have rendered him conspicuous in a bright constellation; and will, undoubtedly, secure him a permanent place among the gifted men, whose appropriate and enviable work it seems to be, in the Providence of God, to *christianize* the English literature—to incorporate the truths of our Holy Religion with

modern science—to *sanctify* the Anglo-Saxon intellect; and, thus, to prepare the language of Great Britain for what seems to be its destiny in the future history of the world,—to become the medium of thought and influence for the greatest community of human beings that ever spoke a single dialect.

The position of Dr. Chalmers, for the last quarter of a century, has given to his powerful mind a striking inclination to a single aspect of Christianity—its relations, we mean, to the science and the cultivation of our times. And it must be admitted, that no writer has done more to recommend an unobtrusive Faith to the careful attention of the able and ambitious men who have taken the lead in modern philosophy and popular literature. Living at the very seat of modern Infidelity, and associated with the principal writers for the Edinburgh Review, who, during the present century, have given reputation to the most plausible form of unbelief with which our religion has ever had to contend, he early attracted the notice of the literary circles of Edinburgh, and of the whole English public, by his celebrated “Astronomical Discourses.” These splendid productions, though inferior, in logic and in style, to the sermons of Dr. Thompson, afterwards delivered on the same occasion, are, certainly, among the most remarkable specimens of Christian eloquence.

The tone of these discourses pervades all the principal works of the author. He appears, everywhere, intent on presenting the religion of Christ, which it was becoming the fashion to despise, as not only consistent with the other works of God, but as the grandest, and most worthy of our study, among all the demonstrations of his sublime perfections. If any thing is wanting in the severity of the Dr.’s logic, or the precision of his phraseology, there is ample compensation in the magnificence of his imagination, and the grandeur of his march over the fields of sacred and of human knowledge, upon which he was formed to expatiate by natural endowments akin to the highest order of poetic genius.

15.—*Chemistry applied to Agriculture: by M. Le Compte Chapital, Member of the French Institute, etc. etc. With a Preliminary Chapter on the Organization, Structure, etc. of Plants: by Sir Humphrey Davy. And an Essay on the Use of Lime as a Manure: by M. Puvion; with Introductory Observations to the same: by James Renwick, LL. D. Translated and edited by Rev. William P. Page. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. pp. 360, 12mo.*

We have examined this book with much satisfaction. It contains a vast amount of practical information, and is admi-

rably adapted to the object which is sufficiently indicated on its title-page. To those of our readers who are interested in practical agriculture, it would seem that a knowledge of the principles, which have been deduced from a careful observation of the nature and results of the physical laws, must be indispensable. "It is certainly not a little surprising," as our translator well remarks, "that while so many of the useful arts have been vastly improved, and some seemingly almost perfected, by the applications of physical science, agriculture, though immeasurably the most important of all, should still be in a state of comparative rudeness; and its operations but too generally conducted with scarcely the smallest reference to the natural laws." Yet a competent knowledge of the principles of physical science is easily attainable, and their applications may be readily understood by the practical farmer of ordinary capacity. Let any one who doubts this read *Chaptal's Agricultural Chemistry*, with the *Essays* incorporated with it in this volume, and his doubts will be dissipated; he will find himself in possession of a large number of facts and principles, of the usefulness of which, no one, unacquainted with them, can form the most distant conception.

- 16.—*Bacchus: An Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects and Cure of Intemperance.* By Ralph Barnes Grindrod. First American, from the Third English Edition. Edited by Charles A. Lee, A. M., M. D. New-York: J. & H. G. Langley. 1840. pp. 528.

We regret that we have not had time to read this book entirely through. We have, however, read enough of it to be convinced of its immense value as a book of facts and principles on the subject of intemperance. It is a "*Prize Essay*," called forth by the offer of a *hundred sovereigns*, by the "New British and Foreign Temperance Society," and we honor the vote of the "Adjudicators" who awarded it the *premium*. We fully accord with the opinion expressed by the American editor, that it is probably the most complete and satisfactory publication, on the subject of which it treats, to be found in any language. It is divided into *six parts*, the leading topics of which are the following:

I. Nature and characteristics of Intemperance,—its history,—its history in connection with religion,—intemperance considered in a national point of view,—and its effects on the moral and intellectual powers.

II. The moral and physical causes of Intemperance.

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III. History of Intoxicating Liquors,—Nature and combinations of Alcohol,—Adulterations of Intoxicating Liquors.

IV. General effects of Intemperance on the human system,—Nature and operation of Stimulants,—Diseases produced by intoxicating liquors,—Effects of alcohol on the brain and nervous system.

V. Fallacy of popular objections,—Means of removing habits of Intemperance in individuals.

VI. Intemperance of the Hebrews,—Intemperance of the primitive Christians,—Means employed in various ages and countries to remove Intemperance,—Intemperance in a legal point of view, and in the relation it bears to the civil rights of society.

Under these several heads the author has accumulated a rich variety of information, accompanied with discriminating and cogent reasoning. The American editor, Dr. Lee, besides a number of notes illustrative of the several parts of the work, has much increased its value by an *Appendix* of more than fifty pages in support of its main positions. It is hardly necessary to add, that we earnestly recommend the perusal of this volume to all who desire to understand their duty, and the reasons of it, in respect to the exciting and absorbing subject of Intemperance.

17.—*Anti-Bacchus: An Essay on the Evils connected with the Use of Intoxicating Drinks.* By Rev. B. Parsons, of Stroud, Gloucestershire, Eng. Revised and Amended, with an Introduction. By the Rev. John Marsh, Cor. Sec. of the American Temperance Union. New-York: Scofield & Voorhies. 1840. pp. 360.

This work, like that named in the preceding notice, was a competitor for the prize offered by the New British and Foreign Temperance Society. It gained the vote of one of the *Adjudicators*, the other two giving the premium to the work of Mr. Grindrod. *Anti-Bacchus*, however, though agreeing in its main principles with *Bacchus*, was judged to be sufficiently different to warrant its publication. It is divided into eight chapters, and treats of the extent and evils of Intemperance,—Fermentation, Alcoholic Drinks, Nutrition, etc.,—History of Inebriating and Unfermented Drinks,—the sentiments of Scripture respecting Wines,—Water-drinking,—our duty and consequent prospects.

A leading object of Mr. Parsons was to show that total abstinence is not at variance with the word of God. For this purpose, he says, "I examined every text of Scripture in

which wine is mentioned ; I inquired very minutely into the laws of fermentation ; into the character of the grapes, and the wines, and the drinking usages of antiquity. The result of these inquiries was, that I came to the firm conclusion that few, if any, of the wines of antiquity were alcoholic. I examined Homer, Aristotle, Polybius, Horace, Virgil, Pliny, Columella, Cato, Palladius, Varro, Philo-Judæus, Juvenal, Plutarch, and others." Again he remarks : "From a careful examination of the word of God, we find, that in no single instance, can it be proved that it has mentioned intoxicating drinks with approbation," etc. We are not prepared to admit the entire correctness of our author's expositions either of Scripture or of the principles of chemistry, in respect to the "wine question." But we have no space to enter upon the discussion in the present notice. Our readers may expect a review of this book, from an able hand, in a future No. of our work.

- 18.—*Memoir of Mrs. Hannah More ; with Notices of her Works, and Sketches of her Contemporaries : by Thomas Taylor, Esq., Author of "The Life of Cowper," "Memoirs of Bishop Heber," and of "John Howard, the Philanthropist."* Second Edition. London: Joseph Rickerby. 1838. New-York: Robert Carter. 1840. pp. 434.

It is the privilege of few to be more useful with the pen than was Mrs. More. Her writings were uniformly popular in their cast, while they were always faithful to the interests of religion and of truth. For more than half a century, she distributed, with a lavish hand, the treasures of her cultivated and versatile, yet chastened genius ; and now that she is dead, her works are fulfilling her benevolent desires in every part of the world.

The plan of this volume is somewhat different from the previous memoir of this remarkable woman. The author "has endeavored to give a brief, yet complete and faithful detail of Mrs. More's life ; to exhibit the features of her mind, as they are reflected from her own productions ; to trace the steady growth of her Christian character, and the progressive development of her Christian principles, till they attained maturity ; and to show the happy influence which Christianity had on her mind, prompting her to pursue, with untired perseverance, for a number of years, amidst the most vexatious hostility, a course of most vigorous effort to benefit the human family."

In executing his plan, Mr. Taylor "has collected his materials from all the published and unpublished records of Mrs. More, that he could avail himself of." Frequent extracts from her letters are introduced; but he has given much less prominence to her correspondence than it received from Mr. Roberts.

The chief excellence of the book consists in its giving so full and instructive an account of Mrs. More's religious history. Seldom have the pleasures of the gay, the smiles of the great, and the admiration of the learned been exchanged so willingly, as in her case, for the calm and retired walks of habitual benevolence. And seldom, too, has the piety of any individual commended itself so universally to the respect and confidence of all classes. The contemplation of such a life cannot fail to be useful. We rejoice, therefore, that Mr. Carter has made arrangements to furnish this work, in its neat English dress, at so reasonable a rate.

- 19.—*Exercises for the Closet, for Every Day in the Year: by William Jay, Author of "Christian Contemplated," "Family Sermons," "Prayers," etc. Two volumes in one.* New-York: Roe Lockwood. 1840. pp. 274, 330.

This is a handsome reprint of a work which was originally published in 1828. It was intended particularly for those "who love and practise retreat; who wish not only to read the Scriptures alone, but to observe their beauties and advantages, who, while they neglect not their own meditations, are thankful to derive help from others, and often exclaim, 'a word fitly spoken, how good is it!' who wish to be in the fear of the Lord all the day long, who would not have their religion a visiter, but an inmate; who would speak of divine things not by a kind of artificial effort, but out of the abundance of the heart; and who know how much it conduces to our sanctification to keep the mind filled with good things, not only as these will exclude base intrusions, but will be sure to leave somewhat of their own tinge and likeness behind." Of the success of the author in executing his design, we have no occasion to speak. The Christian public, in England and America, have pronounced an unanimous verdict in his favor. Such was the popularity of the "*Morning Exercises*," that his *Evening Exercises*, as a companion to the former, were called forth in 1831. Both works have passed through repeated editions.

- 20.—*The Heart's Ease, or a Remedy against all Troubles ; with a Consolatory Discourse,—particularly directed to those who have lost their friends and dear relations : by Simon Patrick, D. D.* New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 320.

This was one of the earliest productions of a man, who was equally respected, in his day, for his learning and his piety. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated 1659. Dr. Patrick was then the incumbent at Battersea,—a living which he received from the family of Sir Walter St. John. In 1689 he was made Bishop of Chichester ; in 1691, he was transferred to the see of Ely. His death occurred in 1707, in his 81st year. He published a number of sermons, tracts against Popery, etc. ; but his Commentary on the Bible gave him more celebrity than any thing else.

The present volume is all that it professes to be,—a *remedy against all troubles*. It brings together, with great felicity, the numerous motives to contentment and submission which may be drawn from reason and the Bible. It is characterized—but not inelegantly—by some of the peculiarities of the 17th century. Though somewhat quaint, the style is easy and graceful. The typography of the volume is worthy of all praise. Nothing more beautiful, we presume, has ever issued from the American press.

- 21.—*The Biblical Cabinet ; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical and Philological Library*: Edinburgh: Thomas Clark. 1839. Vol. XXIV. pp. 407.—1840. Vol. XXV. pp. 369.

Several of the former volumes of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet have been noticed in the Repository with commendation. It is a work of high value in the departments of learning named in its title, and we are happy to perceive, by the receipt of the above volumes, which have lately reached us, that the enterprising proprietor is encouraged to continue its publication. These two volumes are worthy of a place in such a library. The first,—Vol. XXIV—is entitled, *Sacred Dissertations on the Lord's Prayer : Translated from the Latin of Herman Witsius, D. D., Prof. of Divinity in the Universities of Utrecht and Leyden : with Notes by the Rev. William Pringle, Auchterarder*. It is a series of learned dissertations on prayer,—its advantages and necessity,—preparation of the mind for right prayer,—gesture in prayer,—stated hours of prayer,—the Lord's prayer,—its address and several petitions.

Witsius was a very learned and eminent divine of North Holland, who lived and published several works of great merit during the last half of the seventeenth century; among which were the "Economy of the Covenants,"—"Dissertations on the Apostles' Creed,"—his "Egyptiaca et Decaphylon," etc. He lived to an advanced age, and left a reputation for learning and piety, which have commended his works to the diligent study of divines and biblical scholars to the present time. Vol. XXV bears the following title: *Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament; translated from the Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti of John Henry Pareau, Prof. of Orient. Lang. in the University of Utrecht. By Patrick Forbes, D. D., Prof. etc., King's College, Aberdeen. Vol. II.* This, too, is a work of sterling worth to the biblical student. Besides the labors of the learned author, it contains a Treatise by the Translator on the structure and study of the Hebrew language, and an appendix illustrative of the principles of interpretation advanced by the author, which add much to the value of the volume.

22.—*History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft: Vol. III. Third Edition.* Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. pp. 468.

The above is the comprehensive title of the great work which has been undertaken by Mr. Bancroft, and the first three volumes of which are now completed. These volumes, however, are furnished with an additional title, with which they may be separated from the whole work and bound by themselves. It is as follows: *History of the Colonization of the United States.* This portion of the work is now concluded, and our author announces, at the close of the volume now before us, his intention, if sufficiently encouraged by the "favoring opinion of the people," to go forward and write the *History of the American Revolution*; the great drama of which he considers as opening with the attempts of France and England to carry into effect the peace of Aix la Chapelle. "At the very time of the congress of Aix la Chapelle," says our author, "the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington, the son of a widow. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer, almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors: to read, to write, to cipher—these had been

his degrees in knowledge.—And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil; cheered onward by being able to write to a schoolboy friend, “Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles;”—“himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip;” roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah; alive to nature, and sometimes spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and the richness of the land; among skin-clad savages with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants, ‘that would never speak English;’ rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bear-skin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forest, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury;—this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and chain, contrasted strongly with the imperial magnificence of the congress of Aix la Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg, nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs, and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow’s son.”

With this beautiful description, our historian closes his third volume, and from this point, proposes to commence, in the next, his history of the causes and progress of the war of the Revolution, and the independence of the United States, achieved by our fathers, not for themselves, and their posterity only, but for the world.

The former volumes of this admirable work, were noticed in the Repository for January, 1839. From a cursory examination of the present volume, we do not hesitate to believe that it will fully justify the high opinion which we then expressed of the value of Mr. Bancroft’s labors, as an American historian. His opportunities of research have been ample, his views are philosophical and comprehensive, and his style chaste and attractive. To our readers, we earnestly recommend his work thus far, as a most valuable contribution to the literature of our country and the age. To the author, so far as our opinion may have weight with him, we would say, we have no doubt that all who have read his volumes, on the Colonization of the United States, will wait with anxiety the appearance of his proposed work on the American Revolution. We trust it will not be unnecessarily delayed.

- 23.—*The Life of Alexander Hamilton. By his Son, John C. Hamilton.* New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1840. Two Volumes, pp. 430, 563.

The monument erected, in the grave-yard of Trinity Church, to the memory of Hamilton, is a marble pillar,—broken off, as if by violence, several feet below the height proportionate to its massive dimensions. So the rising pillar of his greatness was broken by a violent death; and as the stranger looks in vain, at the base of his monument, for the fragment which is apparently gone from its top, so it will be well if his biographers, in handing his name down to posterity, shall succeed in diverting the attention of all readers from the painful story of his decease. It is with Hamilton, that we are concerned, as the patriot, the companion of Washington, the brave General and the incomparable Statesman. In these relations his name will endure among the brightest ornaments of American history. It is intimately associated with the great events which preceded the war of the Revolution, with the protracted struggles of that war, with the achievement of our country's independence, with the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and the administration of its government during the period of its early and doubtful experiment. During the whole progress of these eventful changes, he was second to no one of his compatriots in the wisdom and weight of his counsels, the efficiency of his action and the influence which he exerted in laying the foundations of the permanent prosperity of our country. "Hamilton," says Guizot, "must be classed among the men who have best known the vital principles and fundamental conditions of a government,"—"a government worthy of its mission and of its name. There is not in the constitution of the United States an element of order, of force, of duration, which he has not powerfully contributed to introduce into it and to cause to predominate."

When it is considered that "the wealth of nations is their illustrious few," it is not a little surprising that the biography of one so distinguished has been so long delayed. The preparation of such a work, however, had been committed to several gentlemen of distinguished abilities, who, from various and sufficient causes, failed to perform it, until it has devolved, by common consent, upon his son, a gentleman well qualified for the undertaking. The two volumes already published contain a sketch of Hamilton's early life, and the progress of his opinions through the period of the Revolution, until they were matured and nobly defended in the convention

of 1787, in Philadelphia, when the present Constitution of the United States was formed. The work thus far is a history, not only of Hamilton, but of his *Times*. It is a history of the Revolution, and of the Constitution. The mass of information which it contains, and the documents which it preserves are highly creditable to the diligence and careful research of the author. It is written in a chaste and perspicuous style, and may be regarded as one of the most intensely interesting, as well as important publications of its class, which has ever appeared in our country. We shall wait with solicitude the completion of a work so well begun, and thus far, so successfully prosecuted.

We are happy to add that the mechanical execution of this valuable work is in the best style of the New-York press.

23.—*The Flag Ship: or a Voyage around the World, in the United States Frigate Columbia; attended by her Consort, the Sloop of War John Adams, and bearing the Broad Pennant of Commodore George C. Read. By Fitch W. Taylor, Chaplain to the Squadron.* New-York: D. Appleton and Co. 1840. Two Volumes. pp. 388, 406.

To make the circuit of the world is a much less wonderful achievement than it was in the days of our fathers. Yet the accomplishment of such a voyage is an event of no little interest, even in our times. It is of course attended with many hazards and a great variety of incidents, and affords an opportunity, to the literary voyager, of acquiring much useful information. The materials, therefore, gathered by our author, during his late voyage in the *Columbia*, must be supposed to be ample for the composition of a book at once entertaining and instructive. We were accordingly glad to hear the announcement of these volumes, by Mr. Taylor; and the beautiful style of execution, in which they have come from the hands of the publishers, has more than equalled our expectations. They contain also a considerable variety of interesting information, which will be valued by intelligent readers. But our author, we think, has unhappily failed in the symmetry of his work. His object appears to have been to recommend religion, and the cause of missions, to the favorable regard of the more refined circles of the worldly and the careless. But the perfection of art, for such a purpose, would be to conceal the indications of art. This principle, Mr. T. has not sufficiently regarded. While, therefore, we approve of his general object, and take pleasure in acknowledging

that the "Flag Ship" is not destitute of specimens of fine composition, we cannot refrain from remarking, that the mingling of light matters, and mere prettinesses, with the grave and solemn subjects of a portion of his narrative, and the exuberance of attempted ornament, with which his style is loaded, are real incumbrances, and detract not a little from the value of the work.

- 25.—*Elements of Chemistry, containing the Principles of the Science, both experimental and theoretical; intended as a Text-book for Academies, High Schools and Colleges: by Alonzo Gray, A. M., Teacher of Chemistry and Nat. Hist. in the Teachers' Sem. Andover, Ms.* Andover: Gould, Newman & Saxton. 1840. pp. 360.

The design of the author in preparing this compilation is stated in the Preface. "As experience has shown that most of the text-books in general use are either too profound on the one hand for those who are commencing the study, or too superficial on the other for those who wish to obtain more scientific knowledge of the subject, he has been induced to attempt to compile a work which should be better fitted for elementary instruction." He thinks that teachers of Chemistry would be more successful, if they were to pay more attention to the principles of the science and less to its details. In this opinion we fully concur: and hence approve of his plan of giving greater prominence to the imponderable agents and the non-metallic substances, than to other parts of his work. It ought not to be inferred, however, that the book is made up of dry discussions and perplexing technicalities: numerous experiments and illustrations are introduced, which the teacher, with a very simple apparatus can repeat.

"In the arrangement of the imponderable agents, the phenomena of common and voltaic electricity and electro-magnetism are classed as effects of one agent, electricity. In the arrangement of the simple substances, each, with its combinations with those previously described, is presented to the student, in such order, that but one substance with which he is unacquainted is to be studied at the same time. The Salts occupy a separate chapter, in the arrangement of which, Turner's Chemistry is made the basis."

The book is written in a clear, lucid style; and it preserves a happy medium between too great a display of technical learning, on the one hand, and an obviously superficial view of the subject on the other. As an elementary treatise, we have no doubt of its utility.

ARTICLE XIII.

RECENT LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Germany.

The philosophical and theological works of Daub are in the course of publication; Marheineke and Dittenberger are the editors. Though "less original and independent than Schleiermacher," he holds a high rank in Germany. He belonged to the Hegel and Schelling school of philosophy.—A new edition of Tholuck's Commentary on Romans is soon to appear. There has been a recent edition of his Hebrews; and he has lately published an excellent work on Christian Devotion.—Neander has another volume of his Church History in the press.—A Compend of Dogmatic History, from the pen of Baumgarten-Crusius, has recently appeared.—The publication of Prof. Bopp's *Glossarium Sanscritum* is begun.

The arrangement of the Lectures at Halle for the current semester—Oct. 19 to April 3—is, in part, as follows:—

Encyclopedia and Methodology of Theolog. Study, Tholuck.—Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the Old Test., Gesenius.—Books of the Old Test. to be explained. Job, Gesenius. Psalms and other poems, Rödiger. Isaiah and Ecclesiastes, Tuch. New Testament.—Matthew, Mark and Luke, Tholuck. John and Acts, Wegscheider. Corinthians and Hebrews, Niemeyer. Philippians and Ephesians, Tholuck. John's Epistles, Wegscheider. John (Gospel and Epistles) Peter and Jude, Daehne.—Church History, Guericke, Daehne and Thilo.—Survey of Theology, Guericke.—Dogmatic Theology, Müller and Wegscheider.

At Berlin the arrangement is, in part, as follows:—Introd. to the Old Test., Hengstenberg and Vatke. Archeology of the Old Test., Benary.—Books of the Old Test. Genesis, Benary. Psalms, Uhlemann and George. Isaiah, Hengstenberg and Vatke. Job, Peterman. Sufferings and Resurrection of Christ, Hengstenberg. Matthew compared with Mark and Luke, Neander. Romans and Galatians, Philippi. Paul's short Epistles, Twisten.—Church History, Erbkam. Dogmatic History, Neander. History of the Doctrine of the Trinity, Uhlemann.—Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Althaus. Introd. to Philos., Kahle. Anthropology, Steffens. Anthropology and Psychology, Gabler. Psychology, Trendelenburg and Beneke.—Hist. of Ancient Phil., Gabler. Hist. of Kant's Phil., Trendelenburg.—Universal History, von Raumer. Hist. of Antiquity, Müller. Rome, E. A. Schmidt. Greece, W. Ad. Schmidt. Middle Ages, Ranke.—Universal Geog., Ritter. Ancient Geog., Müller.

In the July No. of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, published at Halle, we have the number of students in the several Universities. At Berlin there were 1607; at Bonn, 606; Breslau, 629; Giessen, 404; Göttingen, 693; Halle, 606; Heidelberg, 701; Jena, 484; Königsberg, 392; Leipsic, 287; Marburg, 941; München, 1545; Würzburg, 442.

In the same No. of the same journal, we find the following statement of the attendance at the *Prussian Universities*, in 1829 and 1838. The reason of the decrease is not given.

	1829.	1838.
Whole number of students	6049	4480
Native	4874	3687
Foreign	1175	793
Theolog. (Prot.)	2182	1168
“ (Cath.)	881	411
Law, etc.	1848	1044
Medical	613	909
Philosophical	573	930

Greece.

The University at Athens is prosperous. It has 10 students in theology, 137 in law, 30 in medicine and 55 in philosophy; whole number 232. Its professors are arranged as follows:—In Theology the prof. ord. is Apostolides; extraord., Kon-togonis.—Law, ord., Rallis, Herzog, Maurokordatus; honor., Argyropoulos, Pellikias, Feder, Soutzos.—Medicine, ord., Leokias, Vouros, Kostis, Olympios, Damianos; hon., Lebadios, A. Rallis, Treiber.—Philosophy, ord., Schinas, Domnandos, Gennadios, Venthylas, Ross, Bambas, Philippos, Ulrich, Negris, Vouris, Landerer; hon., Manonsis; extraord., Fraas.

United States.

The long expected work of Dr. Robinson and Rev. E. Smith, on Palestine and the Countries on the South, is in the press. It is drawn up from the original diaries, and is copiously illustrated by Dr. Robinson. It will be published in the spring, in three volumes; and will previously make its appearance in England.—The second volume of Dr. Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar will be ready for delivery the first week in January. From a cursory perusal of some of the sheets, we are persuaded that it will be an important addition to Hebrew Literature. Our readers may expect a review of the work in the next No. of the Repository.—Prof. Turner, of the Episc. Theol. Sem., New-York, has a Commentary on Genesis in the press.—Prof. Bush's Commentary on Exodus, in two volumes, may be looked for in March.

ARTICLE II.

THE A PRIORI ARGUMENT FOR THE BEING OF GOD.

By Rev. L. P. Hickok, Prof. of Theol., West. Res. College, Ohio.

DIFFERENT methods of proof are applied to the great foundation of all religion, natural or revealed—the *fact of the existence of God*. Among these are some of the noblest productions of the human intellect; while a large proportion of the whole subserve the cause of theological science, with more or less efficiency. The present age has somewhat abounded in works of this nature; some of which will go down through future generations, as monuments of the pious research and deep thinking of our times.

It is, however, no part of our present object to examine and decide upon the comparative merits of works on Natural Theology; nor to attempt any new form of argument; nor to adduce any additional proof from new sources. An inquiry of greater importance and of a deeper nature is contemplated; and which, though essential to the soundness of all processes of proof, has very seldom received a distinct and formal investigation. Our design is to examine THE NATURE AND GROUND of all argumentation on the proof of the existence of God; that we may be able to estimate the force and conclusiveness of any process of demonstration, which shall be adduced by human reason. No argument is to be appreciated solely by its logical precision and exactness, but rather from the nature and ground of the argumentation itself; and to this last, far less than to the first, it is believed, has attention been directed in the various methods of proving the being of God. We assume to ourselves nothing but a capacity to see and feel the importance of such an investigation, while the merit and benefit of the attempt are left to be tested entirely by the issue.

Every proof of the being of God, aside from direct revelation, must come under the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* forms of argument. The mental discipline and habits of different persons will modify the degrees of conviction which they will feel from these distinct modes of reasoning; but from neither can the mind draw any sound and steadfast conclusion, until it has had

a clear and full perception of the nature of the argument and the ground on which it stands. To aid in this last particular is the sole object here proposed. We shall confine our attention in this article to the *a priori* form of argument.

I. *The nature of the "a priori" argument.* In general, it is the process of deducing conclusions from original and direct intuitions.

In one branch, it includes objects of sense, or any existing thing, which, in its agency or influence, is a cause producing changes or effects; and the *a priori* method of reasoning is the deduction of conclusions from the known inherent properties and powers of this given thing in itself. It is thus an argument from cause to effect; and is possible only as, by a direct knowledge of the inherent nature or power of the cause, we can see in the cause the specific effects, which must be produced in a given direction and manner of action. By one who knows directly all the inherent properties of heat, all the laws of combustion must be perfectly and *a priori* understood; and thus, antecedently to all experience, he may infallibly predict the effect of the application of flame to any combustible material. His conclusions are not at all empirical: in the very nature of the cause he sees the certainty and necessity of the effect.

It is important to discriminate the distinctions in the nature of all *a priori* from all *inductive* reasoning. Induction is the collection of many facts under one category, and from these facts deducing a general law or principle. For example, when heat is applied to a particular metal, as iron, we discover that the iron is expanded in bulk. It is again applied to silver, and we find that heat expands silver. It is successively applied to other metals as far as opportunity offers, and the same phenomenon occurs in all—the metals are expanded. By repeating the experiment on a great variety of metals, we feel warranted ultimately in deducing a general conclusion as a principle—heat expands all metals. The experiment may extend to all the multiplied forms of matter; and since the application of heat to every variety of material organization produces the same result, we come at length, with the same confidence as before, to a still more general deduction—*heat expands all bodies*.

Now the inquiry, as the test of inductive reasoning, is: Why are we warranted to extend our general law beyond the specific cases of experiment? Why do we feel a confidence in the general principle that heat expands *all* bodies, when we

have actually applied it to but very *few* of all the bodies of the material universe? The answer is: Because we have carried our experiments far enough to create a conviction, that we have learned an inherent power or property of heat as a cause; and thus, from the uniformity of nature, or an intuition of the reason that like causes always produce like effects, we conclude that the application of heat to all bodies will invariably produce their expansion. This is safe reasoning for all practical and scientific purposes, after a sufficiently wide induction of facts; but it can never be absolutely conclusive, except within the very limits of the experiment. The next experiment might give a different fact, and thus utterly subvert our general principle; and the only ground of confidence that such will not be the case, is because, from our many experiments, we feel a strong conviction that we have found a real, permanent property of heat, inherent in its own nature, and that, as a cause, it will thus always produce the same effect when applied to any new bodies.

All our experiments have been directed solely to this end, that we might learn the power and properties of the thing as a cause; and as we were not competent to gain this knowledge by direct inspection of the thing itself, we have been obliged to seek for it through an induction of its many uniform effects. The process of inductive reasoning—on the use and successful recommendation, though not the invention of which, rests so much of the deserved fame and honor of Lord Bacon—is still only an expedient for relieving the weakness and darkness of the human mind. Instead of penetrating directly to the inherent properties of any thing as a cause, that we may foresee what, in given circumstances, it will effect—which our limited powers will not permit us to accomplish—we are forced to resort to a long and patient induction, and ultimately deduce our general law, with a confidence precisely proportioned to our conviction, that we have inferred from its many observed effects, the truth in relation to the permanent inherent properties of the cause. This is the nature of inductive reasoning in the case of efficient causes.

But suppose that, prior to this long experiment and induction of facts, there is, by direct and immediate inspection, a knowledge of all the powers and properties of heat: we are then ready, at once, and with a certainty infallible, to declare its general laws, and predict its specific effects in given conditions.

We need no experiment here, the use of which is to enable us to infer those very properties which we have much more perfectly obtained by direct knowledge. Before all experiment, out of the cause itself, by direct inspection and knowledge, we deduce the effect of its operation. The a priori form of argument from cause to effect demands, therefore, in its very nature, a direct knowledge of the inherent nature and properties of the cause; and in all cases of such knowledge, the conclusion to the effect is certain and infallible. When we know all that a cause is, we know all that a cause can do.

But in this aspect of the a priori argument, it is plain that there is nothing which can render it available to finite beings, as a method of proof for the existence of God. We never can, by direct inspection, thus infallibly know all the powers and properties of any cause, that we may a priori predict what effects it will produce. It is true we may, by our own consciousness, know much of our own minds as a cause, and can say in many things that intelligence and free-will have such a nature, and such powers; and we can, from direct consciousness of these powers, predict in many cases what the effect will be antecedently to experiment, or at least what may, and what may not be required of free beings; but we can never make the consciousness of our own powers as a cause, any ground for deducing the existence of other things, not the effect of our causation, and least of all, a ground for an a priori argument of the existence of God. And still more effectually are we precluded from any such use of the a priori argument in relation to the being of God, from the very nature of our idea of God. We can never take any original cause and see in its action the existence of God as a result; thus making God an effect, which is a subversion of the very idea of God. Nor can the ground of God's existence in himself be brought so completely under the cognizance of any finite mind, that in it, as an eternally efficient agency, he shall see the being of God necessarily and eternally sustained.

It would, therefore, be vain and absurd to attempt to apply this kind of a priori argument to the proof of the being of God. It would demand that a finite mind should thoroughly grasp the grounds of infinite and absolute being; or, the absurdity of making God an effect, the existence of which we are attempting to prove by knowing the nature and properties of the previous cause. But a second branch, and one which is strictly

a priori, is the process of deducing conclusions from ultimate principles or absolute truths. Although an ultimate principle partakes in nothing of the nature of an efficient cause, by the knowledge of which we might also know the certainty of its effects; yet, our reason may perceive that a particular conclusion is true as a deduction from that ultimate principle, as clearly as if it were a literal effect, efficiently caused by the principle. A logical deduction from an ultimate truth is, therefore, as legitimate a form of reasoning, as that of deducing effects from efficient causes.

The nature of this branch of *a priori* reasoning, in distinction from the *inductive*, is seen in the following facts.

A person may, by actual experiment in mensuration, take the diagram of a triangle as drawn before him, and learn that the sum of its three angles equals the sum of two right angles. He may proceed to draw another triangle of different dimensions, and again, by actual measurement, find the same result; and thus, by going through this process with a great variety of triangles—rectangular, isosceles and scalene—and finding the facts the same in all, he will, as in the case of the application of heat to bodies, feel warranted ultimately in deducing a general principle, and say that this is the general law of all triangles—the sum of their three angles equals the sum of two right angles. And if we had no other ideas than those derived from sensation and from reflection upon the experience of sense, this would be the only method in which we could possibly reason in geometry. We must get our general principles in mathematics by induction, precisely as we do in natural science; and all *a priori* reasoning would be excluded, because of our inability to discover the inherent nature and properties of the triangle; as it is excluded from natural science, because we cannot know the inherent powers and properties of physical causes.

But it is not with man in relation to a triangle, as it is in relation to heat, as a cause. He has the faculty of seeing in the very nature and properties of the triangle itself, that the sum of its angles equals the sum of two right angles; and from one triangle, he can demonstrate, without any experiment, that thus it must be in the case of all triangles. He has the power of rational intuition, and can see absolute truth, and comprehend ultimate principles. It is a faculty sublime, mysterious and awful—separating him forever in *kind*, and not merely in *degree*, from the animal, and capacitating him for the high desti-

nies of moral accountability, and thus allying him to angels, and giving him, in this particular, the image of God his Maker. The possession of this faculty evinces its high distinction from all with which the animal is endowed, in this very point of a priori reasoning. The beaver reasons from general laws, derived from facts of sense, when he constructs his dam, and builds his dwelling, always adapting his results, with great skill, to changing circumstances, and is, in no mean degree, an inductive philosopher. But thus far and no farther. God has denied him the power of seeing ultimate truths, and of drawing deductions from absolute principles: hence he can never reason *a priori*: he can never educate himself, nor separate himself from the chain of cause and effect in which he is bound, and stand forth the free arbiter of his own moral destiny, under law, and amenable to a righteous tribunal. Multiply and magnify all the powers he has, in kind, to an indefinite extent, he is but an animal still, and can know nothing of the absolute, the necessary, the universal. He wants that faculty which capacitates him to see those truths, which, in their own light, are self-affirmed, independent, immutable and eternal. Man has this power; and the habit of discriminating it from all else with which he is endowed, is worth all that is claimed for it, and far more attention than is given to it. And these ultimate truths, which are seen to be necessary in themselves, and universal verities, independent of all power, or will, or efficient causation, are the elements of all a priori reasoning. It is only in this particular that an a priori argument can be applied to the proof of God's existence. We must take some truth which a rational intuition determines to be *necessary* and *universal* in its own nature; which is itself above all proof, and, as cognized by the reason, stands upon its own absolute ground,—and from this deduce, by a longer or shorter process, the equally necessary truth of the being of God. The ultimate truth which we assume must involve the fact, and make the existence of God a perceived necessity.

This, then, wherever it can be applied, is a valid and conclusive form of reasoning. It takes a truth seen to be necessary and universal in its own nature, and from this deduces other truths, farther removed from immediate intuition, but which, because logically deduced from necessary truths, are themselves as necessary as the absolute data from whence they are derived. The argument, therefore, from its very nature, proves every

thing if it proves any thing. So far as it can be applied, it makes the conclusion necessary in its own nature, and its non-existence an absurdity. If it can be applied to the proof of God's existence, and just so far as it can be made logically to reach, it proves God a necessary being—necessary, not because, as there are effects, so there must be a first cause, but necessary in his own nature, because a necessary deduction from an absolute truth, which cannot be conceived otherwise than as necessarily and eternally existing.

It is in this point of view, that the argument a priori has been so highly appreciated by many. They have supposed that they had discovered some proper method of applying it to the proof of the being of God; and as, in its nature, it is so conclusive when properly applied, they have valued and extolled it, and frequently relied upon it to the exclusion of all other sources of proof. The conclusion logically deduced is as valid and necessary as the absolute principle; and as they are convinced that their deductions are logical, they rest in full conviction, without farther research. Speculative minds, habituated to deal with abstract truth and elementary principles, are the most deeply interested in this form of the argument; though some of the highest names in this list of thinkers place no reliance upon it. The latter distinctly perceive the strength of this mode of reasoning where it can be applied; but they suppose that they also see the impossibility of so applying it as to bring a rational conviction of its conclusiveness. The form of the argument they admit to be good, and there may be absolute truths which involve the necessary existence of God; but no human mind can rise high enough to grasp these truths, or reach far enough to deduce the conclusion. The ground is safe, but too high for us to gain: the logical elements are too sublimated for any human, or perhaps angelic intellect to control. Though we dissent from the opinion, that this form of argument is utterly beyond all human powers, it does, unquestionably, demand the highest energies, and involve some of the severest processes of logic.

It is proper here to remark, that the celebrated and powerful work of Dr. Samuel Clark—“*The Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*—” though designed to be “as near to mathematical as the nature of such a Discourse would allow,” and though frequently referred to as an exhibition of an a priori argument, is only in a very limited degree made to depend

upon ultimate and absolute truths. The very first position, that "something must have existed from eternity," is deduced from no intuitive knowledge of the inherent nature of any efficient cause, nor from any ultimate principle in itself necessary and universal; but is inferred directly from an *effect* assumed to be such, and then reasoning from the existence of the effect to the existence of a cause, by a direct inversion of the a priori form of argument. The first step in his process is: "*Since something now is, 'tis manifest that something always was, otherwise the things that now are, must have been produced out of nothing, absolutely and without cause, which is a plain contradiction in terms,*" etc. It is not meant, by any means, that this is not conclusive reasoning; but only that it is not a priori reasoning. By it we can never prove the existence of God as absolutely, but only as relatively necessary. Inasmuch as something else exists, therefore, and on that account, it is necessary that something should have existed from eternity. And if we admit this thing, which has existed from eternity, to be God, his existence is not an absolute necessity, because the existence of the effects is not an absolute necessity. We can conceive that all these effects might never have been, or, that they might now be annihilated, and thus cease to be, in which case the very ground for the necessity of God's existence must fall away. It is a necessity grounded upon a contingent fact, and not upon an absolute principle, which cannot but be, and is thus universal and necessary in its own nature.

Nor is it meant that Dr. Clarke misunderstood the nature of an a priori argument, and thought this to be such. For though he designed his treatise to be "as near mathematical as the nature of the Discourse would allow," he doubtless saw the necessity of something besides rigid a priori reasoning to carry conviction to those minds to which his work was directed. And in his "Answer to a seventh Letter, concerning the Argument A Priori," he says: "That there is, and cannot but be one, and one only, such first cause, author and governor of the universe, is, I conceive, capable of strict demonstration, *including that part of the argument which is adduced "a priori,"*—thus showing that only a "*part*" of his argument was deemed a priori by himself. It is not until the third conclusion, embracing "*self-existence,*" or "*necessary existence,*" that he introduces an a priori argument, and gives the following distinct intimation of his changing the form of reasoning by saying:

"When we are endeavoring to suppose that there is no being in the universe that exists necessarily, we always find in our minds, (*besides the foregoing demonstration of something being self-existent from the impossibility of every thing being dependent,*) we always find in our own minds, I say, some ideas, as of *infinity* and *eternity*, which to remove, i. e. to suppose that there is no being, no substance in the universe, to which these attributes or modes of existence are necessarily inherent, is a contradiction in the very terms." He thus expressly removes his ground of reasoning from "*things dependent*," and which are effects, to *ideas, which to remove, is a contradiction in the very terms*," and which are thus ultimate and necessary truths. He here uses the *a priori* form of argument, and continues it for the purpose of proving the *necessary existence—eternal existence,—*and the *omnipresence* and *unity* of God. But he expressly departs from it in the proof of God's *intelligence*; nor is it resumed again directly in the remainder of the discourse. This justly celebrated work, however less or more conclusive it may be deemed, should not be characterized as, in general, an "*a priori*" argument for the existence of God.

Having thus before our minds the *nature* of the *a priori* form of argument, we proceed,

II. *To look at some of the more prominent methods of its use, in order to find the real ground of its validity.*

The schoolmen, from the time of the celebrated Anselmus, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the 11th century, were much occupied with the proof of the existence of God by *a priori* reasoning, and sought to give the argument its most direct and conclusive application. It was revived in the 17th century by Descartes, and received all the advantages of his powerful mind, and the influence and splendor of his great name; and has since been followed up, each in his own way, more especially by Leibnitz, Wolf, etc. in Germany, Clarke in England, and Cousin in France. Kant examines the argument, and deems it inconclusive; and thus feels no conviction from its application. His reliance is placed entirely upon an argument derived from the fundamental principles of morality, as exhibited in the nature of man, and the government of the moral universe.

But, without reference to names, the following are some of the modes of the argument in its most general form. We adduce them here as illustrations of its application to the proof of the being of God, and also to develop, more clearly, the

necessary assumption which is included in every *a priori* argument.

First.—It is possible that the *most perfect* being exists. But real existence is a perfection, and necessary existence the highest perfection, and must belong to the most perfect being. And therefore as the most perfect being has necessary existence, he does necessarily exist.

In this form of the argument the *possibility of the most perfect being* is put as an ultimate principle, or absolute truth, which needs no proof, but is self-affirmed and undeniable; and from this it is attempted to deduce the necessity of the *actual* existence of the most perfect being. But a close examination of the argument will detect a non sequitur, unless it be assumed, that the necessary *idea* of the most perfect being is itself a ground of conclusion for the real existence of the most perfect being. The possibility of the most perfect being is ideal in the major proposition—and the including of “necessary existence” in the most perfect being in the minor proposition, must be ideal also,—and thus the conclusion to the “*real* existence” of the most perfect being is fallacious, without the assumption, that the necessary *ideal* is a valid ground for inferring the *real* or *actual* existence. All that the syllogism can logically give in the conclusion is the *possibility* that the most perfect being, including necessary existence as an attribute, does exist; and now to draw the farther conclusion that he *really* does exist, it is necessary to assume, that the necessary *idea* of its possibility is conclusive for its *reality*.

Secondly.—It is possible that there is a being whose existence is *eternal*. But unless such a being *now* exists there cannot be an eternal being: therefore an eternal being now really exists. Here too is a fallacy of precisely the same nature as in the former case, except upon the same assumption—that a necessary *ideal* is conclusive for a *real* being. The possibility of an eternal being is *ideal*; the necessity of *present* existence, in order to *eternal* existence, is only *ideal*; thus, all that we can distribute in the conclusion, is, that the *idea* of present existence is necessary to the *idea* or possibility of eternal existence. To draw the conclusion of *actual* existence, we must assume that the necessary *idea* is a sufficient ground for it.

Thirdly.—It is possible that there may be an *almighty, self-existent* being. But every thing which is possible must have some ground for its possibility; and there can be no ground for

the possibility of such a being but his real existence. What can be a ground for an almighty, self-existent being, but such a being itself? There must, therefore, be a really self-existent, almighty being.

Here again, we have the assumption of more in the conclusion, than belongs to the premise, unless we understand that what is *ideally* true necessarily, is also *really* true necessarily. The possibility of an almighty, self-existent being is ideal, and the ground of this ideal possibility is the idea of its reality; this necessary *idea* of its reality is the only warrant we have, therefore, for deducing its necessary, *actual* reality.

In the above cases we have predicated, as ultimate truths, the possibility of the real existence of the *most perfect* being, an *eternal* being—and an *almighty, self-existent* being: and we might continue, in the same way, with every thing in relation to God, which may be assumed as a necessary idea, and thus an ultimate truth; and, in the same manner, deduce the actual from the possible, the real from the ideal; but in all cases, we shall be obliged to make the same assumption, that what is a necessary truth in the *idea*, must also necessarily exist in the *reality*. The very essence, therefore, of all purely a priori reasoning on the being of God is contained in this short and simple proposition: *the necessary idea of God involves the necessary existence of God.*

That this is the essence of Clarke's a priori argument is clear from the following declaration: "We always find in our minds some ideas, as of infinity and eternity; which to remove, that is, to suppose that there is no being, no substance in the universe, to which these attributes or modes of existence are necessarily inherent, is a contradiction in the very terms. For modes and attributes exist only by the existence of the substance to which they belong. Now, he that can suppose eternity and immensity—and consequently the substance by whose existence these modes or attributes exist—removed out of the universe, may, if he please, as easily remove the relation of equality between twice two and four."—*Being and Attrib.* Sec. III.

The same also is true of Cudworth; who says, speaking of these universal truths or necessary ideas: "For there is an absolute impossibility in this assertion, that these essences of things and verities should be, though there were no substantial entity or no mind existing. For these things themselves must of necessity be either substances, or modifications of substance;

for what is neither substance nor modification of a substance is a pure nonentity. And if they be modifications of substance, they cannot possibly exist without that substance whose modifications they are; which must be either matter or mind: but they are not modifications of matter as such, because they are universal and immutable; therefore they are the modifications of some mind or intellect, so that these cannot be eternal without an eternal mind. And those do but deceive themselves in the hypothetical assertion, that there would have been these universal verities though there had never been a God; neither considering what the nature of God is, whose existence they would question or doubt of, nor what those *rationes* and verities are, which they would make so necessarily existent, by means whereof they do at once assert and question the same thing; for that which begets so strong a persuasion in their minds that the *rationes* of things and universal verities are so necessarily eternal, though they do not perceive it, is nothing else but an inward, invincible prepossession of the necessary existence of God, or an infinite, eternal and omniscient mind (that always actually comprehends himself and the extent of his own power, or the ideas of all possible things) so deeply radicated and infixed in their minds, as that they cannot possibly quit themselves of it though they endeavor it never so much; but it will unawares adhere to them, even when they force themselves to suppose the non-existence of God as a person, whose idea they do not clearly comprehend; that is, the force of nature is so strong in them as to make them acknowledge the thing, when they deny the word. So that the true meaning of this phenomenon is nothing else but this, that God is a being so necessarily existent, that though men will suppose the non-existence of him and deny the name, yet notwithstanding they cannot but confute themselves and confess the thing." *Im. Mor.* Book IV. Ch. 4. Sec. 9.

So also Cousin: "You are a finite being, and you have the necessary idea of an infinite being. But how could a finite and imperfect being have the idea of one perfect and infinite, and have it necessarily, if one did not exist? Take away God, the infinite and the perfect, and let there be only man, the finite and imperfect, and I shall never deduce from the finite the idea of the infinite, from the imperfect the idea of the perfect, from humanity the idea of God; but if God, if the perfect, if the infinite exists, then my reason will be able to conceive them.

The simple fact of the conception of God by the reason, the simple idea of God, the simple possibility of the existence of God implies the certainty and necessity of the existence of God." *Psych. Henry's Transl.* p. 266.

If then the position, *that the necessary existence of God can be inferred from the necessary idea of God*, be not true, the whole *a priori* argument is fallacious and illogical. How can it be sustained as true and solid?

In answer, we will first give the argument in its direct and positive form. Every idea—applying the word both to conceptions from sense and the intuitions of reason—involves an operation of the mind in relation to some object of thought. But objects of thought cannot be created by the mind from nothing. They are cognized only as existing things before the mind, or, as brought in upon the field of consciousness. As the eye can see nothing, by its own energy, where nothing is, but must, in order to vision, have some real object of vision presented; so the mind has no power to form ideas from nonentities, but must have all the elements of its ideas before it as existing realities. Thus, every simple idea must have its archetype in some actual entity and reality of being.

Where then the mind has *necessary* ideas, or the intuitions of necessary truths, as in the case of all ultimate and absolute principles, these rational cognitions are a proof of the necessary existence of their archetypes. An idea without a reality is an idea of nothing; and a necessary idea without the necessity of its real archetype is an absurdity. Now the idea of God is a necessary idea, in the various forms of the infinite, the eternal, the perfect, the absolute cause, etc. The mind cannot exist, as a rational, active mind, without a development of this idea in some of its forms; and, in the possession of the idea, there is the consciousness that that, of which it is an idea, is universal and necessary. The eternal, for instance, is an idea which the mind of every person must have as the correlate to limited time; so that if he have the idea of the limited, he must also have the idea of the eternal. And while, in relation to the limited, he knows that it possesses none of the attributes of necessity or immutability, in relation to the eternal, he knows that it cannot but be. Even if he conceives of the idea as dropping from his mind, and even from every other finite mind in the universe, he knows that still the eternal—an unbegun and an unending—is a reality which it is impossible should be annihilated. Its

non-existence cannot take place by the universal loss of all idea of it; and thus the necessary idea must involve the necessary archetype of that idea.

So also of all the *a priori* ideas of the self-existent, the independent, the omnipresent, etc. They are all the necessary ideas of the human mind; and come with the conviction that all minds, which exercise any rational thought, must have them in more or less distinct development; and, moreover, that the entities, of which they are ideas, are necessary, and cannot be annihilated. And these entities can never be mere forms or empty *phantasmata*; but are, as Cudworth says, "the most unbending and uncompliant, the most necessary, firm, immutable and adamant things in the world." And as they are realities thus immutable, they prove that the absolute being, in whom alone they have their ground of existence, is himself a most necessary and immutable being. Thus the actual existence of the absolute God is necessarily involved in our necessary idea of him.

But, still farther to convince the mind, which falters and hesitates from the tenuity of these pure intellections, we add a corroborative form of the argument, in obviating the difficulties which arise. It may be thought, that this arguing from the idea to the reality cannot be valid, inasmuch as,

1. *It does not accord with fact.* We have many ideas for which there are no archetypes in existence. We form the idea of a phoenix or a centaur, while there never were such existences.

To this it is replied, that while it is admitted that the complex whole of such ideas never had any existing archetypes, yet all the elements of these complex ideas are, and must be realities, as actually given to the mind through the senses. The mind cannot create a single new element; it can only combine old ones into new forms. Having the different elements as realities, the imagination and fancy can arrange and combine them into new modifications indefinitely, or limited by nothing but the rule of permutation of quantities. But the whole work of the mind is exhausted in the act of combination, and can never go beyond the materials given to it from existing things through the senses. This answers the difficulty from the supposed fact; but this is not all. These elements, which are combined by the mind into various forms and given to it by the senses, are by no means invested with any of the attributes of necessity and universality. They are but material effects; and

may be conceived as annihilated, or as never having been caused. Their non-existence is no absurdity. But not so with the existence of absolute principles. Not so with the ideas of eternal, infinite, self-existence, etc., as elementary in the absolute idea of God. These are all necessary in their very nature, and are cognized as uncreated, enduring, changeless realities. The mind can neither create nor annihilate them. They stand forth independent of will or power.*

2. *As the idea and its archetype are not identical, they may exist independently of each other ; and thus the idea may be without the archetype.* It cannot therefore be inferred that because the idea is, therefore the reality is.

To this we answer : Whether the idea and the archetype be identical or not depends upon the fact of the personality or impersonality of the intuitive cognition of ultimate truth. Does the mind get the ideas of these necessary truths by its own personal action—as in the case of material objects—through the senses ? If it does, as is assumed by Kant, then it is true, as above, that the idea and the archetype are not identical ; but the archetype is a distinct existence, external to the mind, and the idea is the subjective cognition of the archetype by the mind's own action. But if it does not, as Cousin maintains—and the necessary or ultimate truth is given to the mind by another agent, like any truth of inspiration, and thus this agent is emphatically “the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,”—then they are identical, and the idea is but the archetype itself, brought within the field of the mind's own consciousness, by the revolving of that absolute sphere which is the immutable ground of all necessary truth.

* “But it may be I still deceive myself when I say, that the idea I have of *extension* supposes an object actually existing. For it seems that I have ideas which do not suppose any object. I have, for example, the idea of an enchanted castle, though no such thing really exists. Yet, when I consider the difficulty still more attentively, I find there is this difference between the idea of *extension* and an *enchanted castle* ; that the first being natural, i. e. independent of my will, supposes an object which is necessarily such as it represents : whereas the other, being artificial, supposes indeed an object, but it is not necessary that that object be absolutely such as the idea represents, because every will can add to that object or diminish from it as it pleases.”—*Regis. Metaphys.* Lib. 1, P. 1. cap. 3.

If the last position be the truth, the whole ground of the objection, as above given, is at once annihilated, and the idea is not merely an inseparable existence with the archetype; but is itself the archetype seen in its own absolute and eternal ground of being. Nor would the settlement of this inquiry bear alone upon the point before us, but upon the establishing of the possibility of any and all a priori and transcendental cognition; and would go more directly and effectually to the settlement of some of the most important and fundamental questions of human knowledge, than perhaps any point of mental philosophy now agitated. It would meet the speculations of Hume, in his higher skepticism of all knowledge of a God—just where the clear counter speculations of Dr. Reid met both Hume and Berkely, in their skepticism of the knowledge of an external world—by the affirmation of a direct and immediate knowledge. All conflict with the skeptic in relation to the being of a God, or with the affirmed atheist, when followed fully out to its issue, will inevitably come upon the ground of this inquiry; and, by deciding it, we shall decide how we are to combat the peers of skepticism in their very heights;—either with Kant, by taking the side of the *personality* of our rational cognition of ultimate and absolute truth, and then urging against them a *faith*, based upon all probabilities in its favor and nothing opposed to it, or with Cousin, by taking the ground of its *impersonality* or direct inspiration, and thus overwhelming them by the conclusiveness of *absolute knowledge* which is grounded upon immutable necessity. And verily, there is no way of annihilating, by human reason, the last refuge of the philosophical skeptic, but by obliging him, with the first, to feel the *folly* of standing against all probabilities, with nothing to support him, or, with the last, to feel the *absurdity* of standing against the verities which are based in absolute necessity. Now this would be the only way to *annihilate* the difficulty as above stated; but it may be most effectually *obviated* by a cheaper and easier effort. For admit, as the objection contemplates, that the archetypes are not identical with the ideas; still it would by no means follow that we can have the idea without the archetype. The shadow is not identical with the substance; but it cannot be without the substance:—the effect is not identical with the cause; but it cannot be without the cause. And thus, the idea may not be identical with the archetype; and yet it may be true, that there can be no idea with-

out an archetype. Even if one can be conceived as existing without the other, it is the idea only which can be conceived to have non-existence. The mind may lose the idea, i. e. it may be conceived as having fallen from the mind's consciousness; but the archetype, the absolute truth, cannot cease to be. If then we have the necessary idea of God, although that idea be not conceived as an inspiration of himself by himself, it would still be seen that the idea, when possessed necessarily, implied its antitype in his necessary being.

3. *The idea of God may be evolved from our own being; and can thus be no ground for a deduction that God really exists.*

This is denied as a matter of fact or possibility. The idea of the *indefinite* may be evolved from our own being, but not the idea of the *absolute*. These ideas are as distinct as any two the mind can possibly have. We may expand and augment, in imagination, the attributes which we possess, to an unconditional extent, and thus get the idea of the *indefinite*, or the *unconditionally unlimited*—a progression but never a completion. Here, however, is no idea akin to the absolute, the entire, the complete and perfect God. It is only an indefinite expansion of yourself, and not even an approach to the idea of the absolute entireness of an eternal being. If there were no other idea but that of an augmented finite, at the utmost it would be finite still, and could never give the idea which the mind actually has of an infinite God, in his absolute wholeness and entireness of being. Besides, by no indefinite expansion of self, can the mind possibly obtain the elements of *universality* and *necessity*, which now inhere in the idea of all ultimate truths, and with which our idea of the absolute God is invested. This expanded self can always be conceived as being or not being—as now and not at another time—as never having been, or if as once having been, not now, or not hereafter. But not so with the absolutely eternal, which is universally and necessarily in being.

The ground of the a priori argument is then entirely untouched by this objection; for it would be a mere *petitio principii* to say, that because you can get the idea of the indefinite by expanding yourself in imagination, you can, therefore, get the necessary idea of the absolute, without its possessing a real being.

4. *If the real existence of God is as necessary as its idea, then the denial of his existence ought to appear to be as great an ab-*

surdity as the denial of any idea of God. But evidently, this is not the fact. There is no atheist but must admit that he has the idea of God, and that it would be an absurdity to suppose that his idea of the eternal could ever consist with his idea of the annihilation of the eternal. But still he feels no such absurdity himself, nor do others in relation to it, that he denies the real existence of an eternal being. But this absurdity ought so to be felt, if the reality is as necessary as the idea.

To this it is replied, that the absurdity is in truth as great in one case as in the other; but the intuition of one is not as direct and immediate as the other. The denial of the necessity of the most complicated demonstration in Euclid, is, in reality, as great an absurdity, as the denial of one of the first axioms in geometry. But, because the axiom is a first and immediate intuition to all minds, and the conclusion of a complicated problem is a remote intuition, reached only in the process of a series of intuitions, the denial of the truth of the last, cannot appear, to ordinary minds, as absurd as the denial of the first. So with the existence of God. The *a priori* demonstration is reached only by a process of deductions from the necessary idea; and thus, while the last may be clear to all, and its denial a manifest absurdity to all, yet the steps in the demonstration may prevent many a mind from seeing the absurdity of denying the conclusion. Here, then, is really nothing to militate against the conclusion, that the necessary being of God follows from the necessary idea of him. And such, I think, may be affirmed of all the difficulties that can be presented. They can be obviated, and shown to be irrelevant, and thus, while they leave the direct argument unimpaired, they go farther, and, as they can all be obviated, they give corroboration to the positive proof.

Having thus, with some care, examined the *nature and ground* of the *a priori* form of argument for the being of God, it remains to consider,

III. *The extent to which it can be conclusively applied in proof of the being of God.* We would here estimate the value of this mode of reasoning by itself, disconnected from any other. We may hereafter see its great use in combination with another form of argument; but here we fix our eye singly and solely upon the pure *a priori* form, as applied to the proof of the existence of God. And we shall find that its conclusiveness is weakened, and the limits of its application circumscribed,—

not so much, and perhaps not at all, from any defect in the argument itself,—but altogether from the weakness and incompetency of the human mind to give to it the full scope and efficacy of its own inherent power. This difficulty of application will be found,

1. In an obscure and partial apprehension of the ground on which the validity of the argument rests. We deem the ground of the argument, in reality, safe and solid. And this, not merely in the point that a logical deduction from a necessary truth is conclusive, as in all mathematical reasoning, but in the more specific point, that necessary ideas involve the necessary existence of their archetypes, and thus, that they have a necessary ground of being. A necessary idea, with nothing as its object, ground, or archetype, is, in our view, an absurdity. In the divine mind, the idea must itself be the archetype or ground of the reality—the exemplar, from which, as evolved from his efficient causation, all material and spiritual forms and modes of existence must have their origin. But in the *finite* mind, the idea must be either an acquisition or reception, i. e. either taken by the mind's own action, through some medium,—as in sensation,—or, given by direct display, impartation or inspiration to the mind's own consciousness, from the ground of all being itself,—as, perhaps, in all rational intuitions of ultimate truth. But, in either case, the idea will be valid for the existence of its object. In the first, the verification of the reality of the object, from the idea, will be on the ground of an *absolute faith*—a conviction in which all probabilities meet with no conflicting contradictions. In the second, the verification will be on the ground of *absolute science*—a perceived necessity, immutable and ultimate.

But, though this be the case in reality, the conclusiveness of it will be impaired in most minds, for this reason,—that the principle, which is the ground of all conviction, will be obscure in the conception, and thus be divested of the attributes of an axiom or first truth, clear and self-affirmed in its own light. Of course, any deductions must be unsatisfactory to such minds in exact proportion to the partial and obscure apprehension of the principle from which they have been derived. Some minds, originally or by exercise, may be so acute and far-reaching in their intuitions, as to be able at once to perceive, that the problem of an exact square of the circle, is an absurdity, or the fact of a perpetual motion, from material elements,

located in a material universe, is an impossibility. They may thus lay down, as first principles in their reasonings, what, to ordinary minds, would be a remote conclusion, found only after a long and labored process of demonstration. And so, in the use of the principle of the a priori argument for the being of God, it is a clear and distinct necessary truth, and thus a first truth in the reasoning, to some minds, and therefore all logical deductions are to them conclusive and convincing; but to most, the obscurity of the principle must forever vitiate the conclusiveness and validity of this form of demonstration.

2. In the case of those, however, to whom the ground of the a priori argument is plain, there will be a higher difficulty. Their inability to take a position, where they can perceive a necessary idea for every divine attribute, will oblige them to stop short of a full demonstration.

Eternity, immensity, necessary existence, etc., may perhaps be taken at once by the mind, as first truths, seen to be necessary and absolute in their own nature. The necessary existence of the objects or archetypes of these necessary ideas may thus, at once, be deduced from them. Omniscience and omnipotence may, perhaps, be necessary truths from omnipresence and self-existence; but if they are, the clear idea of this necessity is certainly a much higher intuition than that of the necessary ideas of eternity and immensity; and only in proportion as the necessity of the idea is clear, is the deduction to the necessity of the reality conclusive.

The ultimate idea of *right* is necessary and universal. The mind perceives a necessity in connection with this idea; and though to many minds it may be obscure, yet, to others it is as clear and immutable in its necessity as that of any absolute truth in mathematics. The necessary existence of some absolute ground of moral rectitude and perfection is thus a logical deduction. Now to this, it may be, that moral freedom or intelligent choice is a necessary adjunct; but if it be so, it will demand far higher powers of intuition to see the necessary idea and thus infer the necessary reality of such an existence.

So the attributes of *benevolence* and *wisdom* may have, and doubtless really do have, a ground of necessary being in God. But, aside from all effects in which God's wisdom, skill and benevolence appear, it must certainly be a most difficult and perhaps impossible position for either man or angel to attain, where, in its own absolute ground of being, it shall be seen

that the ideas of benevolence and wisdom are necessary ideas, making the real existence of absolute wisdom and benevolence necessary.

It may be that there is a position where every perfection, natural and moral, shall be seen to be necessary, and investing the idea of them with as clear a necessity as in the case of eternity or immensity, but it is not too much to say that no human mind, while in the flesh, *has* stood in this position, or, perhaps, that there never *will* be such an attainment. Yet until that position is found and taken, the simple a priori argument will fail, from the limited powers of those who use it, to give the full demonstration of every attribute essential to the absolutely perfect God.

3. A greater difficulty still remains—that of attaining to a necessary idea, so comprehensive as to include every necessary perfection in the existence of a necessary, absolute UNITY of being.

A priori, it can be demonstrated that there can be but one eternal being, and but one omnipresent being, and but one self-existing being; and it may be, and probably is true, that there is a position where the necessity of all these attributes, having one common ground for their existence, is plainly and necessarily perceived. It is probably true that there cannot be an eternal being, existing separately and in a different ground from an omnipresent being, or an omnipresent from a self-existent being, and so on for every divine perfection. There would thus be a position for the necessary idea of the necessary unity of all perfection in one absolute ground of being; and thus, in that position, the conclusiveness of an a priori argument would be full and clear. But it is not probable that any human, and perhaps not probable that any angelic intellect ever occupied that awfully sublime position. It would be to fix the full gaze upon the great centre of all being and perfection, and seeing how every necessary truth, in full circle and sphere, hung, immutable and eternal, on that one absolute, primary, and elementary point of all existence.

The a priori argument therefore for the being of God is perfect in its *nature*, and valid and conclusive in its *ground* of argumentation, but limited and circumscribed from the limited powers of the human mind in its *application*. "We are not straitened in" *it*, but we are straitened in our own *powers*.

ARTICLE III.

THE AGONY IN GETHSEMANE.

Math. 26: 36 46, Mark 14: 32—42, Luke 22: 39—48, Heb. 5: 7, 8.

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NONE of the passages above referred to contains a full history of our Savior's agony: each of the three Evangelists has omitted some things which the others have recorded; and all are very brief. The passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews is but an incidental notice of that mournful scene, introduced for another purpose; namely, to show how Jesus was touched with the feeling of our infirmities, being tempted like as we are, before he was made perfect by the things which he suffered, in order that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

From Matthew we learn that Jesus prayed three several times. "He went a little farther, and fell upon his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father," etc.—"He went away again the *second* time, and prayed, saying, O my Father," etc.—"And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the *third* time, saying the same words." Mark makes mention only of two successive acts of prayer; but indicates that he knew of a third, where he says: "And he cometh the *third* time, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest," etc. Luke considers all these three acts as one prayer, inasmuch as the subject matter of them all was the same, and speaks as if Jesus had prayed once only. The three Evangelists appear to have had the same design; namely, to convey to their readers an idea of the intensity of the Lord's distress; but they compass it in different ways. Luke alone notices the agony, the bloody sweat, and the appearance of an angel from heaven strengthening him; Matthew and Mark alone record the change which appeared in his countenance and his manner, the complaint which he uttered of the overpowering sorrow of his soul, and his repetition of the same prayer. All agree that he prayed for the removal of what he calls *this cup*, and are careful to note, that he qualified his earnest petition by a preference of the Father's will to his own. In Matthew he is made to say:

"Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt;"—in Mark : "Nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt;"—in Luke : "Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." In the several accounts which they give of his prayer there are verbal differences; but the prayer is substantially the same in all. This difference in words shows that they were intent only on substantial, and not on verbal accuracy; and that, in our interpretation of them, their language must not always be closely pressed.

The first two Evangelists have laid the scene of this deeply interesting event in a place called Gethsemane. In Luke it is at the Mount of Olives. John passes over the agony, but speaks of the Lord's arrest, which immediately followed it in the same place, and describes it as taking place in a garden to which Jesus had often resorted.* From all these we learn that Gethsemane was a garden situated at the Mount of Olives, within a short distance from Jerusalem, where Jesus was accustomed often to spend the night with his disciples.

The season of the year was in the full-moon, after the vernal equinox, which, in Judea, immediately preceded the harvest. The occasion of the Lord's presence in Jerusalem was the festival of the Passover. It was the practice of Jesus to repair to Jerusalem with his disciples, at each of the three great festivals,—the Passover, the Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles,—in obedience to the law of Moses, which made it the duty of every man in Israel to spend these sacred seasons in the holy city, and to join in the solemnities which were there celebrated. We find him also in the temple at the feast of Dedication,† which was not of divine, but of human institution,—being appointed by Judas Maccabeus to commemorate the dedication of the temple after the recovering of it from the Gentiles.‡ Upon which we may observe, by the way, that a sacred season which serves a pious end, though appointed only by human authority, may have the Lord's approbation.

During these festivals it was the custom of Jesus to spend the day within the city, and at the temple, in teaching the people, whose instruction in rational piety their ordinary teachers, the Pharisees and Scribes, had sadly neglected. In the evening he retired to Bethany, or to Bethphage, upon the Mount of Olives,

* John 18: 1, 2.

† John 10: 22, 23.

‡ Josephus Antiq. B. XII. c. 7. § 6, 7. 1 Maccabees 4: 36—56.

or to some other place in the vicinity of the city ; but he chose, it seems, most frequently, to spend the night in the solitude of Gethsemane. Here, remote from the noise and pressure of a crowded city, he could enjoy, without disturbance, the communion which he sought with his heavenly Father, and give the freest indulgence to the pious feelings which the recollections of the day inspired, in meditation and prayer. To him these duties came as a relief from his daily employments ; and nowhere does he appear to have found so much enjoyment as in solitary intercourse with God. In the morning he returned to his labors in the city at an early hour ; and, sometimes at least, he came fasting and hungry, and willing to content himself with any thing for a meal which Providence threw in his way.*

It was now the night in which the Jews ate the paschal lamb, to commemorate their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, when the destroying angel passed through the land, and slew the first-born of every family, but spared the dwellings which were marked with the blood of the lamb upon which the inmates were feasting within : an institution that was designed, at the same time, to prefigure a greater salvation by the intervention of a nobler blood. In the earlier part of this night, Jesus also ate the passover lamb with his disciples ; and, at the close of that solemnity, he instituted the new sacrament of the bread and wine, as a memorial of himself, and of his love in laying down his life for the salvation of men. It was here that his grief began. The traitor sat with him at meat, polluted with the basest ingratitude, meditating his dark design, yet, with bold hypocrisy, sitting among his friends. When Jesus beheld him, "he was troubled in spirit, and testified and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, That one of you shall betray me."† Judas perceived that his treason was known, and withdrew. After his departure, Jesus, knowing the errand on which he went, and the manner in which he would return, took the bread, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said, "Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of me." By this solemn act, he designed to impress upon their minds the certainty that he would

* Matth. 21: 17, 18.

† John 13: 21.

die by the shedding of his blood: so certain was it, that they might regard the deed as though it were done: "My body," said he, "is broken; my blood is shed." What Jesus felt when he uttered these words, we cannot tell; but we have no doubt that his heart was full, and though he maintained his self-possession, more than ordinary feeling was visible in his countenance and in all his manner.

His disciples did not apprehend his meaning, though his words were plain, because their minds were prepossessed with the belief "that Christ abideth forever,"* and, consequently, that Jesus could not die: but they understood that he meditated a separation from them, that some mysterious and dreadful catastrophe was approaching. This apprehension distressed them, and sorrow filled their hearts.† It was, therefore, the purpose of Jesus to comfort them, and to fortify their minds against the coming trials: and with this design he addressed to them those discourses which John has preserved in the latter part of his gospel, and which are so full of the most precious consolation to every child of God, when perplexed with doubts, or alarmed by fears. In these discourses, his attention appears to have been absorbed by the situation and wants of the disciples, who loved him, and who were in distress; his thoughts and his affections are wholly turned to them, and he speaks of himself only so far as their safety and their comfort demanded it: it is here that his heart is opened to us, and that we have a view of its tenderness, its compassion, and all its kind affections.

After these addresses, when he saw that his disciples were composed, and were settled in the belief "that he was come forth from God," he considered his work on earth as finished. He closed his ministry, therefore, with a most solemn, and tender, and filial prayer, in which he besought the Father to vindicate his honor as the Son of God under the dark clouds of reproach that were soon to cover him, and, commending to his care and protection those whom he would leave in the world: "He lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that thy Son may also glorify thee." *The hour is come.* It was the hour of his great conflict with death, and hell, and all the powers of darkness: an hour that was fraught with infinite interests to the human race; when every thing depended on the manner in which he would acquit

* John 12: 32—34.

† John 16: 6.

himself in the awful strife ; when he would seem to the world, perhaps to angels, to sink forever ; and when there was special need, that the Father should own him as his Son, and give evident signs, that he was indeed the beloved one of God. This prayer shows, as every thing in his previous history shows, that Jesus was fully conscious of his destination, and aware of the fearful measure of suffering which the Father had appointed for him. Yet, he is calm and collected, and unmoved in his purpose to submit. There is no complaint ; no wish is betrayed that he might be spared ; all he asks for is, that his honor should be maintained ; and this he prays for only, that he might also honor the Father, by the successful accomplishment of his purpose of mercy to save the fallen children of men : "Glorify thy Son, that thy Son may also glorify thee."

When he had ended this prayer, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, and entered the garden at the Mount of Olives, to which he was accustomed to resort, and where he knew that Judas Iscariot would soon come with his band to seek and betray him. Here a mysterious change came over him. The night was far advanced, the world was wrapped in sleep, and a profound silence prevailed. The moon shed her pale light upon the scene, and nature appeared in her beauty, like one that is lovely but sad. The stillness invited to rest, after the exhausting activity of the day ; but though the disciples slept, Jesus did not rest ; his mind was the seat of oppressive thoughts, and of feelings that were unutterable ; and the surrounding scene was adapted only to increase his dejection. When he had entered into the garden he requested his disciples to sit there, while he went farther to pray. "And he took with him Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death : tarry ye here, and watch with me. And he went a little farther, and fell upon his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me ; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt," etc.

"My soul is exceeding sorrowful," etc. *My soul*, by a common Hebraism, is put for the personal pronoun, *I*. *I am exceeding sorrowful unto death.* Περίληπτός ἐστίν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου. Περίληπτός is from περί and λήπη, *surrounded with sorrow, wholly filled with sorrow*. He was oppressed with a sorrow that exceeded whatever he had felt before ; a sorrow unto

death; a sorrow overpowering and insupportable, which, if not alleviated, must soon eventuate in death. His distress was manifest in his countenance, and in his whole demeanor: he began to be sore amazed and very heavy, as Mark expresses it: ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν; which Doddridge paraphrases: "He began to be in very great and visible dejection, amazement and anguish of mind."

In this deep distress he sought relief in prayer. For reasons which are not explained, he wished to be alone while he prayed, and therefore commanded the majority of his disciples to remain near the entrance of the garden, while he went onward a little way; but desirous, at the same time, to have some of them to be witnesses of his conflict, he took with him Peter, and James, and John, in obedience to the law of Moses, which provided that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should be established.* The same favored three were sole witnesses of his transfiguration, and of the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus. But from these three also, he presently withdrew for the purpose of prayer: he went a little farther, according to Luke, about a stone's cast; near enough, therefore, to be seen and heard by them, yet alone. The other disciples, who were at a greater distance, were permitted to indulge in sleep; at least, no other command is mentioned as given to them, than that they should sit there, while he went to another place to pray; but these three were directed to watch with him, and to pray for themselves. The reason assigned for this watching and praying was, that they might not fall into temptation. The injunction was given, therefore, not for his own sake, but for theirs; he chose to be solitary in his conflict, and to bear his burden alone; but if they had watched with him, while he was agonizing in his distress, they would have witnessed the greatness of his sorrow, and the filial manner in which he demeaned himself under its pressure; and his great example would have fortified them against the temptation to which they so easily gave way, when they forsook him and fled, and when Peter even denied him before the servants of the high priest. The same reason would have been equally good for the watching and praying of all the disciples; yet eight of the eleven were left at a distance, out of sight and hearing, and received no such command. The reason of this,

* Deut. 17: 6. Matth. 18: 16.

perhaps, was, that Jesus expected less from them, than from these three, and did not think proper to lay upon them a command which he had no hope that they would obey.

His prayer was short, but fervent; full of feeling, but rational; characterized by a filial trust in his heavenly Father, and a perfect resignation to his will: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." Mark's account is: "He prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him. And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt." According to Luke, his words were: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." These are the different versions which the several Evangelists have given in Greek of the words spoken by the Lord, in the Syro-Chaldaic, or, as it is called in the New Testament and in Josephus, the Hebrew. That Jesus prayed in the Syro-Chaldaic appears from Mark, who gives us his first word—*Abba—Father*, and then proceeds with his own translation: "Father, all things are possible unto thee," etc. It is manifest from their diversities, that their translations are not literal, but free, and were designed only to convey the sense, and not the words of the prayer. Neither, perhaps, has recorded all that Jesus said; but each has given, in his own way, what struck him most forcibly, and appeared to him to be the substance of the prayer. With regard to his posture in praying, Matthew says: "He fell upon his face, and prayed;" Mark: "He fell on the ground and prayed;" Luke: "He kneeled down and prayed." The three say substantially the same thing: he kneeled, and, bending forward, rested his face upon his hands on the ground. This posture was indicative of the greatest earnestness, and of the deepest humiliation before God, and was assumed by the ancients only when they prayed in their greatest affliction.

When he rose up from prayer, and came to his disciples, he found them asleep: and waking them, he said to Peter: "What, could ye not watch with me one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." He was evidently affected by finding them asleep; for his words indicate both surprise and regret. The exhortation is addressed particularly to Peter, because he had, more than the others, professed a most ardent devotion to Jesus,

and had so recently declared his readiness to lay down his life for him; yet now, in his Master's utmost need, he fell asleep, though one hour had not yet passed since they had entered the garden, and had been exhorted to watch with him. Luke says, they slept for sorrow. They were exhausted with grief, which every thing they saw was adapted to deepen; and wearied nature sought repose in sleep. When the Lord waked them, he saw that they were conscious of the impropriety of their sleeping at such a time, and cordially willing to obey his injunction, but wanted the power to give effect to their good intentions. He was touched with their sincerity, and kindly made their apology for them: "The spirit, indeed, is willing, but the flesh is weak;" there was a willing mind to do what he desired, but the material frame, in its exhausted state, was unable to support their good purposes.

Having exhorted them again to watch and pray, he went away the second time and prayed, saying: "O my Father, if this cup may not pass away except I drink it, thy will be done." Mark says: "And again he went, and prayed, and spake the same words;" that is, the same in substance; for they were not exactly the same as before. His repetition of the same prayer, shows that he had yet obtained no relief; and his words, as they are given by Matthew, indicate that his hope, that the cup would be removed, had now grown fainter. In his first prayer, he expressed a hope that this might be done, as well as a doubt whether it could; for he says: *If it be possible*, let this cup pass from me." In his prayer as given by Mark, this hope is founded upon the divine omnipotence: "Father, all things are possible to thee." Inasmuch as all things are possible to God, he conceived that this also might be possible, though he did not see in what way it might be so. But in this second prayer he says: "O my Father, *if this cup may not pass away except I drink it*, thy will be done." This change in the terms of his prayer indicates, that, though he still entertained the same hope, it was passing away from him, and the prospect before him was growing darker.

Neither did this second prayer bring the relief he sought. He came again to his disciples, and found them relapsed into the sleep from which he had so lately roused them; "for," says Mark, "their eyes were heavy; neither wist they what to answer him." He waked them the second time; but finding them confused, and in no condition to be profitably admonished,

he said no more, but left them, and went away again the third time, and prayed, saying the same words. This passing to and fro, returning to his disciples, and going again to repeat the same prayer is evidence of the utmost anxiety and perturbation of mind. No relief was found for him in heaven, when he prayed; and no comfort was obtained from men, when he returned to the friends whom he loved. There was a hiding of the Father's face; the heavens seemed as brass, and his prayer appeared fruitless: the darkness thickened around him; and, as it grew, the perplexity and anguish of his soul increased. His third prayer was, therefore, like a conflict with despair. "And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was like great drops of blood falling down to the ground." The Greek *ὡς αἱ θρόμβοι αἵματος*, may mean, not that his sweat was mingled with blood, but that it stood upon him, and fell to the ground, like blood, in large, clammy drops. Whitby has shown, in his comments on the text, that both Aristotle and Diodorus Siculus have mentioned bloody sweats, *αἱματώδη ἰδρώτα*, and *ῥνοίς ἰδρώτος αἱματοειδὲς*, as things not unknown; and he remarks, that he sees no reason why this might not be so great an agony, as to force blood from the capillary vessels to mix with the sweat. On the physiological question, involved in this inquiry, I am unable to say any thing; but taking the words of Luke in their lowest sense, the fact which they state is abundant evidence of extreme anguish of mind. The night was cold; for we find the servants and officers, soon afterwards, kindling a fire in the palace of the high priest to warm themselves. The distress must therefore have been terrible which could, in such a night, and in the open air, produce so copious a perspiration from the pores, that his sweat stood upon his face, and fell to the ground, in drops, like clotted blood. This was, indeed, an awful conflict, and tremendous must have been the temptation with which Jesus was assailed, and against which he was contending.

It was, doubtless, here that an angel appeared to Jesus and strengthened him. Luke does not say that the disciples saw the angel, but that he appeared to Jesus. It seems, at first view, as if he meant that the angel appeared before the distress of Jesus had reached this extremity; for, having mentioned the angel's appearing to him and strengthening him, he adds: "And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly," etc. But he cannot mean that Jesus fell into this agony, and prayed

more earnestly now, after the angel had appeared and strengthened him ; but that, when he saw the angel, and was strengthened by him, he *was* in an agony, and *was* praying more earnestly than he had prayed before. This I take to be an indication that, though Luke speaks of the prayer as one, he was aware that it consisted of more than one act, and had learned that in the several successive acts, the Lord's distress and earnestness in prayer increased, until it became, at last, a perfect agony ; and his meaning is, that, in this extremity, the angel was sent from heaven with the Father's answer to his prayer, and brought the relief which his situation required.

Here the question arises : What was the cause of this agonizing and overwhelming distress ? Jesus himself intimates it in his prayer : " If it be possible, *let this cup pass away from me.*" It was the cup which the Father had appointed for him. But what does he mean by *this cup* ? I can only understand him to mean that death which the Father had appointed that he should die—the death of the cross—with all the attending circumstances which aggravated its horror ; that scene of woe, which began with his arrest in the garden, and was consummated in his death on Calvary. Doddridge, in his Family Expositor, and others with him, think that he means the bitter anguish and distress which he was now actually suffering. But if the cup was the cause of that distress, it was not the distress itself. If, moreover, that bitter anguish and distress was a cup which the Father had appointed for him, it was a cup which he was all the while drinking, and which he drank to its dregs, while he prayed. But the cup, respecting which he prayed, was one that was then before him, which he had not yet taken up to drink, and which he desired, if it were possible, that the Father should remove. This could be no other than that scene of suffering upon which he was about to enter, and which began when Judas Iscariot appeared with his armed band. So Jesus himself explained his meaning, when, rebuking the forwardness of Peter, who had drawn his sword and smitten the servant of the high priest, he said : " Put up thy sword into the sheath : the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it ?" * The cup, therefore, was still before him after his agony in the garden, and he was just then about to drink it : consequently, it could not be the anguish and distress which he had

* John 18: 18.

suffered there. So also the passage in the epistle to the Hebrews explains the meaning of his prayer: "Who in the days of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, *to him that was able to deliver him from death,*" etc. There can be no doubt that the sacred writer has reference, in this passage, to the scene in Gethsemane. It is from him we first learn that the prayers of Jesus, on that occasion, were uttered with strong crying and tears; and by him we are informed, that the object for which he prayed was a deliverance from the impending death. It is therefore certain that this deep and awful distress of Jesus arose from the contemplation of the horrible death which was now before him.

Jesus had long since been familiar with his destination to be made a sin-offering for the human race, and had looked forward to this hour as the appointed termination of his earthly ministry. At the age of twelve years, he knew that he ought to be employed in the affairs of his heavenly Father, and was surprised that when his parents missed him in their company, as they returned from Jerusalem to Nazareth, they should search for him anywhere but in the temple: "How is it," said he, "that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"* In the course of his ministry, he taught his disciples, that he was not come to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.† He spoke of his submission to death as his own voluntary act, done in obedience to the will of the Father: "No man taketh it (my life) from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father."‡ He repeatedly foretold the manner and the circumstances of his death, saying that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the chief priests and elders and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again on the third day; that he would be rejected, delivered over to the Gentiles, spit upon, crucified, etc.§ And in the institution of the holy supper, he gave a most impressive and affecting lesson of the certainty that his body would be broken, and his blood shed for the remission of sins.

When he looked forward to this destination, as the hour was

* Luke 2: 49.

† Matth. 20: 28.

‡ John 10: 18.

§ Mark 10: 32—34. Matth. 16: 21 17, 9—12. 20: 17, 19. John 12: 32, 33.

approaching, a chill of horror sometimes came over him, and found expression in external signs of distress. At one time he said: "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name."* But on no occasion did he exhibit any very striking evidences of perplexity and anguish. He was usually calm and collected, and if at any time he gave utterance to feelings of distress and horror, he still preserved his self-possession, and quickly checked the rising desire which nature put forth, to be spared from so dreadful a death. In his last address to his sorrowing disciples, he spoke with deep feeling and solemnity, but with perfect calmness. In his prayer at the close of his ministry, nothing is more manifest than a meek and quiet resignation to the Father's will: "Father, the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." He did not ask to be spared; but that the Father should vindicate his honor from the reproach, so shocking to every virtuous mind, of being reckoned among the vilest malefactors. And, finally, he took no care to avoid the traitor, whose purpose he well knew, but went to the place where he anticipated that Judas would seek him; he went with a settled purpose to submit to the impending stroke; and as he went, he warned his disciples again of the mournful catastrophe which was at hand, and was soon to scatter them like the flock whose shepherd is fallen.

It is, therefore, hardly to be supposed that the near approach of his sufferings, awful as they were, apart from every thing else, could alone have wrought so great a change in the mind of Jesus and in his whole demeanor, as soon as he had entered the garden. It is true, indeed, that the nearness of the work, which he had hitherto viewed in its approach at some distance, was adapted to give a violent shock to his feelings; but the mind of Jesus was not easily shaken; and in this case his anguish and terror were too great to be explained by such a cause. It is manifest, therefore, that something more than the cross was now before him, and that he was now placed in a new and hitherto untried situation. I have no hesitation in believing that he was here put upon the trial of his obedience. It was the purpose of God to subject the obedience of Jesus to a severe ordeal, in order that, like gold tried in the furnace, it

* John 12: 27. Compare Luke 12: 49, 50.

might be an act of more perfect and illustrious virtue : and for this end he permitted him to be assailed by the fiercest temptation to disobey his will, and to refuse the appointed cup. In pursuance of this purpose, the mind of Jesus was left to pass under a dark cloud, his views lost their clearness, the Father's will was shrouded in obscurity, the cross appeared in tenfold horror, and nature was left to indulge her feelings, and to put forth her reluctance.

It is certain that Jesus desired, and desired most earnestly, that, if it were possible, and if it were the will of his heavenly Father, the cup should be removed, and that he put up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, to him who was able to deliver him from death. It is certain, therefore, that the mind of Jesus was now not clear upon these points.

It appears farther from the passage in the Hebrews, that there was something connected with the cross that Jesus feared. The words are these : " Who, in the days of his flesh, offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, to him who was able to deliver him from death, *and was heard in that he feared* : " *Εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνλαβείας*,—literally, *heard from the fear*. This phrase I take to be a Hebraism, the *constructio prægnaus* of the Hebrew verb, like that in Psalm 22 : 21 : " For thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns," i. e. thou hast heard me *so as to deliver me* from the horns of the unicorns. *Being heard from the fear*, i. e. *from the thing which he feared*, must therefore mean, being heard so as to be delivered from that which he feared. He was however not delivered from death : " though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered." There was, therefore, something distinct from the death of the cross, but connected with it, which was the object of his fear ; something which multiplied and enhanced the terrors of the cross, and was the chief cause of the strong desire he entertained to be saved from that death, if it were possible, and consistent with the will of God.

What that was which was at this time connected, in the mind of Jesus, with the death of the cross, and which excited in him so distressing a fear, the sacred writers have not explained, and we are, therefore, left to conjecture respecting it. Perhaps the following considerations may shed light upon this subject, if they cannot be received as a satisfactory explanation.

Jesus knew that the salvation of the world was laid upon

him ; that he was to be the sin-offering for the human race ; that his death was to be the atonement for the sins of men ; and that, in all its attending circumstances, it was to be a tremendous death. He knew that he must die, as he had lived, without sin, or his death could not atone for the sins of others ; but if the extremity of suffering should so far prevail as to provoke him into impatience and murmuring, or into a desire of revenge, this would be sin : and if he should sin, all would be lost. If Jesus knew all this, and if these thoughts had possession of his mind before he entered into the garden, they must have borne upon him with much more oppressive weight, when the moment had arrived in which all that he had before contemplated was to be realized by actual experience. If the thought now arose, that, though his nature was unpolluted with inherent depravity, it was possible that he should sin, and if the fear was joined with that thought, that he might be overcome in that heavy trial, there was, in this thought and in this fear, a sufficient cause to produce all that mental agony which he exhibited in Gethsemane ; and the same cause, superadded to the horrors of the cross, was sufficient to create the desire which he felt, that this cup should be removed.

A pious and holy man may look calmly upon death in its most terrific forms, and may endure it with silent resignation, or even with joyous triumph ; and such has been the case with many Jewish and Christian martyrs. But the pious and holy man has not a world's salvation laid upon him ; the pious and holy man is not obliged to be absolutely perfect before God ; the pious and holy man knows, that if he sins, he has an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous ; and he is the propitiation for his sins ; and not for his only, but for the sins of the whole world. If he is entrapped in sin by some overpowering temptation, he can still be saved by the efficacy of the Saviour's death, and all the pious with him. But nothing of this consolation could be presented to the mind of Jesus ;—if he should sin, he must sink forever, and the world with him ; there was no other Saviour ; and all that he saw before him was a dark abyss, eternal ruin and infinite despair.

Here, perhaps, it will be objected, that I do not speak of Jesus with becoming reverence when I suppose him capable of sinning ; that he was not a mere man, and that as the God-man he could not sin. This objection, however, notwithstanding its apparent piety, is certainly ill-founded.

1. It might be as well objected, that, as the God-man, Jesus could not hunger and thirst, could not become weary, nor fall asleep, could not be sore amazed and very heavy, could not suffer and die.

2. If Jesus could not possibly sin, his will was not free. His obedience then was not voluntary obedience, and, consequently, was not virtue. He was, moreover, not constituted like to his brethren in all things except actual sin and sinful nature, nor like to the first man in his primeval integrity. His holy life could then be no example for us, and could afford no encouragement to us to imitate him; neither could the apostle urge upon us, as he does in the epistle to the Hebrews, that "we have not a high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, though without sin;"* for what would his temptations amount to, if there was absolutely no possibility that he should sin?

3. Though, in the person of Jesus, God was manifested in the flesh, his union with the Godhead was not such as to change his humanity. The received definition of this union forbids us to mix and confound the two natures. If Jesus is like unto his brethren in all things, sin excepted, he is as really and perfectly a man as he would be if there were no such union; and as such he shares with us all the infirmities which are essential to human nature. Neither must it be supposed, that, by virtue of this union, the human nature was throughout the mere instrument of the divine, and that all the agency of Jesus was the agency of the indwelling Deity; so that Jesus did nothing whatever, and could do nothing, except as the Deity wrought in him. In his prayer he distinguishes his own will from the will of God, and expresses an apprehension that what he wished and prayed for, in that instance, might not be what God was willing to do: and so, indeed, the fact proved to be, for the cup was not removed; and the apostle says: "Though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered." The Godhead could act, and did act without the intervention of the man Jesus, and the man Jesus could act, and did act, without the intervention of the Godhead. It was the Deity that spoke in him when he taught, and that wrought in him when he performed miracles; for this he expressly and repeatedly declared;

* Heb. 4: 15.

in all such cases as did not transcend the natural powers of a highly gifted and most holy man, he was left to himself, and acted or suffered as a man. The main design of the union of the Godhead with him seems to have been to confer dignity upon his person. It did confer upon him an infinite dignity, and thus imparted to all that he did and to all that he suffered, an infinite importance and value. But this design did not interfere with his free agency. He was constituted, with regard to his moral power, like the first man, and was fitted to take his place as the second Adam, and to repair the ruin which the first had introduced: as the first fell in his trial by transgression, so the second overcame by obedience. Like Adam, Jesus was subjected to a trial; like him, he was assailed in that trial by a temptation: the former was tempted to eat the forbidden fruit; the latter to refuse submission to the death of the cross.

The great trial of Jesus took place in Gethsemane, where the cup was placed before him, and his final decision was to be made either to drink it or not drink it. It was here that the temptation assailed him to spare himself, and to desire that God would spare him. All the circumstances were made favorable to this temptation, in order that it might exert upon him its utmost power: a cloud and darkness came over him; his view lost its wonted clearness; the will of the Father was obscured; the horrors of the cross rose up before him in their most appalling forms; his consciousness of the possibility of sinning awoke; the fear, that he might be overcome by such terrible suffering, and might sink forever, started up in his mind, and filled his soul with dismay and terror, and with a sorrow that could not be borne. It was nature in Jesus that, in these circumstances, shrunk back from such a scene of wo, and raised up the desire to be saved from such a death; and in the strength of these feelings was the power of the temptation to refuse the appointed cup.

The deportment of Jesus under this heavy trial was inexpressibly dignified, and set forth, in a clear and beautiful light, the great principle of piety and virtue that held possession of his mind. There was no stoical pride, that hardens itself against nature, and refuses to bend before God or man, by confessing that it is in pain. While he claimed to be the Son of God, he gave free vent to the feelings of nature in a tender complaint of the deep sorrow of his soul, and in pouring out his anguish in tearful and repeated prayer. But he did not, according to

the custom of that age, rend his garments, and cast dust upon his head; he did not beat his breast, and utter incoherent outcries. There was a calmness in the midst of his terror; all that he said was collected and rational, deeply imbued with filial reverence toward his heavenly Father, and with kindness toward his disciples; and in all his prayer, in his utmost distress he desired only to be heard, if it were the Father's will: "Not as I will, but as thou wilt."

The first principle of Jesus was, that the will of the Father must be done. "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me."* This principle, was the main spring of all his acting, directing every thought every desire and every volition. To do his heavenly Father's will was his meat and his drink :† when weary and hungry, if an opportunity of this kind came in his way, he forgot the demands of nature, and declined the meat which was offered to him. Nothing appeared to him beautiful, nothing valuable, or worthy to be desired, if he saw not in it a conformity to the will of God; and nothing, therefore, appeared to him as presenting any motive at all to deviate from that will.

This principle was now assailed, and its strength in the mind of Jesus put to a severe trial, by the sufferings which he was required to undergo. He was required to lay down his life for the salvation of sinful men, who deserved to die; to submit, like a criminal, to a public execution, under the sentence of the civil judge; to die by crucifixion—the most torturing and most ignominious punishment to which criminals could be adjudged; a punishment to which only the vilest criminals were condemned—to endure at the same time all the scorn and insult which ingenious malice could invent, or brutal wantonness inflict; to suffer every species of maltreatment that could increase the pains of death, and the weight of that reproach by which his heart was to be broken.

Death in its mildest form is abhorrent to nature; reproach and disgrace are more painful to the virtuous mind than death. But such a death as that which was appointed for Jesus might well fill the mind with chilling horror, and call up a strong desire to be spared. This natural desire Jesus felt. It was strengthened by the fear which arose, that he might be driven by the extremity of suffering, into an act of transgression, and

* John 6: 38.

† John 5: 20.

might thus fall, and the world with him, beyond the reach of hope. It was still increased by the thought, that it might be possible that the Father should accomplish his purpose without such a sacrifice, and might therefore save him from so great an anguish. It was farther encouraged by the obscurity and doubt in which the question seemed now to be, whether the Father really demanded this sacrifice from him. And it was raised to its greatest power, by the thickening of the darkness in which he was enveloped, and the growing distress that overwhelmed him.

Here was a conflict between the principle of self-love, or, what is the same, the desire of happiness, and the principle that the will of God must be done. Jesus cherished his self-love as an original principle of all intelligent natures, which is always virtuous when it is subordinate to the love of God. But it did not even occur to him, that he might cherish it a moment in any case, where it would not be in accordance with the Father's will. In his greatest agony, his prayer was still: "Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." The first parents of our race transgressed, when their temptation was immeasurably less than this of Jesus, and, by their disobedience, brought sin and death upon the world. But so perfectly did the principle, that the Father's will must be done, possess the mind of Jesus, and so invincible was its power, that even these temptations could not shake it. Neither the tortures of the cross nor its dreaded ignominy, nor all the aggravating circumstances of it, nor even the apprehension that he might sink under the weight of his sufferings, appeared to him to furnish a motive to disobey. If it seemed that in obeying he must sink into hopeless ruin, he saw that in voluntary disobedience there would be a worse ruin, while the Father would be dishonored by it. His purpose was, that, if he perished, he would perish in honoring the Father by obedience. The conflict was awful: every muscle shook; every nerve trembled; the blood, perhaps, quitting its wonted channels, mingled with the copious, clammy sweat at every pore; but Jesus stood firm in his purpose, unmoved like the rock amidst the furiously dashing waves, in all the wildness of the storm, still saying, in his deepest anguish: "Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt."

It was now that an angel appeared from heaven, strengthening him. Here it must be admitted to be evident, that Jesus was not supported in his trial by his divinity. He was tried

as a man ; not as the God-man. When nature was exhausted by the fierceness of the conflict, relief was brought from heaven by the ministry of an angel ; not by the internal manifestations of the indwelling Deity. The angel, doubtless, brought the Father's answer to his prayer, and strengthened him by the message which he delivered. The message was consolatory : it at once lighted up his mind and dissipated his perplexity and terror. The cup was not removed, but he was heard so as to be delivered from his fear. The dark cloud had now passed over, the mind of Jesus recovered its wonted clearness, the Father's will was plain, and the distressing fear was no more. Now Jesus ceased to pray ; he rose from his last prayer, calm and resigned, and went forth, in obedience to the Father's will, and drank the cup ; and from this time, he suffered whatever men chose to inflict, like the lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like the sheep that is dumb before its shearer, and openeth not its mouth. Had not the agony in the garden preceded, and had not Jesus afterwards, when another cloud was upon him, given vent to his feelings in the heart-rending cry : " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," we might suspect that he was not like other men, and that he felt no pain ; but in those hours of darkness he showed that his nature was human ; and his silent submission now could only be the effect of his exalted virtue, which submitted without complaint or reluctance, when he saw with clearness that such was the Father's will.

This voluntary submission to the death of the cross, in obedience to the will of his heavenly Father, is that illustrious act of obedience by which the Son of God has saved us. Of this act the apostle speaks in his epistle to the Philippians, where he says : " And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him," etc.* This is the act of obedience, which the same apostle opposes to the disobedience of Adam, in his epistle to the Romans : " As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation ; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience, many were made sinners ; so by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous."† By this great

* Ch. 2: 8.

† Ch. 5: 18, 19.

act of obedience it was, that Jesus made atonement for sin, and repaired the ruin of the first transgression, and reopened to us the way to God, and made peace between heaven and earth, and restored to all who receive him that blissful immortality which was lost by the fall.

Oh for this love, let rocks and hills
Their lasting silence break;
And all harmonious human tongues
The Savior's praises speak.

When Jesus had received by the angel the Father's answer to his prayer, and the fearful agony was past, he came to his disciples the third time, and finding them again sleeping, he said to them: "Sleep on now, and take your rest," etc. This is according to the common English translation. But that Jesus did not mean that the disciples should now sleep on and take their rest, is evident from what he immediately adds: "It is enough; the hour is come; behold the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise up, let us go; lo he that betrayeth me is at hand." In these words he tells them plainly that there was now no time for sleeping and taking rest: the die was cast, and they must arise and go with him. Some commentators think that Jesus said these words in a taunting way, meaning that, inasmuch as they would not be persuaded to watch with him, they should now sleep on and take their rest, if they could, when the enemy was at hand. But the mind of Jesus was not in a frame for taunting and irony: every thing in this part of his history indicates tenderness, meekness and love; and it is in accordance with such a state of his feelings, that we must interpret his words. I prefer, therefore, that interpretation which understands them interrogatively, and makes them mean: "Do ye now, at such a time as this, sleep on and take your rest?" This is Luther's translation: *Ach, wollt ihr nun schlafen und ruhen?* Ah, will ye now sleep and rest? This sense agrees with the connection, and is doubtless the true one.

The words: "Arise, let us go," some infidel may choose to represent as an exhortation to flee, and a proof that Jesus wished to escape, and would have fled, if it had been in his power. It is sufficient for an answer to this objection to turn to the gospel of John, where we read: "When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into which he entered, and his disciples. And Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place;

for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples. Judas then, having received a band of men, and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns, and torches, and weapons. Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth and said unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he. As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward and fell to the ground. Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they answered, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he. If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way," etc.

This passage is plain without a comment. We learn from it whither it was that Jesus meant to go, and meant that his disciples should go with him: it was to meet Judas with his band, and to deliver himself into their custody. He wished his disciples to go with him, that they might see that his surrender was voluntary, and that, though he submitted to be bound, he had power to protect them still. I will only remark, that, when the band had heard Jesus say, *I am he*, and had felt the power of that simple word in the sudden impotency which came over them, as they went backward and fell to the ground, they did not at first venture to touch him, after they had risen up again, but began to lay hands on his disciples; nor was it until he had commanded them to leave his disciples unharmed, and had placed himself before them the second time, with the same words, and they had found that they were not again smitten to the ground by what he said, that they dared to lay their hands on him. Where then is the shadow of evidence of a desire on the part of Jesus to escape? Every circumstance proves the perfect voluntariness of his submission to the sufferings which he endured. There was in his deportment, in that trying moment, a dignity worthy of the Son of God. He first gave an illustrious proof that the power of God was with him, and then submitted to be bound, to be mocked and spit upon, to be condemned and crucified; and suffered it, without resistance or complaint, because such was the will of the Father in heaven.

The question has also been asked: How did the evangelists know what occurred to Jesus in the garden, and how could they give the very words of his prayer, when Jesus was alone, and all the disciples were asleep? I shall not insist here, on what I have before remarked, that the evangelists have not given us the very words of his prayer; because that would not

meet the whole of the objection. My answer is: The disciples were not *all* asleep. The text says only, that Jesus found the disciples sleeping, but does not say he found them *all* sleeping. This language could be used if two of the three were asleep: and even if the word *all* were used by the sacred historians, it would still be in accordance with the oriental usage, and with the popular style of these writers, to make the same exception. Matthew and Mark, for example, tell us that, when Jesus was apprehended, *all* the disciples forsook him and fled.* Yet both these evangelists presently afterwards say, that Peter followed him afar off. And in John's gospel we read: "And Simon Peter followed Jesus, *and so did another disciple*. That disciple was known to the high priest, *and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest.*"† The word *all* is therefore not to be understood, in this instance, in its strict grammatical sense. So we are told by Mark and Luke, that, on the evening of his resurrection, Jesus appeared to the *eleven*, who were assembled together.‡ But from John we learn that Thomas, one of the eleven, was not then with them.§ Consequently there were only ten; and the first named evangelists say *the eleven*, because that was the designation of the body of the apostles after the defection of Judas, and do not think it necessary to remark that one of the number was wanting. So also here, one of the three disciples may have watched with Jesus, whilst the others slept. That one, we may suppose, was John, *that disciple whom Jesus loved*. He does not appear to have left his master's side, as long as he was permitted to be with him, during his heavy trials. He leaned upon the bosom of Jesus while he lived, and stood by his cross when he died; and it is hardly probable, that his ardent affection and deep sympathy would permit him to sleep, when his beloved master was in an agony of distress, and desired that he should watch with him.

If John was the only one of the disciples that saw the agony of Jesus, we might expect that he would have recorded it, rather than the other three. This, no doubt, he would have done, if he had written before them. But as he wrote long after them, and found the record in all the three, and was satisfied with what they had written, he omitted it, as he did also many other facts which are found in them. This I take to be

* Matth. 26 : 56. Mark 14 : 50.

† John 18 : 15.

‡ Mark 16 : 14. Luke 24 : 33.

§ John 20 : 24.

one among the internal evidences that John had seen and read the other three gospels, before he wrote his own, and that one of his objects was to supply the most important matters which they had omitted. Hence, we have in John the history of the washing of the disciples' feet, and the last discourses of Jesus, and the prayer with which he closed his ministry, and several facts connected with his crucifixion and his resurrection, all which are not in the other evangelists; but have not in him an account of the agony in Gethsemane.

It may be asked again: How John, if he was awake, could see, at the distance of a stone's cast, the drops of sweat, as they fell from Jesus, and could tell what they were like? To this I answer: John did not see those drops of sweat at the distance of a stone's cast. The Lord's agony seems, indeed, to have increased at each successive prayer; but there was already, as we have seen, a deep distress and anguish from the beginning; and John may have seen the drops of sweat falling from his face when he had returned to his disciples the second time, or when he was going the third time to repeat his prayer. Or, why may we not suppose, that during his last prayer, when his distress had risen to its utmost height, and before the angel came to his relief, John seeing him in so great an agony, his sympathy overcame him, and brought him to the place where Jesus was? If he said nothing to him, it was because Jesus was absorbed in his grief and his prayer, and his own feelings, heightened by what he witnessed there, were too strong for utterance. Neither could he see a possibility of contributing any thing on his part to sustain his beloved master under so great a woe: relief he saw must come from heaven, if it came at all; and he withdrew in silence as he had come, to mourn and pray alone, and to watch from a distance the issue of this tremendous conflict. It was then that an angel came to Jesus with an answer from the Father, and strengthened him; and John saw that, in all this mysterious darkness, he was still the Son of God, the beloved of the Father.

ARTICLE IV.

PREACHERS AND PREACHING.

By Professor Henry P. Tappan, New-York.

RELIGION embraces the proper direction and regulation of our whole responsible being—our thoughts, purposes, volitions, affections, words and actions—in our relation to God. Ethics embraces the same in our relation to man. They are thus distinguishable, but are not in their nature separable: for he only can estimate aright his duty to man, who has first viewed himself in his relation to God; and he, who aims faithfully to obey the law in relation to man, cannot lose sight of God.

Religion has made its appearance in our world under three forms. First. The religion of nature. Secondly. The religion of revealed law, of sacrifices, and of typical representations. Thirdly. The religion of grace. These three forms do indeed, in some degree, and under some aspects, belong to every age of the world; but they have each a period of peculiar and marked manifestation.

The religion of nature is given first of all, in the mind of man,—in the perceptions of his reason, in the laws of his conscience, and in his moral affections. Here, he knows God, he knows truth and righteousness, and he knows his own immortality. In the world without—the heavens above, the earth beneath, the great and wide sea, the regular stepping of nature, the grandeur and the beauty, the sweet and pleasant influences pouring around in myriad streams, all that meets eye and ear and smell and taste and touch—the mind, preconstituted and prepared and richly furnished, finds an answer to itself. The religion, written within, has its corresponding writing without. The God, known within, hath his glorious manifestations without—the beauty, the majesty, the harmony and the benignity known in our deep thoughts, are abroad in the whole creation; and we are taught that He, whose finger has written his great truths and his holy laws upon our minds, sits upon the heavens as his throne, and the earth is his footstool.

Had man remained a pure being, this religion of nature, continually developing with the progressive development of

his being, would have been his whole religion—a rich and perfect religion—bringing him nearer and nearer to God, in still increasing knowledge, in more beatific vision, in more free and childlike fellowship. There could have been nothing wanting to all the ends and enjoyments of religion.

When man became a sinner, and depravity was lodged in his being, and perpetuated from generation to generation, then was first instituted the religion of revealed law, of sacrifices and typical representations. This religion existed under some form, from the sacrifice of Abel, down through the patriarchal ages, until its perfect institution under Moses. Its aim was threefold :—by an external annunciation to call up in the darkened conscience the great law originally written there ; to propitiate the divine favor in temporal relations and affairs ; and to lead forward the eye of faith to a great propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world.

The third form of religion—the religion of grace—was introduced by Jesus Christ. It brings in the great propitiatory sacrifice which reconciles God to man ; provides the influences which regenerate our nature ; and reveals faith, hope and charity. This is our religion. It is our privilege to live under the most glorious manifestation of God to man. Indeed we combine the three. The religion of nature is restored to us, purified and resplendent, under the benign Sun of Christianity ; the religion of revealed law, of sacrifices and types, is ours ; for we have the law, under a perfect exposition, and we have it again written in our hearts ; and we have all that the old sacrifices and types shadowed forth and pointed to, in the cross of Christ.

The religion of nature required for its services no visible ministry and no formal rites. It was the spontaneous and constant homage of the pure heart to the ever present God.

The second form of religion, for its solemn and numerous rites, required a numerous and well-ordered priesthood. They offered the sacrifices and made the intercessions in behalf of the people. The priest, as a priest, was strictly and solely a minister of the temple service.

The prophets, through whom God gave his law—announced his purposes ; inculcated truth ; gave his specific commands ; uttered his promises or his threatenings, and revealed the future—were a distinct class of men. The whole volume of the Old Testament, at least all that is didactic and prophetic,

was, with the exception of the books of Ezra, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, written by men who were not of the priestly order. Moses, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah and Daniel were not priests. Priests were indeed called to the prophetic office, as in the case of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but it was evidently a new and additional office. The prophetic office was the higher office of the two. It was special, and given only to men of high and extraordinary virtues. Those endowed with it were sent directly from God, and were admitted into a near and most peculiar intimacy; God spoke with them and showed them the symbols of his ineffable glory. They were the great and inspired teachers of the world. While the priest could not of right be a prophet, the prophet could of right be a priest; accordingly we find Samuel and Elijah offering sacrifices. Before the Mosaic economy was instituted, the prophet and the priest were the same. Upon the introduction of this economy, the priesthood became a distinct class, but the prophet lost none of his original official capacities. A similar distinction of offices, whatever may have been its origin, obtained among the heathen. The priests served in their temples. The sybils served in no temples and were prophetesses. The great doctrines of natural religion, and systems of ethics were taught by sages and philosophers, led on by the force of reason, or illumined by some ray of inspiration which found its way to them from the glowing peaks of Zion.

Now when we come down to the third form of religion, what offices do we find here? The priestly office ceases under Christianity to be attached to any mere human being. We have no more priests, because we have no more sacrifices. Jesus Christ was the last priest appointed of God—our great “High Priest;” and “because he continueth forever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such a high priest became us who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people’s: for this he did once when he offered up himself.” Jesus Christ was both the priest and the sacrifice; and he is now the intercessor in the court of heaven. All the preceding priests and sacrifices ended and were merged and fulfilled in him.

Romanism professes still to have priests, and consistently, because Romanism professes daily, in the mass, to renew the offering of Christ's crucified body. But we, who believe that Christ, "now once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," know of no more offerings, and require no more the priestly service in the rites of our religion.

The only spiritual office wherewith men are endowed under Christianity is that of prophet and teacher. The office is one, although it has two forms.

The first form was presented only in the apostles and the first teachers of Christianity. Inspiration and prophetic vision were the distinguishing characteristics of this form. They were appointed to write the gospel, to determine the canon of the New Testament, and to constitute the Christian church. Their office was similar to, or rather identical with that of the prophets of the Old Testament.

After the apostolical period the office appeared only under its second form. Inspiration and prophetic vision ceased, because they had done their work, and the teacher of Christianity, the preacher of the cross of Christ alone remained. The first form included the second; but the second did not include the first: the inspired apostle and prophet was a teacher or preacher of the gospel; but only the first teachers were prophets.

It is as a simple preacher of the gospel that the apostle speaks, 1. Cor. 1: 17: "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." He is here holding up to view the cardinal aim and characteristic of his office. The administration of baptism he did not deny to be proper and important—he practised it: but to proclaim truth, to preach the gospel of the kingdom of heaven—this was the grand object for which he was sent from kingdom to kingdom, from city to city—through perils manifold, and for which he counted not his life dear unto him.

This office of teacher or preacher has been perpetuated in the church. It is an office demanded by the wants of the world. Without it the gospel is a "treasure hid in a field," and the world cannot be evangelized. "How can they hear without a preacher?" The last command of Christ was: "Preach the gospel to every creature;" and by the men bearing this office, the command is fulfilled.

This office receives various designations in the New Testament. The twelve immediate followers of Christ were called "apostles," or "the sent," because they were *sent*, or commissioned of Christ, in an eminent sense. The preachers of the gospel, generally, are called "presbyters" or "elders," on account of the gravity and dignity of their office. Again, they are called overseers or bishops, because their duty is to *watch* over the church. Thus it is said,—Acts 20,—that Paul "sent to Ephesus and called the elders of the church," and charged them: "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers* (or bishops) to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."—They are also metaphorically styled "shepherds," or "pastors," in beautiful allusion to the gentle, fostering and benignant character of their office. "Servants," or "ministers" is another term used to characterize them. They are God's servants, because doing his work. They are the servants of the church, because rendering to it the most sacred and important services, like Christ, who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

But is there no difference of rank among these preachers? None.—"Jesus called them unto him and said: Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."—This passage is decisive.

The argument which is drawn from the constitution of the Jewish church in favor of different grades of ministers in the Christian church, fails utterly; because the high priest, the priest, and the Levites are all merged, as we have seen, in Christ himself. Their office related to expiatory sacrifices: Christ, in his great and perfect expiation, was the end to which they all referred; and having made this expiation once, "he taketh away the first, that he may establish the second;" and human

* Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*, Latin *episcopus*—literally an overseer—gives Saxon *biscop* or *bisceop*, and thence Eng. *bishop*. This word is generally rendered bishop in our version. See Phil. 1: 1. 1 Tim 3: 2. Tit 1: 7.

priests can no more, with their different grades, appear in the Christian church, than the sacrifices "of bulls and of goats." The office of the prophet, we have seen, is the only ancient office which reappears; and among the prophets there was no variety of grades.

The argument that there were in the apostolical period three grades, namely, the apostles, the presbyters, and the deacons, is equally inapposite. To the apostles, we have shown, belonged only the higher form of the office of teacher or preacher—the inspired and strictly prophetic form. Consequently they can have no successors, only so far as they were simply preachers of the gospel; and in this point of view, every minister is a successor of the apostles. The second grade contended for, that of the presbyters, who are also called bishops, is the one only class of preachers in the church. The third grade, the deacons, are not preachers at all, by virtue of this office; for it plainly appears from their appointment, as given in Acts 6, that their duties related to the secular affairs and the charities of the church. Great reliance is placed upon Church History by those who advocate the three grades. It is affirmed that by appealing to this it can be shown that the successors of the apostles, after their day, were alone called bishops, and that presbyters and deacons were received as subordinate grades of the clergy.

Without entering into the details of historical criticism, which our present limits will not admit of, let it be remembered that Church History is not an ultimate authority on this subject, even if it goes to show, which we do not grant, that these three grades obtained in the church in the period immediately subsequent to the apostles. The simplicity and purity of Christ were early departed from, in doctrine, through the influence of prevailing philosophical systems, and the reflex influence of both Judaism and Paganism. So likewise, in ecclesiastical polity, the old orders of the priesthood, so familiar to both Jew and Gentile, were eagerly at work to retain their substantial existence under the new religion; and they went on, step by step, baptizing every successive development with Christian names, until a hierarchy was established, more magnificent and potent than the world had ever yet seen, and the seven hills of Rome trembled beneath the throne of the self-styled successor of St. Peter and Christ's vicegerent.

Independently of the direct evidence against the divine insti-

tution of the hierarchy with its three orders, we may reason against it from the nature of Christianity.

First.—It does not accord with the simplicity, meekness and lowliness of Christianity. The history of the hierarchy is a history of lordly bishops, archbishops, primates, cardinals and popes, maintaining courts in princely magnificence; exercising earthly power often with absolute despotism; holding soldiers in pay and sending them forth to war; commissioning or receiving embassies, or being employed in these and other civil offices, so that professed ministers of Christ have appeared but as emperors, princes, statesmen, senators and soldiers: a history of synods and councils, determining doctrines and rules by arbitrary and absolute legislation; of fierce and bloody persecutions; of the shutting up of the blessed light of God's word, and the pouring forth of a mirky light, or rather a darkness visible, of legends and traditions and impracticable dogmas; of enormous rituals, mysterious ceremonies, unintelligible intercessions, multifarious penances, image, and relic, and saint, and angel worship, indulgences and purgatories: a history of splendid cathedrals and palaces, of enthroning and dethroning kings; of all the rampant passions of the human heart, ambition, pride, malevolence, lust, violence and deceit; of the glory, the wickedness and the vanity of the world: a history of manifold religious orders, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Knights Templar, and Knights of St. John, and others that we cannot stop to mention;—a history of inquisitions and crusades; of celibacy and asceticism; of saints and heroes; of splendid and famous wars, and proud conquests. History, and poetry, and art, and fiction are filled with the hierarchy. It is a glorious golden image, written all over with attractive sentences and famous names and titles; but human hearts by myriads lie crushed beneath its feet.

If any one doubts that all this had its origin in the destruction of the parity of Christ's ministers, let him reflect for a moment, how different the history of the Christian era would have been, had they all remained of equal rank, the faithful preachers of the gospel! Then there would have been no popes, cardinals, archbishops, religious orders, inquisitions, crusades, and mingling of the church with the state; and hence all the other abuses would have had no existence. Difference of clerical rank has been the very element and principle of all the pomp, pride, contention and corruption of the nominal church.

What a contrast between Jesus of Nazareth, the man of sorrows, the Lamb of God, with his twelve humble followers, and the haughty prelates in gorgeous array, who claimed, in after ages, to represent them! What a contrast between the little flock, whom he blessed under its simple primitive organization, and that complicated mass of orders and ceremonies which claimed to be the Holy Catholic Church! We cannot believe the first to be the germ of the last. From such a meek, lowly, pure and divine beginning, we cannot perceive how these vain dignities, this insatiate pride, these glories of the world could be evolved.

We admit that there are exceptions to the picture we have given. Particularly in the church of England do we find glorious exceptions. No one can venerate more deeply than we do the great and good men who, whether as humble curates, or as archbishops of Canterbury or York, adorn her ecclesiastical annals. But we distinguish between the excellence of the men and the ecclesiastical organization under which they flourished. They were so elevated in their wisdom and piety above all the ambition and vainglory of the world, that they could meet unharmed even that which they found consecrated in the church. But here, as well as in the Romish church, the distinction of church orders, of clerical rank and ecclesiastical jurisdiction have worked their devastations. The monarch placed at the head of the church, the bishops holding their seats in the house of lords, the right of bestowing benefices lodged in noble and influential families, the pluralities and sinecures, the careless admission of the incompetent to sacred orders, the tithe system, with starved curates and pampered prelates, are all opposed to the severe purity, the divine majesty, the separation from worldliness, the meekness and self-denial of the religion taught by Christ and his apostles and exemplified in their lives. Here the same element of evil is apparent. The minister of Christ feels the presence of an ecclesiastical rank and power higher than that which pertains to him as a simple preacher of the gospel. On the one hand, he is awed and controlled by a visible authority, and his attention is diverted from the high commission which he has received under the seal of the Son of God. On the other hand, there is a higher dignity tempting him to indulge the restlessness of ambition, and presenting him something else to glory in, besides the cross of Christ.

The *Episcopacy*, in our country, exists under less ostentatious forms. It is modified by the influence of our civil and social institutions, and by the character of our people. It presents also a pure faith and a pious clergy. But even here it obviously contains in its very nature peculiar temptations to worldliness, display and personal ambition. Its services are decent and solemn—its prayers beautiful, affecting and appropriate. We differ not here materially. But in setting up its bishops over the presbyters, who in the New Testament form one body; in making a legitimate clerical office to depend upon episcopal ordination, and a legitimate church organization to depend upon the ministrations of a clergyman episcopally ordained; in endowing one order of men with such high and peculiar authority—there is a departure from the noble freedom, and the wise humility which so strongly characterize the Christianity of Christ and his Apostles.

Secondly: The Hierarchy with its three orders is inconsistent with the charity and high aims of the gospel.

Its character is decidedly exclusive of the claims of all others, to be comprehended within the church of Christ, except those included under its own organization. According to its cardinal principle, no one can be a minister of Jesus Christ, to preach the gospel and to administer the ordinances of his church, who has not received ordination from the order of bishops: and no body can be a church of Christ which is not episcopally constituted. It follows from this that the thousands of clergymen of other denominations with their congregations, although they preach the gospel faithfully, purely and effectually; although the Holy Spirit is given and multitudes of souls converted; although the fruits of Christianity abound in holy living and the works of beneficence; although they are sending abroad missionaries and taking no small part in the work of evangelizing the nations—still they are not the ministers and churches of Jesus Christ! It would seem that this so called divinely constituted church is, after all, no special favorite; and those who depart from its canons not heinously guilty,—since the Great Head of his church bestows gifts and graces, and high marks of approbation upon the dissenting body, no less than upon the body claiming apostolical pre-eminence.

We appear in defence of no particular sect, but in defence of Christianity herself, when we resist this claim of any par-

ticular body to be exclusively the church. Christianity is a great system of truth—a great means of redemption—to enlighten and save the world. She is like the sun, whose light no nation, nor even planet can monopolize and claim to dispense, as his particular and favorite almoner, by means of curiously constructed reflectors and through certain regulated and defined mediums; but who shines forth from his own exhaustless fountains of splendor, through the wide universe, and warms and brightens every object that turns up to him a willing face, whether it be the broad disc of a revolving world, or a little flower by a running stream, in a far off wilderness, where no foot hath ever trod. Or it is like a broad, deep and pleasant river, rolling its waters through many provinces, and which no one of them all can dip up and retain and dispense to the others at pleasure; but of its own mighty strength, it holds on its way resistlessly, diffusing fertility and beauty on either shore, from where it first collects the mountain streams down to the great ocean in which it rests. Wherever the truths of Christianity come, whatever be the instruments, there she is, with all her inherent power, and her store of blessings. Wherever these truths are received and trusted in, and made to appear in a spiritual life, there she has accomplished her end. She has won a soul from death to life and immortality, and made joy in heaven.

Thirdly: The three orders of the Hierarchy are not required for the offices of Christianity. The temple service required the high priest, the priests and the Levites. But our Great High Priest having finished his sacrifice and passed into the heavens all that remains to be done is, to “preach the gospel to every creature,” accompanying it with those two beautiful and simple ordinances, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, which make up the whole ritual of Christianity. There is plainly here no duty which does not fitly belong to, and which may not be conveniently performed by presbyters. And in ordaining and inducting candidates into the office of the Christian ministry, “the laying on of the hands of the presbytery,” whose members claim, likewise, to be bishops, appears as solemn and as suitable to the end proposed, as the imposition of the hands of one man claiming to belong to a higher order.

History does not show that the churches organized under the Episcopate have been wiser and purer than those organized

under presbyters. On the contrary, the greatest corruptions of the church, the most violent contentions, and the most flagrant abuses have appeared under the Episcopate.

When I speak of denominations not under the Episcopate, I include the great body of the reformed church. In our country, I believe, all the denominations but one, acknowledge no order higher than the presbyters: for although our Methodist brethren have their bishops, they are thus styled only in designation of an office specially conferred upon them, and not as possessing a distinct and higher ministerial rank than their brethren.

The blessings of the gospel, we admit, are not confined to those portions of the church who adhere to the primitive doctrine of the parity of the ministry. But where, under the Episcopate, do they more abound? Where, more justly, than among the mountains of Scotland and New England, is the song of the prophet recalled: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!"

The apostle Paul, in a passage already quoted—1 Cor. 1: 17—not only points out the peculiar office of the Christian ministry, namely, to preach the gospel; but he also designates the manner of preaching it: "Not with wisdom of words"—and this thought he expands in the following verses and chapters. In the beginning of the second chapter he is very explicit: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified—and my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

Paul was addressing a church in a Grecian city: and in the Grecian cities there were schools both of the Philosophers and of the Rhetoricians. The "excellency of wisdom" refers to the former: the "excellency of words" to the latter. Most of this philosophizing was vain, idle and Epicurean, as well as refined, subtle and attractive. The noble philosophy of Plato was never popular. The system of the Rhetoricians was dazzling indeed, but false and hollow. They made unbounded

pretensions, but imposed mere artificial rules which embraced a flourish of declamation, without mental discipline or any genuine eloquence. Now Paul came not to amuse them with subtle and curious speculations, but simply to preach "Christ and him crucified."—He came not to charm the ears of a false taste with wordy harangues and mellifluous intonations, but to give a plain message, whose simple import was so majestic and glorious that it defied and frowned upon the popular tricks and antics of oratory. And he did this "lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect;" lest the attention of his hearers should be diverted from the doctrines of salvation, and the cross of Christ fail of its great end.

Christianity is not in any sense, or in any degree, a system of formal philosophy. It contains neither fables nor subtle and strange dogmas. It conveys truth under striking facts and beautiful examples. It presents truth with a living countenance, a speaking voice, a warm heart, a benevolent hand, and *going about doing good*; "I am the way and the truth and the life," says Christ. It indeed contains mysteries, but they are, like all the mysteries of God, sublime and glorious, and connected with rich practical benefits. There is no greater mystery to me than the sun. What is the substance of his orb? What feeds his inexhaustible light and heat? What is the nature of light itself, and by what force is every ray carried directly onwards in space, travelling eternally, except it meet a reflecting or absorbing surface? O sun, I know thee not! thou art to me, like every other star of light, "a beauty and a mystery!" I know not *what* thou art; but I know *that* thou art; thou risest every morning to give me light, and settest every night to give me repose; thou travellest through thy vast circuit and bringest the pleasant succession of the seasons; thou art, to me, God's most palpable and glorious minister of blessings! I know not *what* thou art in thyself—and I may never ascend thy empyreal seat to gain a nearer vision—but I know thy benign influences and effects—I know that I cannot live without thee! And so likewise these orbs of moral and spiritual truth, which move together in the gospel system, are at a sublime height above my feeble vision—I see them, I know that they are, I experience their gracious, healing, heavenly influences—they are to me "life and immortality." I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, although the Divine Being is to me an orb of brightness whose intense

centre I cannot penetrate. Like Moses in his vision, we see but the far off sweeping skirts of this glory—we feel its vivifying and enriching power; and the goodness of the Lord passes before us. It is paternal mercy, redeeming love, ineffable consolation, joy and peace—and this suffices us.

The cross of Christ, the humiliation, the incarnation, the suffering and death, the heavenly high priesthood may be as mysterious to me, as the deep and clear fountain which bubbles up from the cleft in the rock, from generation to generation, sending out its pure and sweet waters, but they are no less palpably a benefit, and they are a fountain of life in an infinitely higher sense. Reason does not reject mysteries. Reason believes in mysteries upon sufficient evidence, and no evidence to reason is higher than the undoubted affirmation of the Infinite God, and the existence of benefits which can be traced to these mysteries alone.

Now, when we take up the work of preaching the gospel, are we to make these facts and mysteries, these commands, warnings, exhortations and “exceedingly precious promises” the mere occasions of philosophical speculations?—are we to frame systems of metaphysico-theology upon them, arrogant and formidable? Are we to take them, by violence, as the vehicles of our Manichæism, Gnosticism, Peripateticism, or even our Platonism? Upon the cross of Christ shall we nail our parchment rolls, and change the blood-stained symbol of salvation into a sign-post of the “excellency of” our “wisdom?” God forbid. We are to preach the facts, mysteries, promises and precepts of the gospel, without the glosses of our philosophy—with no ambitious aim—with the simplicity, directness and dignified earnestness which characterized the Great Author of our religion and his apostles—that “if by any means we may save some”—a style of preaching which although it seem “foolishness” to the “disputers of this world,” will, to the souls seeking salvation, be “in the power and demonstration of the Spirit.”

I do not undervalue philosophy; I may rather be suspected to be one of its devotees. But I wish to preserve it in its fitting relations, and its due subordination. And if I ever undertake philosophical investigation, in respect to biblical truth, my aim shall be to disintegrate the simplicity of revelation from the philosophies which have been heaped upon it. When philosophies of all sorts have for ages been erecting their towers

of strength and naming them after the "stronghold" of Zion ; and have been inscribing Scripture texts all over their banners—then of necessity we may be compelled to seek out, by legitimate methods, the true philosophy, which is the harmony of all minds as well as the principle of all God's works ; that we may beat down these frowning and boastful fastnesses of error, and release the gospel from its long imprisonment, to go abroad again, as free and simple as when Paul carried its banner, exclaiming, "I have determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified."

We have seen how the doing away of the equality of Christ's ministers, and the introduction of the higher orders of the church, corrupted its polity, and led on those vast evils which blacken and sadden the pages on which are recorded the acts of nominal Christianity. Akin to this is the history of dogmatical Christianity.

For the ministers of Christ to aim to be any thing more than preachers of the cross, of equal rank, and unambitious pastors of the flock, was one form of error. For the professed preachers to preach any thing besides the doctrines of the cross—to foist into the system of truth, revealed from heaven, their own inventions—to know any thing besides Christ and him crucified, was the other great and pregnant form of error. They began to exist together—they co-worked together—they advanced together—they sustained each other, and they devastated the fields of truth, by the tares which they sowed. The evils which the apostle deprecated, which began to work in Corinth, but which he successfully opposed, and of which he forewarned the church in those memorable words: "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears ; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables,"—these evils appeared even before the apostolical sun had set. He who has read the history of philosophy and church history together, finds no difficulty in tracing the multifarious and conflicting doctrines of the professors of Christianity to the schools of philosophy. He who has examined the specimens of sermonizing, which have come down to us from the different ages, as well as the theological writings in general, finds them a mixed and motley web, of Scripture facts and affirmations which may be called the golden threads, and speculative dogmas, acute or

crude, ingenious or monstrous, gathered from Plato or Aristotle, Zoroaster or Manes, from the Gnostics or the Bhudists and these are the threads of various and strange colors and materials. Such are a vast proportion of the writings of the schoolmen—the subtleties of Duns Scotus, and Magnus Albertus Beatissimus, and a multitude of others.

What prevailed in the days of our fathers is not extinct in our day. A blessed change has indeed come over the church, and is still in progress. But Arminianism, and Pelagianism, and Calvinism, and Hopkinsianism, and Antinomianism, and Emmonism, and Taylorism, and Coleridgeanism, and Transcendentalism, and Old and New Schoolism, and Perfectionism, and other *isms* are rife in the land. What is the origin of these discussions? Whence spring these warring opinions? We find not their names in the gospel. Do we find all the opinions they represent, in the gospel? One thing is certain, that, in these conflicting schools, gospel truths are not at war with each other. Let a philosophical critic examine them, and he plainly discovers the opposing elements of different philosophies. Multitudes of people who have never studied philosophy and who care nothing about it, and who, if you take them upon the plain facts, affirmations and duties of the gospel, are perfectly agreed, are nevertheless divided into alienated parties, respecting consecrated technicalities, and the artificial precision of elaborate confessions. They dispute about words because they are old and favorite words, when they all alike have the older and better things. They give each other foul names upon verbal or philosophical differences, which are unintelligible alike to the unlearned, and, alas! to not a few of the learned disputants.

While discussions are waxing louder and louder—me-thinks I hear the voice of the apostle, like a clear, harmonious trumpet, call to draw us away from the battle—"Now I beseech you brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that you be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." And how shall we effect this? Let each minister bear in mind, "Christ sent me to preach the gospel." This is my rank, this my office. I am to preach it—"not with wisdom of words" or "excellency of wisdom and speech"—not in view of my philosophy, or in support of my party; I am to preach it as it is given me from

the pure fountain of truth—and in the meekness, plainness, and earnestness of one endeavoring to “save a soul from death.” A return to the apostolical models, this, this will bring in the cure, and breathe upon us the balmy breath of peace.

It is to be remarked how the apostle is continually referring to the “cross of Christ,” or to “Christ and him crucified.” This alone he glories in—this alone he determines to know and preach. It is not difficult to discern the reason. The “cross of Christ,” or “Christ and him crucified” presents us the substance of the gospel. The aim of God in sending his Son was not to institute a splendid hierarchy, nor to establish proud and learned schools of philosophy—nor even to teach the most useful sciences and arts: there was but one aim, a sublimely simple aim—“to seek and to save the lost.” All the divine institutions and arrangements are made for this end. The truths revealed are revealed for this end. The ministers and agencies ordained, are ordained for this end. The rites and ordinances given, are given for this end. No part of the gospel plan is adapted for mere scientific purposes, for the uses of the world—or for amusing or profound disquisitions; but all is for salvation—for immortality and life. Hence he who reads, or hears, or professes, and enters upon the practice of, the gospel, can consistently do so only for this end. And so likewise he who preaches the gospel, or takes any measures for its dissemination, can lawfully have no other end in view. It is not for the cause of Apollos, or Paul, or Cephas, but for the cause of Christ alone. O could we thus take and use the gospel, it would indeed be “peace on earth, and good will towards man.”

Look at our missionaries. Of different sects, they are still united in preaching the great central doctrine of the cross of Christ. The enemy is so numerous and active that disagreement with each other becomes treason to the common cause. Would we but consider it—there are the same imperative reasons for our agreement at home.

The representation we have given of the ministerial office, assigning it one grade, separates it from the love of power and the competitions of ambition. The representation we have given of the manner of preaching the gospel shuts out from it the ambitious displays of learning, the pomp, profundity and brilliancy of philosophical discussion, and the studied elegancies of oratory. But is it thence an office of low grade, and of duties affording little scope to the human mind? There

could not be a greater mistake than such an inference. We cannot conceive of a nobler and loftier office than that of a prophet of God, sent to convey his messages to men. And next to this is the office of repeating these messages by divine commission likewise. Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, and all faithful preachers of the word, in this point of view, form one holy and glorious fellowship. Ministers of the gospel are of one rank, because in the nature of the case they cannot be of different ranks. They are all alike consecrated to a duty which elevates them to a position the most sacred to which man can aspire.

If the work of the ministry were one of mere toilsome benevolence—a teaching of little children or of those as ignorant as children—an active administration of relief to the poor and sick and distressed, of every degree—a mere repetition of a few simple elements of truth, connected with the salvation of the soul, it would be the most honorable and desirable employment of man—it would discipline the soul more worthily and effectually in all its nobler and spiritual faculties—it would yield in the very performance of its duties, the most substantial rewards of inward peace and blessedness, and would secure the glorious hope of the high and immortal destiny of those “who turn many to righteousness.” And the work of the ministry does embrace what is here mentioned.

But in addition to all this, the system of truth contained in the Bible, and all its facts and mysteries are so rich and sublime, so uplifting to thought, that he, who dwells amid them, seems to stand in the vestibule of the presence chamber of truth, where he is surrounded with a divine radiance, and enjoys glorious and beautiful prospects, and his ears are filled with the whisperings and echoes of knowledges about to be revealed, and he is waiting in momentary expectation of the call to enter in.

There is also no science or true philosophy, or genuine literature, which is useless to the candidate in preparation for the ministry, or which he may not cultivate advantageously, after he has entered upon it, if he but do so wisely, and use it by right appropriation. The strongest and most cultivated intellect may find none of its powers or gifts useless here. It is an office of heavenly dignity, of heavenly employments and of privileges which cannot be estimated. It is an office too of responsibilities whose solemnity and moment we cannot exaggerate.

Let the reader, if he have taken upon himself this sacred office, pause here, and think of what is committed to him! He is God's ambassador.—He is Christ's minister.—He is sent of the Holy Ghost.—He bears the word of life.—He has the cup of salvation in his hand.—He is laboring for the redemption of the soul—to persuade men to flee from the wrath to come, and to lay hold upon eternal life!—"Who is sufficient for these things!" From the depths of penitence and grief for his deficiencies and unworthiness—in the solemn apprehension of this great trust,—let him attend to the sublime charge of Paul to Timothy: "I charge thee, therefore, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, in his kingdom; preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine."

ARTICLE V.

THE BIBLE AND ITS LITERATURE.

By Edward Robinson, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit., Union Theol. Sem., New-York.

THE following article was prepared for delivery before a popular audience, on an occasion,* which of course permitted only a very general outline of the great subject under review. For this reason, several of the topics, and some of them important ones, could be little more than barely enumerated. With this explanation it is now submitted to the public in this form, as intended to present an outline of the nature, the extent, and the importance of the studies embraced under the general appellation of *Biblical Literature*.

This term, in its general acceptance, and as here employed, embraces all those branches of learning, which bear upon the study, the illustration, and the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The object of the department is to train up able and

* The inauguration of the author as Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York, Jan. 20, 1841.—EDITOR.

faithful interpreters of the Word of God. And as the Word of God is the corner-stone of all Christian Theology, so the study and interpretation of that Holy Word, must of right be regarded as the first and fundamental branch of all theological education.

Upon this foundation, Scientific Theology next rears her superstructure of doctrines, and points out their relations and adaptedness to the elements of the human mind and character; and then Practical Theology comes in to show how all these truths and doctrines may be brought home with the greatest power to the heart and conscience of mankind. These are the three great departments of Christian science,—Exegetical, Doctrinal, and Practical. But as all these, again, derive life and vigor from the light of experience, reflected from the pages of history as it recounts the dealings of God with his people in every age, and shows how the truths of the gospel have been promulgated and received; and the doctrines of the church proposed, adopted, modified, or rejected; so the History of the Church has naturally come to occupy a place as the fourth branch of theological science; not less important and essential than the other three, to every complete system of theological instruction. Such, in fact, is the system upon which all Protestant Schools of Theology in our own or other lands, have usually been founded: first, the study and observation of the Scriptures; next, the scientific arrangement and proof of the doctrines thence derived; and afterwards, the practice and application of the science with its general history. The time has gone by in our country, theoretically at least, when this order was reversed; when the Bible was appealed to merely to supply an illustration for the preacher, or to furnish proof-texts for a system of doctrines already drawn out from the storehouse of human reason.

It has ever been the glory of the Protestant Faith, that it has placed the Scriptures where they ought to be, above every human name, above every human authority. "THE BIBLE IS THE ONLY AND SUFFICIENT RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE. Such is the fundamental maxim upon which Protestantism has ever rested; and will rest, so long as the truth of God is duly honored. In this maxim we have the very germ and essence of the glorious Reformation, whose seed was sown by Wickliffe, in the fourteenth century; its rising shoots nourished by the blood of Huss and Jerome of Prague in the fifteenth; and its growth brought to

maturity and its fruit ripened in the sixteenth, under the vigorous training of Luther and Melancthon. What was it that first led Wickliffe to question the dogmas of the Romish church? The study of the Bible. What led Huss and Jerome of Prague to cast off the authority of Rome in matters of faith, and press forward in the path which conducted only to martyrdom? It was the Bible. What gave to Luther his chief power, and enabled him to establish the triumphs of the Reformation on a sure and permanent basis? It was his version of the Bible, which brought divine truth into immediate contact with the mass of mind among the common people. It was no longer a human interpreter, standing between God and the people to tell them what the Lord had said; but it was God himself speaking to the people themselves, and bringing his own truth directly home to their hearts. It was good seed sown in good ground; it sprung up and bore good fruit; and the spirit of the Reformation, which before had been smouldering for centuries, with only occasional flashes of light, now burst forth and shone with a steady and unquenchable splendor. Where the Scriptures were translated and venerated as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice, there the Reformation was established; and the limits within which this veneration of the Bible prevailed, are to this day the boundaries of Protestantism.

The maxim which we are considering, has usually been received as a self-evident truth throughout the Protestant world. Fifteen years ago, there probably could hardly have been found an individual bearing the Protestant name, who would have thought of calling it in question. But at the present day, a tendency has arisen in a portion of the Protestant community, directed primarily against certain levelling efforts to break down the external power and dignity of the church—a tendency which ascribes to a portion of that church a supremacy which she herself has never heretofore claimed, and exalts her to the dignity of the church primitive and apostolic, having authority over the faith and consciences not only of her own members, but virtually of all Christendom. It results as a main principle directly from this tendency, and we now hear the doctrine warily advanced, that the Bible must be interpreted by the church; or, in other words, that the authority of the church is above that of the Bible. Thus, so far as these views shall become current, there is danger, that the separating wall may again be built up between the truth of God and the mass of

mankind; that the gigantic efforts of the present time to disseminate the Bible throughout all lands, shall go for nought; and that a portion of the Protestant church, verging in self-defence to an unhappy extreme, may strive to overthrow the fundamental and essential principle, on which she has hitherto reposed, as on an immovable basis.

But why should Protestants thus cast away the very foundation of their liberty in Christ? Why build up again a separating wall to divide them from the truth and love of God? The Protestant maxim has in all ages been the watchword of Christian liberty; and the abandonment of it, the signal of spiritual thralldom and darkness. The manifestation of this principle in the Reformation, was but a return to it after a long night of oblivion; it had already shone forth with equal power and splendor in the still greater renovation of God's church under the ministry of the Redeemer himself.

When Christ appeared on earth, "the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat,"* and had enveloped and obscured the light of divine truth in the Old Testament by their traditions. Theirs was then the authority of the church; they had made themselves the interpreters of Scripture to the people; and on their dictum hung the significancy of the law and of the prophets. Against this assumption of authority, Jesus set his face at once and for ever. In one of the earliest of his public discourses, the Sermon on the Mount, he declares to the assembled multitude by several examples: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time," that ye should do so and so; "but I say unto you," that this authority is nought.† . On another occasion he exclaims: "Thus have ye made the commandment of God of no effect by your tradition;" and then he proceeds to inveigh against them in the language of Isaiah: "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."‡ In like manner the great apostle of the Gentiles sets at nought the authority of Jewish tradition: "Why then," he exclaims to the Colossians, "as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men?"§ And again, in a strain of strong invective against

* Matt. xxiii. 2. † Matt. v. 21, seq. ‡ Matt. xv. 6—9.
§ Comp. Mark vii. 6—13. ¶ Col. ii. 20—22.

"vain talkers and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision," he directs Titus to "rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables, and commandments of men, that turn from the truth."*

Nor were all these declarations merely negative; serving only to contradict the authority of the Scribes and Pharisees and their traditions. It was not the object of the Saviour and his apostles to overthrow one mass of error in order to set up another in its place. They never claimed themselves to be interpreters of the Word of God to others. That Holy Word was free to all; it was known and read of all men; and to it Christ and his apostles ever appealed, against the objections of the Jews, as the supreme authority, before which all human cavils must be dumb. Yea, even the opponents themselves were to be the interpreters and judges. "Search the Scriptures," says our Lord, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me."† The apostles, too, in their preaching, appealed always to the Scriptures, enforcing the study of them upon their hearers; and it is recorded as a trait of nobleness in the Bereans, to whom Paul and Silas preached the gospel, "that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so."‡ They went not to the Scribes and Pharisees, as the authoritative expounders of the Scriptures; but searched for themselves, in the light of God's truth and with the aid of his Spirit, which is ever vouchsafed to those who seek aright. The same great principle is inculcated by Paul, when in addressing Timothy, he reminds him, "that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus;" and then proceeds to enforce the thought more generally and strongly: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."§ This, according to the apostle, is the fruit of the Scriptures to those who search them for themselves; and thus become rooted and grounded in the Christian faith. He says not one word of their being interpreted by or according to the authority of the church.

* Tit. i. 10—14. † John v. 39. ‡ Acts xvii. 11.

§ 2 Tim. iii. 15—17.

Indeed, the only occasion on record, in which the apostolic church, as such, exercised an authority in any way paramount to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, was in the final decision of the great question relative to the binding power of the Jewish ceremonial law upon Gentile converts. Many of the Jewish Christians still venerated their ritual, and believed that other converts should be subject to its ordinances. This tendency Paul labored long and vehemently to counteract, as contrary to the spirit of the gospel; and at length the authority of the assembled church and elders at Jerusalem was called in, to determine between the opposing views. This they did; not of themselves, but as the ambassadors and representatives of Christ, expressly acting by inspiration from on high: "For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things."* Thus was abrogated in form the Jewish ceremonial law; not by the church acting on its own authority, but from the authority of Christ himself. Their decree was neither an interpretation of Scripture, nor a tradition claiming to be of equal weight with Scripture; but it was a part and parcel of Scripture itself, resting upon the same divine authority and sanction, and promulgated under the direct influence of the same Holy Spirit.

The main argument of the church in every age, in favor of its assumed authority, has been the fear lest "the unlearned and unstable should wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction." Such was already the complaint of Peter in respect to the epistles of Paul and other Scriptures; yet he suggests no interposition of ecclesiastical authority to prevent such a result. He merely exhorts those whom he was addressing, to greater caution not to fall from their own steadfastness, seeing they were thus forewarned.† And why should more than this be necessary? Because a few of the "unlearned and unstable" abuse their liberty, shall that liberty be wholly taken away from the steadfast and the intelligent? Far better were it for the church, for her ministers and her members, to instruct and enlighten these "unlearned and unstable," and so bring them willingly to the truth; and not at once to shut them up in the prison-house of human authority.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not calling in question the propriety, nor even the necessity of creeds and confessions.

* Acts xv. 28. See the whole chapter. † 2 Pet. iii. 15—17.

I hold that every religious community has a right to prescribe the system of doctrines, conscientiously drawn from the Bible, which shall be the bond of its existence and the condition of membership. It follows as a matter of course, that when a member discards, or acts contrary to, the profession he has made, such a community has the right to call him to an account, and even to exclude him from its pale. But it does not follow, nor can it ever be justified, that where there is merely a conscientious difference of opinion in respect to Scriptural doctrine, denunciation and persecution should be let loose upon their prey, or an individual be injured in his good name, or deprived of civil or social rights and privileges. This can never be otherwise than wrong in itself; directly opposed to the great and fundamental principle of Protestantism; and contrary to the whole spirit and tenor of the gospel of Christ.

Having thus brought out to view the character and foundations of the great Protestant principle relative to the Bible, let us now trace it as applied to theological education. It follows from it, as I have already had occasion to remark, that the Bible must be the basis of all Christian theology. Our present inquiry, therefore, will have for its object the various subsidiary branches of study, which are essential for every one who would aspire to the character of an able and thoroughly furnished interpreter of the Holy Scriptures. Let it be borne in mind that only of such am I here speaking;—of interpreters who may understand and explain the Word of God, not merely in things pertaining to our duties and destiny as immortal and accountable beings; for on these points the Bible is so plain, that he who runs may read, and even in the most imperfect translation presents enough of divine truth to make all men wise unto salvation. But I speak of interpreters who may likewise enter into the full spirit of the Bible in all its other parts; in its bearings upon the history and antiquities, not only of the Jews, but of the whole human race; who may be able to clear up difficulties, illustrate what may seem obscure, and make the Scriptures in some degree as plain and simple to mankind now, as they were to the people to whom they were first addressed.

In this last remark lies the main clue, which is to guide all the efforts of the interpreter. The revelation of God's truth was made originally to the Jews, a people peculiar in their lan-

guage, their modes of life, their laws, their manners and customs, their habits of thought and feeling. Perhaps in all the civilized world it would be difficult to find a nation, presenting in all these particulars a stronger contrast with ourselves. Yet to them the Scriptures were addressed, in their own tongue, and with a perfect adaptation to their character and circumstances. God addressed himself to them, intending to be understood; and he spoke in such a way, that he was understood. He spoke to Jews in the language and manner of the Jews; and as one Jew understood another Jew, so they all understood that which God uttered to them in the same tongue. Now if we too would comprehend the Scriptures fully, we must place ourselves in the situation of the Jews; hear as they heard, and understand the language as they understood it; while for the sense, especially of prophecy, we have the additional revelations of the New Testament, and the history of God's dealings with his church and with the world for many centuries later.

What then is requisite, to enable us as interpreters to stand in the position of the Jews, and at the same time grasp the further advantages resulting from the experience of centuries? The proper answer to this question resolves itself into a variety of particulars, and covers the whole ground embraced by our present inquiry.

I. The first requisite, which indeed lies at the basis of all accurate study of the Bible, is an acquaintance with the original tongues in which it has come down to us; the Old Testament in Hebrew, with a few passages of Chaldee interspersed, and the New Testament in Greek. The necessity of learning both these languages is now universally acknowledged, wherever the importance of a thorough study of the Bible is prized; and every Theological Seminary in Christendom, which makes provision for instruction in the Scriptures, takes them up in these original tongues. It would therefore be here a waste of time, to dwell upon the importance and necessity of a regular philological study of these languages; for this is included in the very idea of a thorough critical knowledge of the Scriptures themselves. To think of such a knowledge of the Bible, to be obtained through the medium of any translation, is preposterous. The well qualified interpreter must be able himself to sit in judgment upon all translations, by comparing them in letter and in spirit with the originals. We all know how dif-

difficult it is to find an exact and yet spirited translation, even from one kindred language to another; as from the French or the German into English; but this difficulty is very greatly enhanced, when the version is to be from a language so totally diverse, as is the Hebrew, from our own or any other occidental tongue.

Some minds are ready to admit the importance of studying the New Testament in the Greek original, but entertain doubts as to the propriety of a like study of the Old Testament in the Hebrew. True, the New Testament is the charter of the Christian dispensation and of our Christian hopes; and as such occupies a higher and more important place in its bearings on theological education. But it is founded upon, and presupposes, the existence and binding obligation of the Old Testament; and neither its precepts, nor its doctrines, nor its language can be fully understood, without a like thorough knowledge of the latter. The question resolves itself into another, viz. Whether the Christian interpreter shall confine his studies and his acquaintance with the Scriptures, simply to one portion of the Bible; or extend them over the whole? If the reply be, as all will admit it ought to be, that he should embrace the *whole* Bible; then the importance of an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, rests upon the same grounds as the study of the Greek.

Nor is an adequate study of both these tongues the labor of merely a few weeks, or months, or even years. They are both to us dead languages, no longer spoken in this form; and therefore no longer to be learned by daily intercourse with those to whom they are vernacular. Herein lies at once a great drawback in respect to time and accuracy; and also the necessity of a great increase of labor and minute attention. Especially is this the case in relation to the Hebrew; since apparently the greater portion of this language itself is utterly lost. Almost its only remains are contained in the Bible; and even these are naturally only fragmentary. Take now any single volume in the English language, not larger than the Bible; and how imperfect would it be as the representative of our tongue! The speech of common life would be almost wholly wanting; and of many peculiar words, phrases, and constructions, which go to make our language what it is, what a multitude would not be found? or, if found at all, would occur but a single time, and thus be in themselves unintelligible or anomalous. Just so with the Hebrew language as exhibited in the Bible;

it is imperfect, and of course often obscure ; because the means of comparison and illustration from other parts of the language, are wanting.

For this reason, the labor and difficulty of a critical knowledge of the Hebrew are greatly enhanced, by the necessity of appealing to other kindred tongues, in order to supply, in an imperfect manner, the deficiencies arising from its incompleteness. The scholar who would possess this power, must make himself master of the Chaldee and Syriac dialects ; of the noble and widespread Arabic ; and, to some extent, also, of the Samaritan, the Ethiopic, and the corrupt Rabbinic. He must pursue his devious way throughout all these tongues, in search of analogies and correspondences, to illustrate the forms and meaning and construction of many Hebrew words, for which there exists no other testimony. To the like end, he must examine the ancient versions of the Old Testament, in the same and other tongues ; and when he has done all, he can perhaps in many cases arrive only at an uncertain or merely probable result. All this may well make out the main labor of a whole life ; and such, indeed, has ever been the fact in respect to the giants of Hebrew literature, whether they lived in former days, or still adorn our own. The Hebrew with its kindred dialects, and the subsidiary branches of study necessary for its complete illustration, have sufficed to occupy their best hours and best years, by day and by night, from early youth to late old age.

Nor is the case very dissimilar with the Greek language of the New Testament. This, too, is but the fragment of a peculiar dialect in the wide field of Greek philology. True, we have here the aid of all the branches of the classic Grecian language and literature, in their poetic youth, their Attic manliness and vigor, and their later decline. We have, too, all the results of ancient and modern research in regard to Greek philology ; while the idiom and character of the language are far more accordant than the Hebrew with our own. The Greek, too, in an altered form, is to this day a spoken language. Yet all this neither suffices for the illustration of the idiom of the New Testament, nor does it supersede, even here, the necessity of an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue of the earlier Scriptures.

The language of the New Testament is *the later Greek, as spoken by foreigners of the Hebrew stock, and applied by them to subjects on which it had never been employed by native Greeks.* After the disuse of the ancient Hebrew in Palestine, and the ir-

ruption of western conquerors, the Jews adopted the Greek language from necessity; partly as a conquered people, and partly from the intercourse of life, of commerce, in colonies, in cities, founded like Alexandria and others, which were peopled with throngs of Jews. It was, therefore, the spoken language of ordinary life, which they learned; not the classic style of books, which has elsewhere come down to us. But they spoke it as foreigners, whose native tongue was the later Aramaean; and it therefore could not fail to acquire upon their lips a strong Semitic character and coloring. When to this we add, that they spoke in Greek on the things of the true God, and the relations of mankind to Jehovah and to a Saviour—subjects to which no native Greek had ever then applied his beautiful language, it will be obvious that an appeal merely to classic Greek and its philology, will not suffice for the interpreter of the New Testament. The Jewish-Greek idiom must be studied almost as an independent dialect; and its most important illustrations will be derived from the idiom of the Old Testament, especially as exhibited in the version of the Seventy and the Apocrypha, and from the cotemporary writings of Philo and Josephus.

The volumes of controversy which have been written in former centuries, upon the character of the idiom of the New Testament, may at the present day be safely left out of view in a theological education, except as matters of history. Even in this view, they are important chiefly as showing by what crude theories and slow advances, the human mind and human learning often arrive at truth. The principle virtually laid down was, that as God spoke to man in Greek, he could employ only the most pure and perfect Greek; and therefore the idiom of the New Testament must be accounted as one of the purest models of the Greek language. It was here overlooked that God spoke to man only in the language of those whom he addressed; and that therefore to judge of this language, we must look to the character and circumstances of those who spoke it. These were at the time a conquered, and, in some respects, already an abject people; and their dialect of the Greek, in comparison with the language of Greece itself, was much like the dialects of the Jews at the present day in modern lands, unpolished and corrupted by foreign words, idioms, and forms.

Enough has been said to show, that a proper acquaintance with the original tongues of the Holy Scriptures, the very foundation of a critical study of the Word of God, is not to be

gained by a few slight efforts, but requires years of diligence and toil. It is not, indeed, to be desired, nor would it of course be possible, for every student in a Theological Seminary to go over the whole ground here pointed out; but it is incumbent on every such student, to be sufficiently prepared to understand and profit by the labors of the many and great minds who have trod this course before him, and whose efforts have been directed to make plain the way to those who should come after them.*

II. The power of studying the Scriptures in the original languages having been thus acquired, it becomes important to take a general survey of the wide field to be cultivated, and of the methods and means by which the labor may be accomplished with the greatest facility and success. For this end, a branch of biblical science has sprung up within the last century in Germany, which has hitherto found its way slowly and with difficulty into the English language, and has as yet been fostered by very little original effort in that tongue. It is called "Introduction to the Bible;" and the object of it is, as the name imports, to introduce the learner to the best methods and means for prosecuting the study of the Scriptures. It takes the Bible as it is, as the Word of God; the evidences of its divine

* It is gratifying to mark the progress of this department of biblical learning in the United States, since its revival five and twenty years ago, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Professor Stuart, of Andover. That it is not now on the decline, is apparent from the fact, that besides the six editions of Professor Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, and two of that by Professor Bush, not less than fifteen hundred copies of Dr. Nordheimer's Grammar have been sold since its publication in 1838. Of the translation of Gesenius' Lexicon, also, published in the autumn of 1836, more than two thousand copies have been sold in this country, besides several hundreds ordered for England.—It may not be out of place likewise to remark, that England is now indebted to America for many other of her elementary books in the same department. Both the Hebrew and Greek Grammars of Professor Stuart have been republished in that country, as also the translation of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. The Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, by the author of these pages, has also been brought out there, in three rival editions, and two abridgments.

origin and inspired character being left to another department of theology ; and proceeds to point out to the student the proper topics and order of his inquiries. It thus becomes either General or Particular.

The former, or General Introduction, comprises a description of all the various manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and their comparative value. It enumerates the various ancient versions, their authors, their dates, the circumstances of their composition, and their importance to the biblical student. It details the efforts which have been made to obtain a correct text both of the Old and New Testaments, the sources and character of the various readings, and the general principles on which such researches must be conducted. It touches also, in general terms, upon the character of the language and style ; on the history, chronology, geography, and antiquities, of the Jewish people. In all these branches, it names and characterizes the best books to be consulted. It gives, too, the history of the sacred volume itself ; the manner in which it has been revered and studied in different ages ; and the various external forms and divisions in which it has appeared.

Particular Introduction, on the other hand, takes up, first, the main portions of the Scriptures, as the historical, poetical, prophetic, or doctrinal books ; and discusses the characteristics common to each division ; and then proceeds to treat of each particular book. It inquires into the time when it was written, its author, its subject and object, its style and manner ; and aims, in short, to afford all the information, which may enable the learner to read and understand each book and chapter of the Bible, in the best and most perfect manner.

This branch of biblical study has ever appeared to me one of great importance ; and particularly adapted to interest the minds both of the learned and unlearned. Its purpose is to tell all that is known about the Bible as a sacred volume, and to point out how every one may best read and understand it. All this would seem to be capable of very popular application, and would be especially appropriate for the youth of Bible classes and Sabbath schools, as a means of exciting and fixing their attention, and leading them forward in their biblical course. It is, indeed, matter of surprise, that so little account has as yet been made of this department, both in this country and in England ; there having appeared in this branch, so far as I know,

not more than a single original work of importance in the English language; and not one of a character adapted to popular instruction.

III. After this general survey of the whole field of biblical study, let us now bring under review more particularly the several branches. Of these, one of the first in place and importance, is the Criticism of the Biblical Text, by which we are taught to judge of the accuracy and authenticity of the Bible as it has come down to us. It is well known that the text of the common editions of the New Testament was fixed by Erasmus, on the authority of the few Greek manuscripts to which he had access; and that since his day, the collation of numerous other manuscripts, many of them older and better than those of Erasmus, has brought together a mass of various readings, differing from those of the common text, and sometimes of higher authority. It is the part of Biblical Criticism to compare and sift these readings, and to determine which of them, by weight of evidence and authority, is entitled to a place in the genuine text. The same science applies, in a similar manner, to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; in the manuscripts of which, notwithstanding the vaunted care and exactness of the scribes and the Rabbins, vast numbers of like various readings have been found to exist.

The time, however, has gone by, when this accumulated mass of various readings, in both the Testaments, was an object of dread or suspicion to the learned or unlearned. The optimism of the external form of the Bible has been laid aside; and it is now known and felt, that in the process of transcription or printing, by uninspired men, the Scriptures are not less liable to the occurrence of slight mistakes than other books. Such are, for the most part, all the various readings, both of the Hebrew and Greek Testaments; and it is a fact long well established, that not one of these affects a single article of faith or practice, unless in the very slightest degree.

In this country, we have no biblical manuscripts, either known or yet to be brought to light. We have no vast libraries, where the dust of ages has accumulated; beneath which we might hope still to find treasures of antiquity. In Biblical Criticism we must rest satisfied with the materials collected by Kennicott and De Rossi, on the Old Testament, and by Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and others on the New. Still, it is in our power to make ourselves acquainted with the principles by

which they have regulated their inquiries and their decisions ; we have the same materials which they possessed, and can in some degree put the accuracy of their results to the test. Further than this, we are hardly called upon in this country to go ; because we cannot appeal to the ultimate sources. There is something in the very aspect and external appearance of a manuscript itself, which goes far in aiding to form a judgment as to its readings. Thus, if I may speak from my own feelings, the bare inspection of the controverted passage in 1 Tim. 3 : 16, "God manifest in the flesh," in the famous Alexandrine MS. preserved in the British Museum, affords more decisive and satisfactory evidence as to the reading of that manuscript, than can be drawn from all the varying testimony extant upon the subject.

IV. Another preliminary object of attention is the branch now known as Biblical Hermeneutics, or the Theory and Rules of Interpretation, as applied to the Scriptures. The actual application of these rules is Interpretation itself, now often called Exegesis. It may at first be difficult, for one not versed in Biblical Literature, to perceive the necessity and importance of this branch of study. The principles of interpretation are as old as the creation ; and are instinctively impressed upon our nature, the moment we begin to employ language as the representative of thought. The child comprehends its mother ; and the mother finds no difficulty in interpreting the prattle of her child. We all interpret instinctively and involuntarily, when any one addresses us ; and the reader is even now in the full practice of every principle of interpretation, while he dwells upon these lines.

Why then should it be necessary to draw out these principles into rules, and make a theory and science of what in itself is so practical and instinctive ? We might reply, and with entire propriety, that it is interesting and important to bring out and exhibit in one general scientific view, the principles on which the human mind acts in this, as in so many other cases ; that this indeed is one of the most important aspects of the science of mind ; inasmuch as it respects all our intercourse with each other as intelligent beings. Still, the formation of rules to be applied to the interpretation of common discourse or of books on ordinary subjects, would certainly be in great part a matter of supererogation. Yet we find, that this science is of great importance in the legal profession ; where the due interpreta-

tion of the words of a law often requires the nicest skill and a train of profound reasoning. So it is in the Bible. The Scriptures are the Word of God, and reveal his holy law; they are in a language not our own, and which exists only in a fragmentary form. Hence the frequent necessity of applying all the various principles which can be brought to bear, for the elucidation of what might otherwise remain incomplete and obscure.

But in respect to the Bible, there is another aspect in which the science of Hermeneutics becomes of still more definite application and practical importance. This is presented by the question so often raised: Whether, after all, the language of the Bible is to be interpreted and understood on the same principles, and in the same manner, as that of other books? *A priori* there would seem to be no reason why the sacred volume should form an exception to the general rule. God speaks to men in the words of men; and means either to be understood, or not to be understood. If the former, then his language must be received and interpreted according to the innate fundamental principles of all human interpretation. If, on the contrary, he did not mean to be understood, then he has used the ordinary words of human language in a sense different from their ordinary and natural meaning; and has spoken one thing to the ear and eye, which all could understand, and another thing in a more hidden sense, which none could understand. I speak not here, of course, of parables and allegories, which are common to all writings human or divine; but more particularly of the poetical and prophetic parts of Scripture.

Here, in ancient times, Jewish interpreters were accustomed to suspend mountains of sense upon every word and letter of the Hebrew text; that is to say, the words were held to mean, not only what they would naturally express in their ordinary acceptation; but also every thing else which the fancy of the interpreter might choose to attribute to them. This tendency passed over from the Jewish Rabbins to some of the fathers in the early Christian church; and has been transmitted down in a greater or less degree even to the present day. This is the *double or deeper sense*, of which even now we hear so much; and which, as it seems to me, rests on an imperfect apprehension of the force and character of divine truth. Besides, if we admit more than a single sense, except in obvious allegories and parables, how are we to decide upon this second meaning;

which, by the very supposition, is *hidden*? By what rules or instinct are we to interpret plain and intelligible language, so as to bring out this deeper hidden sense? And being thus hidden, how are we to know, whether it is the *true* meaning? Why may not another just as well bring out a different hidden sense? And how, if there be one hidden meaning, can we determine that there is not a second and a third and a fourth, all equally hidden, and just as much concealed under the plain language, as that which we propose? If all this be so, what barrier can we set up, indeed, against the interpretations of a Cocceius, or the dreamy reveries of a Swedenborg? I know of none.

In short, viewing the subject under every aspect, I must hold that any system of interpretation, which departs from the plain and obvious meaning of the language of Scripture, rests upon a wrong foundation, and is fraught with danger to the mind earnestly seeking after divine truth. It converts the Word of God into a book of riddles; such as were not uncommon in ancient times; and, more than all, it saps the fundamental principles, which regulate our conduct as beings capable of a mutual interchange of thoughts by means of language. It makes God profess to speak to us in the language of man; and yet takes his words out from the application of the rules, by which alone we understand or are understood, when speaking with each other.

It is on this ground, especially, that an attention to the principles and rules of Hermeneutics, becomes of high importance to the biblical student.

Thus far my remarks have had respect to the general method and principles of biblical study. Let us now survey, for a few moments, some of the more important sources, whence that information which must constitute the means and materials of the interpreter, is to be derived.

V. Among these, Biblical History occupies an important place. The Old Testament is itself the chief history of the Hebrew nation; for the early narrative of Josephus, the professed historian of his people, is drawn mainly from the Bible, with the addition of various particulars derived from traditional and doubtful authority. The Pentateuch indeed is the foundation of all human history, as well as of the Jewish; and brings down the narrative of that people to the eve of their establishment in the Promised Land. Every subsequent part of the

Bible, whether it be history, or poetry, or prophecy, gospel or epistle, refers back both to the Pentateuch and to Hebrew history in later times ; and is absolutely unintelligible without an acquaintance with the facts there related. Thus far, the Bible is its own best interpreter,—the only storehouse where the facts are all laid up.

But there are also in the Scriptures frequent allusions to the history of other nations besides the Jews. Egypt and Ethiopia, Persia and Assyria, Babylon and Phenicia, play no unimportant part upon the pages of the sacred record ; and an acquaintance with the facts of their history not only serves to illustrate the Holy Scriptures, but greatly to strengthen their authority. Indeed, no stronger testimony to the truth and authenticity of any ancient document can ever be expected or required, than exists in behalf of the Bible upon the walls of the vast temples of the Egyptian Thebes. We find there, for example, Sheshonk, the Shishak of the Scriptures, sculptured as a colossal figure with his name annexed, leading up rows of Jewish captives to present them to his god.* In this respect, the active spirit of the present age, in deciphering the sculptured monuments and writings of antiquity, is at the same time bringing out the strongest and most incontrovertible evidence, in behalf of the authenticity and claims of Holy Writ. And it is perhaps not too much to expect, that the illustrations and confirmations which have thus flashed upon us from the deciphering of the hieroglyphic writings, are but the precursors of others, to be yet developed from the wedge-formed inscriptions of the ancient Medes and Persians.

Not less in general importance to the interpreter, is the history of the Jewish people and the neighboring nations, during the interval of time between the Old Testament and the New. This whole period had a paramount influence in forming the character of the later Jews, and shaping their opinions on theological and moral subjects ; and all these require to be well understood, in order to comprehend many of the allusions and much of the teaching in the New Testament, and judge of its force and adaptation to times, circumstances, and persons. In like manner, an acquaintance with the general history of the time of Christ and of the apostolic age, is absolutely essential for understanding the scope and foundation of their instruction and doctrines ; and the history

* 2 Chron. xii. 2—9.

of the primitive church during the same age, serves to clear up much that must otherwise remain "hard to be understood," in the writings of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

VI. Intimately connected with the History of the Hebrew people, are their Antiquities so called, Ecclesiastical, Political, and Domestic. In respect to the Bible, it is perhaps an acquaintance with these, which constitutes the main and most essential qualification of the interpreter. It is this kind of knowledge, which, most of all, places him in the position of the Jews themselves; enables him to think as they thought, feel as they felt, judge as they judged, and understand as they understood. Indeed, allusion to these varied topics, is interwoven in the very texture of every page and almost every paragraph of the Bible.

The Ecclesiastical Antiquities have relation to the whole constitution and ritual of the Hebrew church under the Old Testament; to develop and establish which, as well as to sustain and purify them, was the primary object of a great portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. The New Testament indeed abrogates the ancient ceremonial law; but in order to know what is thus abrogated, we must first know what once existed; and be able to mark the distinction between that which, as the spirit, is of permanent obligation, and that which, as the letter, has been done away. We must learn too what came in place of these former institutions; and what was the constitution imposed upon the Christian church, its sanctions and its ordinances.

In the Political Antiquities of the Hebrews we are to look not only for a perpetual commentary and illustration of the sacred text; but also for the source of much that exists in modern legislation. The very peculiar character of a people governed by a theocracy; a nation of which God alone was king; needs to be well understood, in order to embrace the full meaning of much of the Old Testament. In the New Testament likewise, the situation of this same people, pining under the galling yoke of foreign dominion; and all the complicated particulars of its government and administration under a foreign master; must constantly be taken into account, in order rightly to apprehend the language of the sacred writers.

But that branch which comes home most of all to "our business and bosoms," and introduces us most completely into the very sanctuary of Hebrew life, is their Domestic Antiquities. These show us their household and family arrangements, their

manners and customs, their business and actions, their daily life and walk. These serve more than all else to bring us to a close *personal* acquaintance with that remarkable people; they enable us to be present with them in their houses, at their meals, in their affairs; to see them with their wives, their children, and their servants; in their rising up and lying down; in their going out and coming in; in short, in every thing relating to the persons and employments of themselves and families. Without an acquaintance with all these particulars, the interpreter can never be thoroughly furnished for his work. Whatever may be his qualifications in other respects, he can never enter fully into the meaning and spirit of very much of the sacred text.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this last branch, the Domestic Antiquities of the Hebrews, is just that which has been most neglected. There are perhaps books enough on the Jewish ritual; but I know of only a single important work in the English language, and that a translation, which gives any thing like a complete view of the domestic life and manners of this people.

VII. It is not necessary to dwell here on the importance of a knowledge of Biblical Chronology. This is perhaps the branch of biblical learning, which of all others has been most readily acknowledged, and most extensively and ably cultivated in the English tongue, as is testified by the distinguished names of Usher, Newton, and Hales. Yet, after all, the difficulties are by no means wholly cleared up; and many of the results as to dates, can be regarded only as conjectural estimates. Hardly any two of the chronological systems agree throughout. Even in regard to the times, in which the several books of the New Testament were written, there exists great diversity of opinion and statement. All this does not affect, however, in the slightest degree, the question of their authority; it serves only to show that the biblical student has before him no light task, while he delves in the mists of gray antiquity, in search of some faint traces, which may serve as landmarks in the course of times and seasons.

VIII. A branch of biblical study which has excited comparatively little attention in English literature, and yet is one of great interest, is Biblical Geography. While geography in general, both historical and physical, has been cultivated with great success in England and in our own land; while the classic soil of Italy and Greece, and even that of India, has been

traversed and described by multitudes; while we have treatises from the highest names on the geography of Herodotus, and other ancient profane writers; the geography of the Holy Scriptures has remained unsettled and unexplored, and even the physical features of the Land of Promise are to this day in a great measure unknown. Strange as it may appear, even the efforts of British science in behalf of navigation, have not been extended to this quarter. While even the polar regions have been traversed and explored; while the results of exact surveys and soundings are laid down in the latest charts of the Red Sea, and those of the coasts of Asia Minor and Northern Africa; the coasts of Syria and Palestine, that land of the earliest history and deepest interest, have never been surveyed, and cannot be given on any map, on the basis of astronomical observation or scientific measurement. As the theatre of recent naval war, it is to be hoped that these coasts may no longer thus remain a reproach to nautical science.

Another strange fact appears in the history of biblical geography. I mean the circumstance, that of all the multitude of pilgrims and travellers who have thronged the Holy Land for the last five centuries, not one of them has gone thither with any reference to the geography of the Scriptures, or made the slightest preparation to qualify himself for instituting researches, or forming a judgment, on subjects falling within this important department. At least nothing of the kind has appeared before the public. The travellers have often been acute and observing men; but they have never inquired, in respect to the Holy Land, what was already known, or what was unknown; what was certain or uncertain; what was forgotten, or yet to be sought out. Hardly one has ever yet travelled with a sufficient knowledge of the Arabic language, to collect information for himself from the people of the land. The consequence has been, that travellers have mostly only listened to and reported the traditions and legends of the foreign monks; and no one has ever thought of seeking after what might yet remain among the common people.

These monastic traditions began early to take root and spring up; and as ages rolled on, they flourished more and more luxuriantly. The centuries of the crusades added to their number and strength; and then, and in later times, a mass of foreign tradition, which had thus foisted itself upon the Holy Land, spread itself over Christendom, until it has come to be received

almost without doubt or question. Yet it frequently contradicts the express testimony of the Scriptures or of Josephus ; and is, in fact, in itself worthless, unless when supported by collateral evidence. In looking down through the long period that has followed the labors of Eusebius and Jerome, in the fourth century, it is interesting, though painful, to perceive, how the light of truth has gradually become dim, and at length often been quenched in darkness. It is certain, that in the long interval between Eusebius and the crusades, very much was forgotten by the church, which still continued to exist among the common people ; and in the subsequent period, the progress of oblivion has perhaps been hardly less rapid. Even within the last two centuries, so far as the convents and travellers in Palestine are concerned, I fear the cause of sacred geography can hardly be said to have greatly advanced.

Yet there can be no doubt, and I speak from personal experience, that there does exist among the native population of Palestine, the Arab Fellâhs of the villages and hamlets, a species of tradition, which is destined to throw great light upon the ancient topography of the land. I mean *the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people*. This is a truly national and native tradition ; not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters ; but drawn in by the peasant with his mother's milk, and deeply seated in the genius of the Semitic languages. Such names still exist in every part of Palestine ; and we ourselves, in travelling through regions both visited and unvisited, were enabled to collect many such, of which apparently there has been no written mention since the fourth century.

We all recognize the benefit and importance of a knowledge of geography, in reading the current works of the day, and even the newspapers. Of how much higher importance must it then be, for the due understanding of the Scriptures ; in which the physical and topographical features of the country are so distinctly and definitely traced out, that we, like other travellers, found the Bible to be the best, and only accurate guide-book in the Holy Land. The delineation of a place or region on plans and maps, aids exceedingly to render definite our impressions of events ; but how much more distinctly and vividly do they stand out before the mind, when we ourselves have been present in the very spots and scenes. I never felt the full force and energy of the eloquence of Paul, until I stood upon the Areopagus

in Athens ; nor the definiteness, and beauty, and power of the biblical history, until my feet had trod the courts and fields where God of old had dwelt ; where the Saviour of the world had lived, and taught, and died ; where patriarchs, and prophets, and holy men had walked and held converse with the Most High. It was with an absorbing and exciting interest, that we thus visited these spots ; it was almost like communing with those holy men themselves ; and served, in a high degree, to give us a deeper impression of the reality and vividness of the Scriptural narrative, and to confirm our confidence in the truth and power of the sacred volume.

IX. Connected with the physical Geography of a land, is also its Natural History ; and allusions occur on almost every page of the Bible, to the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as they exist in Palestine. Here, too, the interpreter is often at fault, for want of full and specific information. The animals of the Holy Land have never been thoroughly investigated ; nor its botany explored ; nor its minerals and geological structure scientifically examined. The leading geologist of the continent of Europe once remarked to me,* that he had long sought in vain for specimens of the limestone around the holy city ; and the *Elah* or terebinth of the Hebrews, has, until recently, remained as undetermined among botanists, as the unicorn of the English version is still unknown to the zoologist.

X. Another important source of information for the interpretation of the Bible, and the only one which time permits me further to mention, may be termed the History of Interpretation. Under this branch I must here include the efforts and results of all former interpreters of the Holy Scriptures ;—a wide and fertile field, in which abundant fruit has been produced, both good and bad. The earliest documents of this kind are to be found in the literature of the Jews themselves ; since the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, the version of the Septuagint, as well as the history and philosophy of the Jews, are all imitations of, or founded upon, their inspired writings. Of the same class is the vast mass of tradition and direct interpretation, collected in the Talmuds, and the labors of the later Rabbins. Here is a mine never yet fully explored, which is probably destined yet to yield, along with much rubbish, not a little ore, for the use of

* Leopold von Buch.

the biblical interpreter. Then follow the ancient versions into various tongues, and also the comments of the Fathers and of interpreters in all subsequent ages; to whose numerous tomes we might almost apply the hyperbolic language of St. John, that "even the world itself cannot contain the books that have been written." Yet amid all this mass of literature, besides the many treasures of commentary, most volumes have some grains of wheat mingled with much chaff; and these it is the duty of the interpreter to seek out, and transplant to a kindlier soil, and cause them to grow and flourish in his Master's field.

XI. We have thus passed in review the main branches of study, which go to make up the department of Biblical Literature, and furnish the sources and materials, from, and with which, the interpreter is to illustrate the Word of God. A due acquaintance with all these may be said to comprise his *objective* qualifications; being such as are drawn from without himself. As to what relates to the inner man, the disposition of the mind, which we may term his *subjective* preparation, I would remark, that all external aids and qualifications will be in vain to the interpreter, without the spirit of prayer, and of humble reliance on the divine assistance. Without this spirit, the human heart and human mind are of themselves prone to wander from the truth in divine things, and to set up human judgment and human authority, above the revealed will of the Most High. The ancient Jews clung to the *letter* of their law, which they understood better than we; but they failed to imbibe its *spirit*. So the interpreter of Scripture, who rests merely on the support of human learning, will abide in the letter, while the spirit must ever remain beyond his comprehension. "The natural man," says St. Paul, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, seeing they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual, judgeth all things." The truth here propounded by the apostle, applies to the interpreter as well as to the hearer of the Scriptures; and unless he can stand the trial, even 'though he might speak with the tongues of men and of angels; though he might have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; yet without the spirit of love, he would be nothing,' and his teaching become only as "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

It may be asked, Why this spiritual frame of mind should be necessary for the interpretation of the Bible, more than of any

other book? We may reply: Because it is the main object of the Bible to describe and to inculcate just this spirit and this spiritual frame; and, therefore, if the interpreter do not possess it; if he do not know it in his own heart and experience, how can he appreciate and explain it, as it lies upon the pages of Scripture? How can he, who has no ear nor soul for music, sit in judgment upon the thrilling productions of the mighty masters of harmony? How can he, who has no taste nor talent for mathematical science, soar with Newton and Laplace through the regions of unlimited space, and trace out, with them, the laws that bind together the remotest worlds, as they float in the realms of ether? Just so "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him." He that would discern and teach the things of God, must himself be taught from on high.

In reviewing the foregoing remarks and illustrations, we might be justly led to exclaim: "Who is sufficient for these things?" Certainly no one person within the limited space of human life. But we are bound at all times to survey the whole field of our labors, that we may know where to choose our portion, in order to labor with effect, and direct our efforts to the best advantage. Various parts of the field have already been ably tilled by eminent scholars and servants of the Lord; and we must be sufficiently prepared, to be able to enter in, and profit by the fruits of their labors. This every one of us, who begins a course of theological education, can do, and every one is bound to do. We are bound to employ our best powers and faculties, and improve every opportunity, for acquiring such a knowledge of every branch of Biblical and Theological Study, as shall make us, first, well qualified interpreters of the Word of God; and, secondly, the faithful heralds of this word and gospel-message to our fellow-men.

It is not, indeed, the object of a course of study in a Theological Seminary, to render the pupils all at once accomplished scholars; but rather to sow the seed and nourish the shoot, which may hereafter of itself grow up into a noble and firmly rooted tree. The aim is simply to impart the rudiments of a professional education, and to point out the proper way and means, and materials of study, by which the learner may hereafter, through his own efforts, with God's blessing, arrive at a higher and more important standing and influence, as a teacher in the church of Christ.

Yet I would fain hope that the time is not far distant,—and this hope I would desire to press upon the consideration of the friends and patrons of every Theological Seminary,—when the multifarious and important subjects embraced in the Department of Biblical Literature, will not be left, as now, to the teaching and direction of a single individual. One of the most essential branches, indeed, does not belong at all to a course of theological education, and ought not to form an object of elementary study within the walls of such an institution. I mean an acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages. This, indeed, is admitted at once in respect to the Greek; and a previous knowledge of it is a matter of requisition in every Theological Seminary. The Hebrew rests upon precisely the same grounds; there is in it nothing of theology; it is a merely philological acquirement; yet it is not now, perhaps, demanded for admission into any seminary of our land. Still, the time thus spent in the study of it, is so much time taken away from the proper objects of such an institution; and I, for one, can never conscientiously cease to feel, and to press upon others, that a certain previous acquaintance with this language, ought to be made a condition of enjoying the privileges of every seminary for theological education.

The literature and interpretation of the Old Testament embraces a wide and difficult range of studies, entirely distinct from those belonging to the New. Nor are these latter in any degree less extensive or difficult, though of a different character. Each of these clusters of science furnishes occupation enough for the life and labors of any individual; and this is known and felt wherever theological education has been fully carried out. In all the Theological Faculties of Europe, a separate department has charge of the Old Testament, and another of the New. The same feeling of the importance and necessity of such an arrangement, has already introduced it into some of the older seminaries of our own country; and I would indulge the hope, that in due time, the example may everywhere be followed.

ARTICLE VI.

REMARKS ON THE LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF
SCOTLAND.

THE general character of the people of Scotland is well known. The physical features of the country are a fit emblem of the robust and unyielding spirit of the population. No community in Europe has presented a more determined opposition to every kind of foreign influence, especially such as has threatened to mitigate the characteristic sternness of manners, or the rigor of orthodoxy. In every department of study and of action, this strong national peculiarity has showed itself. An undying hold upon "Christ's crown and covenant" nerved the arm and tuned the voice of the Cameronian, as he sent up from a hundred ravines his shout of defiance, or his psalm of thanksgiving. The same iron hardness is now scaling the fortresses of Afghanistan and thundering against the battlements of St. Jean d'Acre. The Presbyterian General Assembly will sooner incur the hazard of driving from her ranks a large secession of her ablest champions, or her most devout presbyters, than yield one iota of that which, in her opinion, makes the kirk the glory of all lands. Even in the halls of science, there is, in many respects, a tenacious adherence to what the Scotchman of yore fondly cherished. All the ports of the country are closed against the importations of any Teutonic novelties, either in philosophy or exegesis. Parkhurst's Lexicon still maintains its ascendancy, and the Hebrew Testament, *without* the points, is yet the grief and annoyance of the young licentiate in theology. In morals and manners too, the Caledonian stiffly adheres to the precedents of antiquity. In the temperance reformation, the poor, despised Irish are far in advance of their northern neighbors. The Scotch are men of strength to mingle strong drink,—equally expert in constructing systems of mental philosophy and bowls of good whiskey-punch.

However, with all this unnecessary rigidity, with all this reluctance to reform what is obviously untenable and mischievous, we still love the land of the Covenanters. A thousand delightful associations cluster around her glens and her moun-

tains. We are glad to fasten our eyes on a national character which is permanent, as well as pure. Honored be the country which has withstood the torrent of German neology and Parisian licentiousness. Cut off she indeed is from the polite circles of London; she is removed from being a kingdom; her regalia are now empty things, kept for a show; but she has, what is far better, the Bible and the Catechism. Her parish schools are worth ten thousand fading diadems, and, we had almost said, ten thousand Jameses and Marys, like those who once wore them. Honor to the people that would not bow down before the waxen images of Rome; that was not terrified by the High Commission of Charles I.; that never succumbed to the atrocious persecution inflicted by the ordained tools of Charles II.; and that welcomed with an outcry of joy the subversion of the Stuarts, and the accession of the House of Orange. We delight to recall the illustrious names which adorn the Scottish literary and ecclesiastical annals; Knox, "who never feared the face of man," and the prototype of much which his church and country have since been; the Erskines, father and two sons, not decorated with literary honors, but men of holy life, of steadfast purpose, and eminently meet for the inheritance of the saints in light; and the Livingstons, the Bostons, the Rutherfords, the Gillespies, the Willisons, whose memories wear an amaranthine freshness. In other connections, we might enumerate two of the great triumvirate of British historians; and four or five honored and never-dying names in intellectual science; and two or three of the children of sweetest song, who have given an immortality, throughout the civilized world, alike to obscure tradition, to local scenery, to uncouth metres and a barbarian accent. Genius, pouring itself out on the soil where it was nurtured, and hiding itself in scenes and stories exclusively national, has won a more lasting fame than genius employed in writing the history of continents, or speculating profoundly on the universal nature of man. Adam Smith created, not an era in political science, but political science itself; still, great as are his merits, the *Cotter's Saturday Night* will outlive the *Wealth of Nations*. The philosopher speaks coldly to the practical understanding; the plough-boy poet addresses the heart of man in all the stages of its development.

We now proceed to inquire, What are the prominent causes of these marked peculiarities in Scottish character? To what

are we to attribute the boldness, the strength, the intelligence, the decided reputation for virtue and moral power, which have, for centuries, distinguished the inhabitants of North Britain? In the facts and considerations, which we shall adduce as an answer to these interrogatories, we shall accomplish the main purpose of the present essay.

In the first place, the climate, and the physical features of the country have, unquestionably, exerted an important influence. Scotchmen, if they should live at the sources of the Indus, would be Affghans; if in the fastnesses of Circassia, Koords, sleeping under the black tent, or waylaying the luckless traveller; or, if on the Green Mountains of New England, independent Christian yeomanry. Mountains and floods, mists, roaring torrents, silver lakes, precipitous crags, the unceasing dash of the ocean, beating on the hard rocks,—all such things become the elements, or the occasions of intellectual and moral power. They act, inevitably, on the hearts and the minds of the beings who are conversant with their sublime and beautiful phenomena. Who could sail, as Sir Walter Scott did, around the waters that wash three sides of the country, and not receive permanent impressions? Even Dr. Johnson, phlegmatic as he was, and a cordial hater of all Scotchmen, except his obsequious biographer, revealed something like poetic enthusiasm, when he journeyed to the home of St. Columba. This influence of material objects is not inconsiderable in any circumstances. The Arab, in his boundless desert of sand, is linked in affection to the few and the burning objects with which he every day meets. The dazzling column of sand reminds him of his dear birth-place, and of the long succession of Sheikhs, who have come in and gone out before his tribe. How much greater must be the effect of natural objects in a northern and mountainous region, especially if these objects be associated with stirring events in the national history! Here was the glen, that sheltered William Wallace from his foes. There stood a hut, in which the outlawed Bruce found an asylum. Deep in that cavern, where the crystal water bubbles up, the Covenanters' infant was baptized, and on that little knoll the aged elder was gathered, not to his fathers, but to his final rest. In that narrow vale, how often has the death of Jesus been remembered, when his disciples met in trembling and fear, or in joyful thanksgiving over some great deliverance! The pious Scotchman, like the wanderer to Padan-Aram, comes to holy ground,

—places where his ancestor wrestled with the angel of the covenant, or hastily caught up, with the weapon of defence in one hand, the emblems of a Saviour's dying love.

We may suggest, in the second place, the fierce political and ecclesiastical contests, which marked the whole period of the history of Scotland up to the accession of James VI. to the throne of the United Kingdom, and even still later, as one of the causes in the formation of the character of the people. The country was, almost without intermission, the scene of the wildest anarchy, or of the most grinding oppression. The blood of kings, nobles and peasants flowed, for ages like water. Shakspeare's *Macbeth* is hardly a work of imagination. It is nearly overborne by facts. "A man's foes were they of his own household," was strictly verified; the clan had more than an Indian's scent for the blood of its neighbor. The civil history of no nation in Europe is less grateful to the philanthropist than that of Scotland, for several centuries. William Wallace perished on the scaffold. James I., an accomplished prince, was murdered by his nobles. The insufferable tyranny of James III. excited a rebellion, in which he was defeated and slain. James IV. fell at Flodden. The hostility of his granddaughter, Mary Stuart, to the Reformation, occasioned discontents which terminated in the rebellion of her subjects, her own flight to England, and her subsequent execution. The union of the two crowns, in 1603, was not the harbinger of peace. Even after the Revolution of 1688, and the union of the monarchies in 1707, the waves of discord were not hushed. The partisans of the Stuart dynasty twice rose in rebellion against the house of Hanover. In these political disturbances, the ecclesiastical fortunes of the people were closely interwoven; or rather, as we shall find in the sequel, the affairs of government were often identical with those of the church. These stirring events, this unceasing excitement could not, of course, be without effect on the character of the actors. The Scotchman was nursed in storms both physically and morally. His life was a hard discipline. The stronger elements of his nature were necessarily brought into active play. The tempestuous passions found full scope. Feats of daring became the end of his existence. To murder a noble, or to break a royal sceptre was familiar sport. The dreadful butchery of the battles fought in Scotland attests the physical courage, and the ex-

asperated temper of the combatants. The remembrance of these days of old has not perished in Scotland. The same stern characteristics are still, in a measure, exhibited. The present generation sometimes show the "stuff" of which their ancestors were made. A passion for wrangling, a dogged tenaciousness of opinion, an inability to distinguish between the substance and the shadow, and even the protrusion of uncomfortable epithets are not now unknown in Scotland. Dugald Stewart, characterized as he was for the most gentlemanly and conciliating demeanor, manifested somewhat of the national temperament, in the controversy caused at the proposed election of Prof. Leslie to the chair of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. In the famous dispute respecting the circulation of the Apocryphal Scriptures on the part of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the people of Scotland rose as one man, and cut off all connection with their southern fellow-Christians. The Caledonian hills were made to ring with denunciations of the uncanonical books, and of those who would circulate them in the Papal countries. The doings of every General Assembly, that have fallen under our notice, contain striking developments of the national propensity in question. Scenes are sometimes exhibited, and language is employed which would hardly be tolerated in the House of Commons, or in an American House of Representatives, and which lead us back to the wrathful harangues and the scurrilous dialects of the Bothwells, Murrays and Knoxes of Queen Mary's day. A living theological writer, occupying a high station, and who has acquired considerable notoriety, uses epithets which should seem to have been culled from "the Monstrous Regiment of Women,"* or from the vocabulary of the tolbooth of Edinburgh. American ecclesiastical courts have borne witness to some choice specimens, not only of rigid Scotch orthodoxy, but of a temperament not the most amiable, and of language not very courteous.

We remark, in the third place, that to the early and general establishment of parochial schools, Scotland is largely indebted for her intellectual superiority, and her commanding station among the communities of Europe. The importance of this subject must be our apology for dwelling upon it at some length.

* The title of one of John Knox's publications.

In early times, the monasteries contained the only seminaries of education then known in Scotland. If any schools existed in the larger burghs, they were under the patronage of some religious house. Long prior to the Reformation, there seem to have been such seminaries, where Latin was taught. There were also common elementary institutions, called "Lecture Schools," which afforded instruction in the vernacular tongue. As early as 1494, the Scotch Parliament enacted, that all barons and freeholders, "who are of substance," should put their oldest sons and heirs to the schools, from the sixth or the ninth year of their age. After the Reformation, the establishment and maintenance of schools became an object of constant and anxious attention on the part of the Protestant clergy. In the First Book of Discipline, composed in 1560, it was recommended that every parish, where there was a town of any reputation, should have a schoolmaster, "able to teach the grammar and Latin tongue;" and that "in *landward* parishes, the minister should take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in the rudiments, particularly in the Catechism of Geneva." The church never lost sight of this object. Many acts of the General Assembly were passed in relation to it. When applying for the restitution of the church property, the endowment of schools was never forgotten by the ecclesiastical courts.* In 1616, the Privy Council for the first time interposed their authority, and enacted that in "every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established, and a fit person shall be appointed to teach the same, upon the expense of the parishioners, according to the quantity and quality of the parish." Episcopacy then prevailed; and this act was directed to be carried into effect, "at the sight and by the advice of the bishop of the diocese in his visitations." In 1633, the act of council was ratified in Parliament. This was the first legislative enactment authorizing the establishment and endowment of parish schools.

During the civil wars, a more enlightened act was passed, which, though rescinded at the Restoration, was adopted almost *verbatim*, in the celebrated statute of William and Mary, in the year 1696, which is the foundation of the present parochial system. The statute is as follows: The estates of Parliament,

* See Macculloch's *British Empire*, and the authorities referred to by him, Vol. II., p. 484.

"considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many congregations hath been, and how beneficial the providing thereof will be to the kirk and kingdom, do, therefore, statute and ordain, that there be a school founded, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided, by advice of the presbyteries; and that to this purpose, the heritors (landholders) do, in every congregation, meet among themselves, and provide a commodious house for a school, and *modify* a stipend to the schoolmaster, which shall not be under 100 merks (£5 11s. 1½d.) nor above 200 merks, to be paid yearly at two terms," etc. In 1693, an act had been passed, entitled: "An act for settling the quiet and peace of the church," which declared, among other things, "that all schoolmasters and teachers of youth in schools are, and shall be, liable to the trial, judgment and censure of the presbyteries of the bounds, for their sufficiency, qualifications and deportment in the said office." The whole system was arranged and completed by another act of the Parliament of Scotland, in 1699.

The object of these various acts of the government was happily attained. For more than a century after the enactments, the great body of the people in Scotland were better educated than in any other division of Christendom. The power to read and write, and an acquaintance with the elements of arithmetic were placed within the reach of almost every individual; while all classes of the people were enabled to read the Bible from their earliest years, and, with the assistance of the catechism (which was regularly taught in every school), have received the rudiments of a religious education, such as they could not have had the same means of attaining in any other country of Europe.*

During a large part of the last century, the schoolmasters, in many parishes, were qualified to give instruction in the Latin language to such as were desirous to acquire a grammar school education. A very considerable number of individuals, throughout the kingdom, have been prepared for the Universities, in the schools of the parishes in which they were born. In 1836, there were 916 separate parishes in Scotland, and the total number of schools was 1162, there being 146 endowed schools over

* A Brief Account of the Constitution of the Established Church of Scotland, by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrief Welwood, Bart., D. D. 1833, pp. 103.

and above one school for each parish. These latter are termed *secondary* or *side* schools. Generally there is but one secondary school in a parish, sometimes more. Taking the average income of these 1162 schools at £27 10s, which is about the sum, the annual endowment amounts to £31,955, exclusive of school-houses, dwelling-houses for the teachers and a garden. The ministers of parishes, and the landholders have the power of determining the branches which a schoolmaster, on induction, must be competent to teach. These, of course, vary somewhat in different parishes. In burghs, there is often a separate school for classics only, sometimes classics and French. Most of the teachers have received a university education. In the three counties, for example, of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, according to a report presented in 1835, out of 137 teachers, there were only 20 who had not studied at college. The law makes no provision for the payment of assistant teachers. No person can act as schoolmaster, until he has undergone an examination before the presbytery, which has the power, should he be found unqualified, or if his moral character be objectionable, to nullify the election. The decision of the presbytery is final in all matters relating to schoolmasters; unless when a civil question arises, which may be carried by the teacher before the court of session. All parochial schoolmasters must be members of the established church, and are required, on induction, to subscribe the confession of faith and the standards. Every presbytery is understood, by means of a deputation of their members, to visit and examine the various schools within their limits, once every year. This, however, is not uniformly done. The landholders and minister have the right of fixing the fees which the scholars are required to pay to the teacher. These fees are, generally, very low. The annual income from salary and fees may be about £55, exclusive of a house and garden. In the majority of parishes, however, the schoolmasters have slight additional emoluments, arising from their being session-clerks, and, in some instances, precentors. They have, also, small perquisites for making up militia lists, enrolments under the Reform Act, etc.

Great advantages must necessarily flow from such a system of education. The character for intelligence, which the native of Scotland has long borne throughout the world, may be traced, in no inconsiderable degree, to the parish-school of his native mountains. This common-school education has raised the private soldier above his English and Irish comrades. A

part of the men who conquered under Lord Wellington in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, were trained under the conjoint influences of the kirk and the school. The British lines were not a mere aggregation of brute force. It was intelligence, and, in some degree, moral principle, which made their onset so often irresistible. The benefits of this general education may be seen, somewhat, in softening the rigidity of the Scottish character; in polishing, in a degree, its roughnesses; and in imparting some show of reason, even where physical obstinacy was the predominating element. The two and a half millions of North Britain enjoy a reputation, and exert an influence, to which no other six millions of the population of the empire can make any pretension. One main ground of this distinction is the early education in the one case, and the want of it in the other. What a blessing beyond all computation would it have been to Ireland, if a parochial school-system had been, for two centuries, transforming her wretched potato-diggers into intelligent and independent yeomanry!

This system, however, was found, at an early period, insufficient to meet the wants of the people. The grand object of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, as described in the patent in 1709, was, and it still is, "the increase of piety and virtue, within Scotland, especially in the Highlands, islands and remote corners thereof, where error, idolatry, superstition and ignorance do mostly abound, by reason of the largeness of the parishes, and the scarcity of schools." The society has accumulated a capital of about £100,000. Of the 340 functionaries of the society, all are stationed in the Highlands and islands, with the exception of six teachers and one missionary. When the society was instituted, neither the Bible, nor any religious book, had been translated into the Gaelic language. This great deficiency is now supplied.

Notwithstanding the labors of this society, much ignorance still remained. In 1824, a committee of the General Assembly discovered, that in the northwest parts of Scotland, there were not fewer than 10,500 children, under fifteen years of age, destitute of the means of education, and that not less than 250 additional schools were necessary; and they have since ascertained, that the total number of persons of both sexes, of six years of age and upwards, in all the parishes of the Highlands and islands, unable to read either in the English or Gaelic languages, amounts to 83,397. The Rev. Dr. Gordon stated at the last meeting of the Assembly, that there were 90,000 per-

sons in Scotland who were unable to read. The Rev. Dr. Paterson of Glasgow testified at the same meeting, that there were 80,000 persons in the limits of one synod, who could not read the Bible, and that Glasgow has a population of 60,000 persons, and Edinburgh of 50,000, not one of whom has any connection with the public worship of God, and among whom there is no reading of the Bible at home, and no catechetical instruction of children. It was also mentioned that the town of Peterhead, with 6000 inhabitants, had no place until recently for parochial education, except a single small apartment. From the report of the committee, it appears that there are now, (May, 1840,) 120 schools, with 12,000 pupils, all of whom are instructed in English, and more than 2,500 in Gaelic. The annual income is between five and six thousand pounds sterling. A majority of the committee were in favor of accepting the government-grants on the conditions annexed by the privy council. The resolution of the committee was approved by the General Assembly, with the additional clause, that nothing shall be done by the government inspectors, prejudicial to the interests of the established church.

The Secession church has, like the establishment, shown an interest in the cause of education. The number of schools, owing their origin to this church, exceeds 100. They are established, on a large scale, in the great cities, and form models of good tuition. The number of Sunday schools in Scotland is about 600, two-thirds of which belong to the Dissenters. The whole number of schools in Scotland may be estimated at about 4,600, of which 3000 are private, or voluntary schools. It is supposed that about one ninth part of the population are in the process of education.

There is a species of school established within the last thirty-five years, called *academies*, in the larger burghs, such as Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, etc. They are under the direct care, either of the subscribers by whom they have been founded, or of the magistrates. These academies, and the ancient burgh schools, such as the High School of Edinburgh, are regarded as the best seminaries in Scotland, embracing all the necessary and ornamental branches of education, each taught by a separate master.*

* See Macculloch's *British Empire*, II. 488, and *Edinburgh Almanac* for 1840.

Our account of the state of the schools in Scotland, and our estimate of the influence of education in the formation of the national character would be incomplete, without some notice of the Universities. And here we are glad to avail ourselves of the very voluminous and enlightened report, made to king William IV., by a royal commission of inquiry into the state of the universities of Scotland. These universities are not now of an ecclesiastical character, or, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, ecclesiastical bodies. They are connected, indeed, with the established church of Scotland, the standards of which the professors are required to acknowledge, though this is now, often, practically set aside. Like other seminaries of education, they may be subject to the inspection of the church in relation to any religious opinions which are taught in them. The professors of divinity, whose instructions are intended for those connected with the established church, are, in their character of professors, members of the presbytery of the bounds; and each university returns a representative to the General Assembly. But in other respects, these universities are not ecclesiastical institutions, not being more connected with the church, than with law or medicine. They are intended for the general education of the country.* All the classes may be taught by laymen, with the exception of those of divinity; and in no part of the system, except in theology, is any distinction observed with reference to the views or pursuits of those intended for the church. It is also very important to observe, that they have, in no respect, been framed or modified, with reference to the means, or pursuits, or habits of the aristocracy. The system is that of a general plan of education, by which persons of all ranks may be equally benefited. It is the peculiar and beneficent character of the Scottish universities, that they are intended to place the means of the highest education in science and philosophy within the reach of persons in humble ranks of life, while, at the same time, they are equally fitted to educate and enlighten the youth of the highest class in society. The Scottish universities have always embraced students of every variety and description. Men advanced in life, who attend some of the classes for amusement, or in order to recall the studies of early years, or to improve themselves in

* Not a few of the dissenting ministers of England have been educated at the Scottish universities.

professional education, originally interrupted; or persons engaged in the actual occupations of business, who expect to derive aid in their pursuits from the new applications of science to the arts; or young men not intended for any of the learned professions, or meaning to go through any regular course of university education, but sent for one or more years to college, in order to carry their education farther than they could prosecute it in the parochial schools, before they are engaged in the pursuits of trade or commerce. And all persons may attend any of the classes, in whatever order or manner it may suit their convenience. The system of instruction by a course of elaborate lectures on the different branches of science and philosophy, continued daily for a period of six months, is admirably calculated to answer all the objects which such persons may have in view, as well as to afford much useful instruction to regular students.

The remuneration of the professors depends, in the larger universities, mainly, and in Edinburgh, it may be said, entirely, upon the fees paid by the students, or, in other words, upon the number of students. From the fact that the reputation of the professors must be greatly increased by the number of persons attending upon them, especially those who have just been alluded to, there is danger, that in proportion to the increase of auditors of this description, the important and primary object of the regular education of youth may be overlooked, examinations and exercises being gradually given up, the professor being entirely confined to lecturing. The students in the Scotch universities do not reside within the walls of the college, or in any place subject to the inspection of the university authorities. They reside wherever they choose; and after they leave the class-room, their studies and occupations are not necessarily under the inspection of the professors. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, it may be safely said, that the professors do not generally know much more of the students, (except when in their class-rooms,) than of the other youths of these great cities.

There are no endowments or establishments connected with the Scotch universities, such as fellowships for the maintenance of literary men, after their own education is finished, and who do not necessarily take any share in the business of instruction. There is no encouragement, therefore, to prosecute, to any great extent, those branches of literature which do not directly tend to useful objects in life. Without the strongest natural

inclination, it is in vain to hope, that many persons will devote themselves to classical literature as their peculiar pursuit, with the zeal exhibited in other countries, when they cannot thereby attain any immediate honor or future advantage.

The medical department of education in the universities of Scotland is evidently of the greatest importance. During a long period, a large proportion of the persons who have practised medicine throughout the country, and who have occupied the medical stations in the army and navy, have been educated for their profession in one or other of those universities. The medical school of Edinburgh has long possessed high celebrity, and that of Glasgow has, of late years, risen into great eminence; and there is reason to believe that this branch of academical instruction may soon attain an important rank in the university of Aberdeen. Much less attention has been paid to the study of the law. A full course does not seem to have been established at either of the universities, unless that at Edinburgh is an exception. The session for the study of divinity in the university of Aberdeen is three months; in St. Andrews, four; in Edinburgh, though nominally longer, it is not so practically; while in Glasgow it is six months. Divinity is studied almost exclusively by persons intending to become ministers of the established church; and the General Assembly has, by various acts, prescribed the course of study, and the period of attendance at the divinity-hall, which shall be sufficient to qualify candidates for obtaining a license to preach the gospel, as the means of entitling them to hold parochial livings.*

* We subjoin, in a note, some more particular information in regard to the universities, as they exist at the present time, 1840. The oldest of the universities is that of St. Andrews, which was founded in May, 1410, by Bishop Henry Wardlaw, and confirmed by a papal bull in 1411. The college of St. Salvator was erected in 1456; that of St. Leonard in 1512; and that of St. Mary in 1537; the first two were united by parliamentary statute in 1747. In the united college there is a principal (Sir David Brewster) and 8 professors; in St. Mary's, a principal (Robert Haldane, D. D.) and three professors. In the three colleges there are 29 charitable foundations, called *bursaries*, of the aggregate value of about £1100 per annum, whose benefits are extended to 92 individuals. The university of Glasgow was founded in 1571, by a papal bull,

We now proceed, in the fourth place, to the main object of this paper. What is the present ecclesiastical condition of Scotland? What are the prospects of the established church? Why have there been secessions from her ranks? How has the Scottish character been affected by the church policy? What

and its privileges were subsequently confirmed and extended by royal charters and parliamentary statutes. The discipline is administered by a court, consisting of the rector, (now Rt. Hon. Sir J. Graham,) the principal, (Duncan Macfarlane, D. D.,) and the 21 professors. The common business of the college is managed by the principal and 13 professors. The number of charitable foundations is 29, of the average annual value of £1165, and extended to 65 students. The principal and members possess the right of nominating ten students, members of the church of England, to exhibitions in Baliol College, Oxford. University and King's College, Aberdeen, was founded by Bishop Wm. Elphinstone. A papal bull was issued for its erection on the 10th of Feb. 1495. The affairs of the college are conducted, and its discipline administered by a Senatus, which consists of the principal, (Wm. Jack, D. D.,) and 9 professors. The fees, in the complete course of instruction, in the faculty of arts, do not exceed £20. The charitable foundations are 32, of the value of £1771 per annum, and extended to 134 students. Marischal College and University of Aberdeen was founded by George, fifth earl of Marischal, by a charter, dated April 2, 1593, and in the same month, it received the sanction of the General Assembly, and in July was ratified by parliament. The number of bursaries is 115, of the aggregate value of about £1160 annually; about 67 are open to public competition. The rector is the Hon. J. C. Colquhoun; principal, Daniel Dewar, D. D. The whole number of professors is 13. The university of Edinburgh was founded in 1582, by James VI. The principal is John Lee, D. D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh. There is no chancellor nor rector. The number of professors is 32: 4 in law, 3 in divinity, 12 in medicine, and the remainder in arts. Bursaries 84, of the value of £1172 per annum, and extended to 80 students. The whole number of students, at all the Scotch universities in 1837, was above 3,400, of whom Edinburgh had 1580; of the remaining 1820, Glasgow had above two thirds. Edinburgh, in 1822-23, had 2,234 students. The number has been regularly diminishing since that time. In 1835-6, they were thus distributed: law 217, divinity 173, medicine 679, arts and literature 511.

are the lessons which are taught by the interesting crisis which the national communion is now passing through? Our limits will forbid us to answer these questions with that fulness which we could desire. In order to accomplish our object with any degree of satisfaction, we must briefly advert to a few prominent points in the history of the Presbyterian church.

The reformation from Popery began at an early period in Scotland, but made little progress till the time of John Knox. This distinguished reformer was born in 1505. He was educated in the University of St. Andrews, where he took a degree in arts. He was at first a zealous Romanist. About 1544, he renounced that religion and became an equally zealous reformer. Soon after the accession of queen Mary, he retired to Geneva, where he remained till 1555, and where he became acquainted with the doctrines and polity of Calvin.* On the 24th of August, 1560, Popery was abolished in Scotland, and the Protestant religion established by act of parliament. The system of ecclesiastical policy, introduced in room of that which was abolished, was embodied in a work, entitled "The First Book of Discipline, or the Policy and the Discipline of the Church." It was laid before parliament in 1560, as a necessary accompaniment to the legal constitution of the national reformed church; but, though not formally ratified by the legislature, it was subscribed by many of its members. It was approved, in the same year, by the General Assembly at Edinburgh. Though the parliament did not ratify the first book of discipline, it accepted and confirmed the confession of faith drawn up by the Protestant ministers, the object of which was to abjure Popery; and hence it was called the *negative* confession. Another confession or national covenant was subscribed in 1580, 1581, and on subsequent occasions. In 1581, the Assembly first divided the country into presbyteries and synods. Three years afterwards, Episcopacy was established by act of parliament, and the Presbyterian ministers were persecuted or banished. In June, 1592, the Presbyterian form of government was restored, and it received, for the first time, the sanction of parliament, as the authorized government of the established national church. Mansees (parsonage-houses) and glebes were provided for the ministers. From 1606 to 1638, Episcopacy

* See the Life of Knox, prefixed to his History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. Paisley, 1791.

again prevailed. In 1640, the Presbyterian government received the sanction of Charles I., and of his parliament. At the Restoration in 1660, Episcopacy again attained the ascendancy, which it with difficulty maintained, and at the expense of much persecution and martyrdom, till the Revolution in 1688; soon after which it was abolished, and the national church of Scotland declared Presbyterian; a form which it has ever since maintained. By an act of the parliament of Scotland, 1706, it is "provided and declared, that the true Protestant religion, contained in the Confession of Faith, with the form and purity of worship *then* in use, within the church of Scotland, and its Presbyterian church government and discipline, that is to say, the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods and general assemblies, shall remain and continue unalterable."

During the whole period from 1690 to 1712, the most important deliberations in the General Assembly turned on subjects of internal regulation. It was a principal object to provide Presbyterian ministers for the remote districts, which were in the greatest need; and, till this could be done effectually, to supply the vacant parishes in the mean time, by individuals sent from the southern counties, who, at intervals, officiated in succession for a limited period.

In 1712, lay-patronage was revived, or the right of nominating to a vacant parish by a lay-patron. The idea of patronage took its rise from the canon law. Neither James VI. nor any of his successors before the Revolution were willing to abolish the right, though it was unquestionably the doctrine of the church, that no minister should be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed. The acts of parliament, while they are authoritative and explicit in enforcing the right, at the same time contain clauses of restriction, by which it was evidently intended to be limited. From 1690 to 1712, it was abolished, and the right of presentation was lodged in the landholders of parishes and the members of kirk-sessions. In 1712, patronage was revived, and continued the law of the church, uninterruptedly, till 1834. After a presentation had been sustained by the presbytery, the presentee was appointed to preach in the vacant church for one or more Sabbaths; and a day was fixed posterior to his preaching, on which a *call* was to be extended to

him by the people, notice to that effect being given from the pulpit. At that meeting, after a sermon had been preached by a member of the presbytery, the parishioners were invited to subscribe a written call to the presentee, to be their future minister. At one period, the call was essential to a presentation, but its efficacy was gradually given up, till, at length, without any alteration being made in the law, it virtually fell into desuetude, that is, a presentation was reckoned valid, if a single name, or perhaps not a single name, was attached to it.*

The act of 1712 had long been a favorite object with the episcopal and tory party in Scotland; an act which was certainly intended by them to operate against the whigs of Scotland, but which no whig administration afterwards could be persuaded to repeal. For many years after the date of the act restoring patronages, presentations were, by no means, introduced into general practice. There were, however, abuses which early created serious disorders. One of the abuses was the practice by which patrons presented individuals, who held rich livings, to very small benefices; being certain that they would not accept of their presentations. The patrons thus protracted the vacancies; and under the law, as it then stood, they were enabled, in the mean time, to retain the vacant stipends.

In 1732 the General Assembly passed an act, decreeing, that where an accepted presentation did not take place, the decisive power of electing ministers for the supply of vacant congregations is lodged *only* in a conjunct meeting of landholders and elders, no other qualification of those landholders being required but that they should be Protestants.† A few days before this enactment, the assembly had decided a question relating to the settlement of a minister in Kinross, in the presbytery of Dunfermline, to which great opposition had been made by the parishioners and the presbytery, and in which the Rev. Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, and the Rev. Thomas Mair of Orwett, were deeply involved. The assembly had commanded the set-

* See Macculloch, Vol. II. p. 432; and Moncreiff, p. 24.

† Mr. Wellwood thinks that the act of 1732 goes no farther than almost every overture on the subject framed by the assembly for 20 years before, and not beyond what had been the general practice of the church after 1690. The secession of the Erskines and others he attributes very much to the exasperated feelings produced by the Kinross case.

tlement of Kinross to be carried into execution, with circumstances of peculiar severity, and had prohibited the clerks from receiving any dissents from their sentence, or a protest offered from the bar, signed by 42 ministers, or a petition subscribed by many hundreds of elders and people. In 1733, Mr. Ralph Erskine, Mr. Mair, and others were rebuked at the bar for their determined refusal to enrol Mr. Stark, then minister of Kinross, as a member of the presbytery of Dunfermline. In the high tone of church authority, they were *commanded* to acknowledge Mr. Stark as minister of Kinross, though, after his enrolment by the assembly, they had already judicially declared their willingness to treat him as a brother. The Commission* of 1733 pronounced a sentence on four refractory ministers, Messrs. E. Erskine, Wilson, Moncreiff and Fisher, "loosing their relation to their parochial charges, and appointing this sentence to be *intimated* from their pulpits respectively." In several instances, the people tumultuously resisted this intimation, and prevented it from being made. The opposition excited against the act of 1732 became so general and decided, that the assembly found themselves compelled to repeal it in 1734. In 1734 and 1735, there were two feeble and ineffectual attempts made to obtain a repeal of the act of 1712, restoring patronages. In 1736, a more conciliatory assembly passed an act against the intrusion of ministers into vacant congregations, affirming that an intrusion of a minister, contrary to the inclinations of a congregation, is in direct opposition to what had been the principle of the Scottish church since the Reformation. In the spirit of this act, a number of presentees were set aside by the assembly in deference to public opinion.

In the mean time, the Erskines and their associates, who appear to have acted somewhat intemperately, constituted themselves into a presbytery at the Bridge of Gairney, near Kinross. By printed documents, as well as by public declarations from their pulpits, they renounced all subjection to the judicatories of the church. On the 15th of May, 1740, eight ministers were deposed by the General Assembly, and their parishes declared vacant.† To these ministers the name of *Secessers* was given ;

* A large committee acting in the interval of the meetings of the Assembly. It may include all the members of the Assembly.

† See, on the one side, the account of these proceedings by

and as most of the members of their congregations adhered to them, and others followed, they became the foundation of the Secession church in Scotland. The number of congregations and clergymen belonging to the body rapidly increased, and have continued to increase till the present day.*

Mr. Welwood, and the History by Dr. Cook ; and, on the other, the Life of E. Erskine, by Fraser, and Rev. John Brown's (of Haddington) History of the Rise and Progress of the Secession. Mr. Welwood does not advert to one thing, which had much weight in the minds of the Erskines, in inducing them to secede from the church, viz., the low tone of piety, and the lax views of theology, which existed in the establishment.

* On admission to the privilege of a burghess in any of the royal burghs of Scotland, the following oath was required to be taken : "I protest, before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat, and defend the same, to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." Respecting the propriety of this oath, the ministers of the Secession were divided. A separation, in consequence, between the two parties, took place in 1747; the party in favor of taking the oath being called Burghers; the party in opposition, Anti-burghers. The two parties continued separate till 1821, when, the burghess oath being generally dispensed with or abolished, they again united, and assumed the denomination of the "United Associate Synod of the Secession Church." This synod has now (1840) 19 presbyteries in Scotland, 330 ministers, and about the same number of churches. A few additional churches are found in the adjoining districts of England. The professors of divinity are Rev. Messrs. Alexander Duncan, D. D., Mid-Calder, Rev. Robert Balmer, Berwick, Rev. John Brown, D. D., Edinburgh, and Rev. John Mitchell, D. D., Glasgow. The divinity-hall opens at Edinburgh on the first Tuesday of August. The course of study, etc., is much the same as in the established church. The number of persons belonging to the Secession has been estimated at 300,000. The congregations of Broughton Place and Bristo-street chapels, Edinburgh, consist of no fewer than 1200 members, exclusive of hearers and children who are not communicants. The united church abjure patronage; their ministers are chosen by the communicants of each congregation. They disallow and denounce all connection of ecclesiastical with civil matters. They are

The secession of a portion of the established church was attended with important consequences. When the patrons of parishes began to exercise their rights more frequently, and with less attention to the wishes of the people, and when the people saw that they had a ready access to ministers of their own selection in the seceding churches, the opposition to presentees became more inveterate and unmanageable, and it was soon very difficult for the church courts to decide between the patrons and the people. Both parties, who now began to divide the church, admitted the constitutional necessity of a call from a parish, to become the foundation of a pastoral relation between a presentee and his parishioners. But the *moderate* (or high-church) party affirmed the legal call to be limited to landholders and elders, while the other party contended, as the original seceders had done, for the right of parishioners at large, or at least of the heads of families, to be admitted as callers. The former had the support of the government, who, by this time, perpetually interfered in the management of assemblies, and especially on every point which related to the settlement of ministers; while the latter derived their chief strength from popular favor, and from the influence of those who deprecated every measure which they thought calculated to alienate the people from the established church, and to lessen the usefulness and respectability of the parochial ministers.

Dr. Patrick Cumin, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and professor of Church History in the University, became the leader of the moderate party, under the direction of the duke of Argyle. This party did not pretend to attempt the abolition of *calls*, in the settlement of ministers, and they always professed to require the call of landholders and elders, before they gave effect to a presentation. But under their management, it was seldom difficult to procure such a call as satisfied them, even in cases where the great body of the parishioners were hostile to the settlements. By the strongly exerted influence of the patrons, and

generally more strict in discipline than the established church. When the Burghers and Anti-burghers united, several congregations of the former declined the coalition. These are called "Original Burgher Associate Synod," and comprehend three presbyteries in Scotland, and two in Ireland; in Scotland, they have 9 churches and 12 ministers. They have a professor of divinity for themselves.

with the help of non-resident heritors, they seldom failed to effect their purpose. Many individuals,* who conscientiously believed that the consent of the congregation was essential to the pastoral relation, thought that they were bound in duty to decline to take any active part in the settlement of ministers to whom a general opposition was made by the parishioners. On the other hand, the moderate party, who controlled the assemblies, were pertinacious in maintaining the authority of their sentences; and the ministers who ventured to disobey them were subjected to the severest ecclesiastical censures. The active rulers of the church affected to despise the seceders. But every church-settlement accomplished by the strong arm of authority, in opposition to the great body of the parishioners,

* Among these was the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock. The circumstances of his deposition were these. A call, sustained by the assembly, to the parish of Inver-Reiting, in the presbytery of Dunfermline, depending, in a considerable degree, on non-resident heritors, was violently and generally opposed. The ruling party in the church determined to apply ecclesiastical censures. They ordered the presbytery to hold a meeting, and admit the presentee, and declared that the quorum should be five instead of three, which is the legal quorum. Only three ministers, however, attended. Of six members, who pleaded at the bar of the assembly conscientious scruples, one, Mr. Gillespie, was solemnly deposed. Three others were afterwards suspended, all men of unimpeachable character. Mr. Gillespie was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time. When he heard the sentence of deposition from the moderator's chair, he nobly replied: "I thank God, that to me it is given, not only to believe in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, but also to suffer for his sake." Mr. G. was the correspondent of President Edwards. See the Works of the latter, Lond. ed. 1839, Vol. I. p. 120, seq. Mr. G. became the founder of the Relief Synod very unwillingly. On his dying bed, he advised his congregation to apply to the church to be restored to her communion; which was accordingly done. The synod now contains 11 presbyteries, about 120 churches, and about the same number of ministers. Professor of divinity, James Thomson, D. D., of Paisley. The Relief church differ from the establishment on no other point than the right of patrons to appoint ministers against the inclinations of the people.

opened a new dissenting meeting, and separated a new congregation from the communion of the establishment.

From 1752 to 1763, there were not many examples of the settlement of ministers when the opposition was very considerable. From 1765 to 1774, there occurred some cases, which occasioned more obstinate and protracted litigation than are to be found on record since 1688. But, by this time, the duke of Argyle had died, and Dr. Cumin no longer held the same sway as leader of the church. Dr. Robertson, the great historian, succeeded him as leader of the moderate party.* At length, the principle was avowed and adhered to, that a presentation to a benefice was in all cases to be made effectual, independently of the merits of the call or concurrence. Cases had sometimes occurred, previously, in which presentees were set aside. But this can scarcely be shown to have happened during the time of Dr. Robertson's management, merely from defects in the concurrence of the parish. To his sound sense and splendid eloquence, was conjoined the steady influence of every administration of government. The struggle with the people was, however, perpetual. The opposition to presentees was so decided, as in a great measure to engross the business of the assemblies. The parties in the church were more equally balanced than they were afterwards. The popular party were led by men of great ability and eloquence. Among them were Drs. Dick, Macqueen and Erskine, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Andrew Crosbie, etc. The zeal of the people was at last exhausted, and the great majority of the church became convinced that the system of patronage was firmly established, partly by a long series of decisions in the Supreme Court. In a few years after Dr. Robertson retired, the people began to leave the church courts to execute their sentences without opposition, and set themselves to rear seceding meeting-houses, which frequently drew away a large proportion of the inhabitants of the parish.

For many years, during the present century, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thompson was a leader of the popular party in the

* See the *Life of Dr. Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart. Dr. Drysdale, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards the principal clerk of the General Assembly, was the coadjutor of Dr. Robertson in the management of the party. He was a man of talents and of indefatigable industry. See Welwood, p. 79.

church of Scotland. In defending the rights of the people, in opposition to a rigorous enforcement of the law of patronage, he, for many years, displayed, says Dr. McCrie, his unrivalled talents as a public speaker, sustained by an intrepidity which was unawed by power, and a fortitude which was proof against overwhelming majorities. One of his distinguished opponents was the Rev. Dr. John Inglis, of Edinburgh.

At length, there having been many violent intrusions of clergymen, and the dissatisfaction becoming general, a statute was passed by the General Assembly, which is known by the name of the *Veto Act*. This was enacted in 1834, through the exertions of J. C. Colquhoun and Alexander Dunlop, Esquires. "If," to use the words of the act, "at the *moderating* in a call to a vacant pastoral office, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, should disapprove of the person in whose favor the call is proposed to be *moderated in*, such disapproval shall be reckoned sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and he shall be rejected accordingly." The act further declares, "that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interest of himself or the congregation.

Difficulties, however, soon occurred under the Veto enactment. In the case of a presentee to the parish of Auchterarder, where the principles of the act were applied by the presbytery, the Court of Session, the highest judicial tribunal in Scotland, to which an appeal had been made, declared the Veto Act to be *incompetent* and *illegal*, as incompatible with the full exercise of the right of patronage. On the 3d of May, 1839, the House of Lords affirmed the judgment of the Court of Session. On the 22d of the same month, the General Assembly determined, by a majority of 49, to adhere to the Veto Act, notwithstanding the decision of the Lords. On the 12th of June, in obedience to a summons from the Court of Session, the majority of the presbytery of Dunkeld appeared at the bar to answer for a contempt of court, in having inducted a minister at the church at Lethendy, in defiance of their lordships' interdict. On the 14th, the censure of the court was pronounced against them, and they were found liable in the expenses. On the 14th of

August, the commission of the General Assembly, by a majority of 81, prohibited the presbytery of Auchterarder from taking any steps towards the settlement of the presentee of the patron, the Rev. Mr. Young.*

In the mean time, another case occurred, which has occasioned a protracted controversy, and which, in the opinion of many, *may* end in the dissolution of the establishment. The call of Mr. John Edwards, the presentee to Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie, was signed by only *one* parishioner. Mr. E. had officiated there for several years, as assistant to the minister, and had been removed by him, on a strong expression of disapproval of his services, by a large body of parishioners. Various proceedings took place between the parties, until, in 1838, the General Assembly ordered the presbytery to reject the presentee. This order was obeyed. Thereupon the patron, acquiescing in the judgment of the church courts, offered another presentee, Mr. Hendry. Mr. Edwards then raised a civil action, and also applied for an interdict forbidding the presbytery to ordain Mr. Hendry. The presbytery referred the matter to the synod, and the synod directed them to proceed to settle Mr. Hendry. They declined, and resolved, that the Court of Session had jurisdiction in the case, and that they were bound to obey its interdict. The matter was brought before the General Assembly in May, 1839, who enjoined the presbytery not to determine the question themselves, but to refer it to the Commission, that that court might decide it. The Commission took up the case, and ordered the presbytery not to settle either party, hoping that the legislature would pass some enactment which would relieve the difficulty before the next meeting of the Assembly. In the mean time, however, Mr. Edwards had obtained a decree in the Court of Session, declaring that the presbytery had acted illegally in rejecting him, and that they were bound to try his qualifications, and, if

* In the case of Jedburgh, in which all the parishioners, except five, were totally opposed to the presentee, Mr. Douglass, 2000 left the church, in one day, in consequence of his settlement. In the instance of Biggar it was objected, and admitted by the presbytery, that the voice of the presentee could not be heard in the church; notwithstanding, he was admitted. In another parish, that of Kircudbright, the presentee was stone blind!

they found him fit, to admit him as minister of Marnooch. A requisition was immediately made on the moderator of the presbytery, by several members, to summon a *pro re nata* meeting, in order to take the decree into consideration. The presbytery assembled, and the moderator laid before them the sentences of both the civil and ecclesiastical courts. They declined, however, to consider the ecclesiastical sentences, to continue to meet, or to enter on their minutes the dissent and complaint of the moderator. He immediately appealed to the Commission by complaint and petition. The Commission, in December, ordered the complaint to be served, and suspended the members of the presbytery from their ministerial functions. The presbytery then resolved to sustain the call in favor of Mr. Edwards, and to proceed in his settlement; though they afterwards stated, that they did not intend to *admit* him, but only meant to take him on trial. They also continued to exercise their spiritual functions; and, in addition, prayed the Court of Session to prohibit the ministers from preaching in their parishes, who had been sent down by the Commission. This latter body, at their meeting in March, 1840, sent a committee—Rev. Drs. Gordon, Mackellar, and Mr. Bruce—to hold a conference with the suspended brethren. This conference, however, owing to a misunderstanding in regard to the time and place of meeting, was not held.

At the meeting of the General Assembly, in May, 1840, the whole proceedings in relation to the suspended ministers came under review, and elicited warm and protracted discussions. In the first place, a committee was appointed to confer with the seven ministers. The committee reported that the conference left the deep impression on their minds, that the said ministers had not intended any disrespect to the church judicatories, but were influenced by the conviction, that they were obligated to submit to the judgments of the civil courts. They thought that they were bound, under the civil law, to take Mr. Edwards on trial, with a view to ascertain whether he was qualified by terms of the statute, while it was their purpose, from the beginning, to give every opportunity to state objections to the presentee. They, furthermore, stated explicitly, that they could not renounce their views on this subject, nor confess that they had done wrong in not obeying the church judicatories.

The following resolution, submitted by the Rev. Dr. Patrick

M'Farlan of Greenock, was adopted, by a vote of 166 to 102: "That the sentence of suspension be continued, that the seven ministers be cited personally to appear before the Commission in August; and, if they then should continue contumacious, and refuse submission to the church-courts, that they should then be served with a libel for that contumacy, and that the Commission should proceed until the case was ripe for the next General Assembly." Mr. Edwards was cited to appear personally before the Commission in August. A special committee was appointed to advise and co-operate with the minority of the presbytery of Strathbogie, in providing supplies for the parishes of the suspended ministers. Of the results of the meeting of the Commission in August last, we have no advices.

Various other subjects, vitally affecting the interests of the church, were debated with great warmth. One of these subjects was the bill introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Aberdeen, a distinguished nobleman and Presbyterian of Scotland. It was supported by the minority—the successors of the old moderate party—on the ground, that it would tend to restore the constitution of the church, which had been subverted by the Veto-act; that it would prove a safeguard to the church against all interference from without; and be an additional safeguard against her injuring herself by any capricious exercise of her authority within. On the other hand, it was objected to the bill by Dr. Chalmers and his friends, that it merely confirmed the law as laid down in the civil courts (the judgment in the Auchterarder case for instance) and that it was an outrage on the principle of non-intrusion. On a division, 221 voted for the resolutions of Dr. Chalmers, disapproving of the bill; and 134 for the motion of Dr. Cook, in favor of it. Our limits will not allow us to advert further to the proceedings of the General Assembly.*

* The leaders on the popular side in the Assembly of 1840, were Dr. Chalmers, Mr. Dunlop, advocate of Edinburgh, Dr. M'Farlan of Greenock, Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, etc. Among those who voted on the same side were Sir David Brewster, Principal Dewar, Drs. Patterson and Henderson of Glasgow, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, etc. The leader on the moderate side of the house was Dr. George Cook, professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, a gentleman of commanding talents, Rev. James Robertson of

The number of ministers belonging to the establishment is 1190, synods, 16, presbyteries, 80. These presbyteries send 218 ministers and 94 elders as delegates to the General Assembly. The city of Edinburgh sends two elders; 65 other royal burghs, 65; 5 universities, each one minister or one elder; churches in India a minister and an elder; total about 220 ministers and 167 elders. The number of churches in the establishment is probably between 1100 and 1200. It has been estimated, that the number of Dissenters in Scotland, of all denominations, may be about 520,000. The whole population is reckoned at nearly 2,500,000.

We have already noticed the United Secession church,* the

Ellon, Rev. Alexander Hill, D. D., professor of Divinity at Glasgow, Rev. John Hunter, minister of the Tron church, Edinburgh, Sir George Clerk, M. P., Rev. John Lee, D. D., principal of the University of Edinburgh, etc. Mr. Dunlop stated that the friends of the popular party, who petitioned parliament, amounted to 250,000 individuals; while 13,000 only signed the petitions of the opposite party. Of the 16 synods, all but three were in favor of the non-intrusion principle. These three were Shetland, where the vote stood, 14 to 2; Glenelg, by a majority of one; and Dumfries, by a majority of 12 or 14. On the other hand, it was mentioned that a large majority of the officers and members of the five universities were with the moderate party.

* We have read a considerable part of the volume of the Rev. Dr. John Brown, of the United Secession church, entitled, "The Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute," 1 vol. 8vo., 1839, 2d ed., pp. 539, Appendix pp. 123. In 1837, Dr. B. refused to pay the annuity-tax, on the ground that he conscientiously disapproved of civil establishments of religion of every form, the tax in question being avowedly imposed for the support of the established church. Some of his property was accordingly *distrained* and sold for the payment of the tax. This occasioned considerable excitement. Dr. Brown was attacked in the newspapers with great bitterness, especially by Dr. Haldane, (who seems to regard himself as a consecrated heresy-hunter,) and, in order to defend himself, delivered two lectures in his church, which are the foundation of the present volume. A large, we had almost said, an immense number of illustrative notes is subjoined, indicative of much learning

original Burgher Associate Synod and the Relief Synod. In 1806, a number of individuals separated from the Burgher denomination, in consequence of opinions held by the latter respecting the total independence and incompatibility of the civil and religious authorities. They termed themselves the Associate Synod of Original Seceders. They are in favor of a national church. On the 31st of July, 1839, they voted, 39 to 13, to annex themselves to the church of Scotland. The reunion had been approved by a majority of the presbyteries of the national church. The Reformed Presbyterian Synod represent the Covenanters of the time of Charles I. They are the most rigid Presbyterians in Scotland. They have a professor of theology, A. Symington, D. D. of Paisley, 6 presbyteries and 26 ministers in Scotland, besides 4 presbyteries and 24 ministers in Ireland.

The number of Independent churches, in connection with the Congregational Union of Scotland, is 98; ministers 84; Tutors of the Theological Academy, Glasgow, Ralph Wardlaw, D. D., Rev. Messrs. G. Ewing and J. M. Mackenzie. The Scotch Episcopal church have a theological academy at Edinburgh; professors, Rt. Rev. James Walker, D. D., and Rt. Rev. M. Russell, LL. D.; number of dioceses 6; chapels, between 70 and 80, with about the same number of clergymen. It is supposed that the whole Romish population of Scotland amounts to 140,000, including the children of Catholic parents. The Catholics in Glasgow alone amount to 35,000; in Edinburgh, to 12,000. They have three dioceses, 60 places of worship, and 74 priests and bishops. There are, besides, various small sects in Scotland, as Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, Sandemanians, Bereans, etc., which it is not necessary here to describe.

From the foregoing observations and statements, it is obvious that the Scottish national church is in circumstances of no little peril. In the language of Dr. Chalmers, "the ark is now in the midst of conflicting billows." One of the greatest difficulties is, that the civil questions, in the last resort, must be decided in *English* courts. Englishmen will not, or cannot un-

and of indefatigable industry. The celebrated passage, Rom. 13: 1—7, is treated by Dr. Brown with great ability. Those who are not convinced by his arguments will be pleased with the force of his reasonings.

derstand the great points in dispute. In the characteristic language of the leader of the popular party,—“The thing of immediate practical importance for us to observe, is the utter hopelessness of inoculating therewith the mind of parliament, where, perhaps, there are not ten, in both houses, who could state, and there are not three who could vindicate the great principle for which we are contending.”* The parliament appear to be about as much interested in the controversy, as the American congress might be supposed to be, in the building of a bridge over the Genesee river. And yet it is a question of the gravest import. It is a conflict of the government and the church. The poor presbyter is between two fires. If he disobey the lords of session, he may find his next lodging-place to be the county jail; if he should contravene the command of the assembly, he is degraded from his ministerial functions, and it is *intimated* that his parish is vacant. When two jurisdictions are conflicting, which must be obeyed? The difficulty is not lessened by the zealous efforts which are made to mix up the question with political appeals. Thus it is represented, that the Veto-act of 1834 was passed through the influence of the Edinburgh whigs, and that it was the legitimate progeny of the reform-mania of 1833.† The English tory party are earnestly called upon to come and assist the intelligence and property of Scotland in the contest with revolutionary violence and religious fanaticism, in which the North Britons are now engaged.

It is manifest, furthermore, that the principle of establishments is in imminent hazard. No man has, recently, done more than Dr. Chalmers to uphold national churches, and, perhaps, no one is now doing more to pull them down. Of this the venerable theologian himself seems to be aware. “It is grievous,” he remarks, “to be thus thrown back again on the original elements of the question; and, after having won

* Perhaps there is some apology for this obesity of understanding, when such jargon as the following is plentifully sprinkled through the Scottish ecclesiastical proceedings—“Should be *sisted* as parties;” “any part of the *sedcrunt*;” “present when the *deliverance* was pronounced;” were *astricted* to obey;” “they *implemented* the veto law;” “when the call was *moderated in*,” etc.

† Blackwood's Magazine, Dec. 1840.

the cause of national churches in the field of argument, to have the victory so wrested from our hands." The great object of the popular party now seems to be, to abolish patronage altogether, and to vest the right of presentation in the voters, in the communicants, or in the landholders, or in these classes jointly. But the right of patronage is private property, and may be sold or alienated like any other property.* Will it be given up peaceably, and without compensation? and will the state continue to support a church which thus trifles with private property, and with those very means which the government possesses for extending the influence of the church of Scotland, and which that church has called on it to employ, and which it has employed? It seems to us that the passing of the Veto-act was the first step towards a separation of the church from the state altogether. The abolition of patronage will be another great step. And happy the day, in our opinion, when the last link shall be sundered. It is in vain to try to make a pure church, out of one entangled with state intrigue, and supported by state funds. Dr. Chalmers and his friends may glory in proclaiming, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only Head of the church of Scotland. But it is not so. It never will be so, as long as that church depends on the state for her support. The headship will be shared in by some duke of Argyle, lord of session, or privy counsellor. The spirituality of the church is corrupted, and it must be corrupted by the contact of worldly men. Is it not owing to this contaminating union of church and state, that there has existed in the Scottish communion, a *moderate* party, in distinction from the *evangelical*,—a party, which for a long time swayed, by a decided majority, the councils of the General Assembly, so that the fate of every measure materially affecting the spiritual interests of the church, might, with certainty, have been pre-

* The patronage of about 300 of the parishes of Scotland is vested in the crown, and 600 in noblemen and landed proprietors. Out of about 36 parishes in the synod of Orkney, the earl of Zetland has the patronage of twenty-nine! When those livings are deducted which are at the disposal of universities and municipal corporations, a very small fraction of the whole is found in the hands of the people. In the church of England, out of 12,000 livings, not *seventy* are in the hands of the people.

dicted ; and that, though this party has of late been, happily, losing ground, while the other has been gaining, yet there is still many a parish, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, in which there is a miserable want of religious instruction, because another gospel than of Christ is preached ! † These men who preach an unevangelized morality were, doubtless, the presentees of some nobleman or gentleman, who consulted his own family interests, rather than the spiritual edification of a hungry flock.

The interests of vital piety in Scotland, must necessarily languish, while Synods, Assemblies and Commissions are holding stormy debates, and while the great mass of the people are looking for deliverance, not from their glorified Head, but from a civil court, or from a Parliament, who, in general, care no more for the interests of spiritual religion, than they do in respect to the individual who shall be the next Grand Lama of Thibet. Revivals of religion may occasionally occur, as they are now said to exist in Ross-shire, but they will take place in spite of the existing condition of things, or because God will employ the bitter lessons, which his people in Scotland are reading, as an occasion of bringing rich spiritual good out of terrible evils.

We cannot close these observations without expressing our deepest conviction that a new order of preparation for the Christian ministry is demanded in the churches of Scotland. The law on the subject is well enough. It requires a four years' regular attendance at the divinity-hall, as a course of study for the church ; but this is almost completely nullified by the recognizing, on the part of the Assembly, of what is termed irregular attendance, and which is in fact no attendance whatever. Students of divinity who merely enrol their names in the books of the different professors, for six years, and who deliver a certain number of discourses specified by the General Assembly, though they never hear a lecture, or receive any instruction whatever on the subject of theology, in any university, were held, till very recently, to be equally qualified with the regular students for

* See Dr. Wardlaw's *Lectures on National Church Establishments*, 1839, p. 82 ; also Dr. Witherspoon's " *Characteristics*," Works, 1802, Vol. III. p. 200. See, also, the interesting volume of Dr. John Dunmore Lang, entitled: " *Religion and Education in America*," London, 1840. Many interesting notices of the Scotch church may be found in it.

being taken on trials for a license to preach. Some modification has taken place, but it does not effect any substantial change. The acts of Assembly enjoin that every person, entering upon trials, shall be examined as to his knowledge of the Hebrew language; but they do not require that the Hebrew class should be attended; and, in point of fact, a *large proportion* of those who become ministers never have attended it.* In teaching Hebrew, the professor of oriental languages at the University of Edinburgh states, that he does not use the points, because he is satisfied, that in the time allowed him, he could do nothing with the points! So little interest was taken in the study of Hebrew, that the study of Persian—not a cognate dialect—was introduced as an inducement. The average of those who enter the Hebrew class at Glasgow was about seventeen or eighteen, when the divinity students were about two hundred. All the Hebrew students are required to be furnished with *Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon*. Those parts of the Old Testament, which are written in Chaldee, are not read in the class, because the students have no dictionary for that tongue! The Hebrew professor at King's College, Aberdeen, states, that he accustoms his pupils to look for the words of a dictionary; but owing to the mode in which Hebrew dictionaries are generally prepared, they have not commonly become expert at this, when the studies of the class are finished! At the Marischal College, the professor of Hebrew remarks, that “when he can get his class together, he lectures, either upon the origin of the language, or upon Hebrew antiquities. The students *scramble* for a little of the elements of the language, and then leave the class. Chaldee and Syriac are not taught, because the professor can hardly ever get his students to be masters of Hebrew!”†

With such sad statements before us, we cannot wonder at the low condition of biblical,‡ and, we might add, of classical learn-

* One year's regular attendance has been since required.

† Report on the Universities of Scotland, p. 355.

‡ “We have repeatedly expressed our warm approbation of the Biblical Cabinet, a series of translations from German works on biblical topics, projected and carried on by Mr. Thomas Clark, bookseller of Edinburgh. It is a noble undertaking. We regret that it receives but a slender patronage. The slight appreciation of it, by the thousands of educated clergymen in Scotland and England, is proof enough of the

ing in Scotland. Logic and philosophy have not been studied too much, but too exclusively. The system of education has produced strong-headed reasoners, acute dialecticians, but not accomplished Greek and Hebrew scholars. The Scottish systems of divinity which we have seen fail essentially at the very foundation. They do not rightly expound the text. How can they do this, with Parkhurst's *Lexicon*, and other such contrivances?

Scotchmen ought, like their southern countrymen, to become acquainted with the rich and inexhaustible stores of continental learning. Gesenius' *Lexicon* would not overturn the establishment. Hengstenberg's *Christology* would make no breach in the Confession of Faith. The grammars of Kühner, Ewald and Winer might be imported into Caledonia, *salva fide et Ecclesiâ*. The sturdy Pict would not be corrupted, if he should read Von Hammer, or Niebuhr, or Ranke. If the ministers of religion would do the highest good to their beloved communion, they must become earnest students of the original Scriptures, and thus be imbued with the mind of the inspiring Spirit. They may adhere as firmly as they please to the good old catechism. We honor them for it. But let them join a profound knowledge of God's word with attachment to systems of divinity, and with elevated personal holiness. Thus with the sound sense and strong logical understanding which they now possess, they will raise Scotland to a higher intellectual and spiritual eminence than any other nation of the old world can boast. Scotland will be truly a city set on a hill; like the mountains which are round about Jerusalem—the light and glory of Britain and of her colonies, now extending over every island, and on every shore.

miserably low state of biblical studies in both countries. The works translated for the Cabinet are, in general, well selected. Most of the versions which we have examined, are made with fidelity. Some of the translators, however, are not sufficiently practised in German, and care is not taken to secure a good English idiom, or to provide illustrative notes. The printing is done admirably.

ARTICLE VII.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EMULATION AS A STIMULUS TO ACADEMICAL STUDY.

By Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., Pres. of Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

WHOEVER seriously contemplates improvement in any department of patriotic or Christian enterprise will, almost of necessity, encounter two evils; first, severe misconstruction, simply because he goes upon the idea of reform; and, secondly, the danger of becoming bewildered in speculation, and of committing settled and important interests to the chances of experiment. The idea of progressiveness, although not convertible with that of innovation, evidently implies it, and awakens, in a certain class of minds, more or less of the same jealousy and distrust. At the same time, the hazards of advancing upon commonly received opinions and measures are such as few sufficiently contemplate beforehand, and none can adequately appreciate without actual trial. But to shrink from either of these evils, and to remain content in a state of admitted imperfection, through fear of odium, which, however undeserved, is certain, or, mistake, at the same time possible and fatal, is unworthy of those whom God has made, in a measure, responsible for the common weal. These alternatives are, undoubtedly, a weighty argument for the exercise of modesty and charity, of sound wisdom and discretion, but a poor apology for indifference and sloth. It is perhaps impossible for man not to err, either on the side of not doing, or of overdoing; but it were almost better to suffer the consequences of an erroneous, though honest zeal, than of heartless negligence and unbelief, or an obstinate holding to positions which time is showing to be false, or out of season and untenable.

There is, however, less danger to society than is commonly supposed in prosecuting improvements upon principles about which there can be no mistake but in the application of them. Society is destined to advance. But its advancement consists in the successive development, admission, practice of elementa-

ry and essential truths. These truths are all original in nature or in Revelation, and are brought out, in the providence of God, as society is able to comprehend and bear them. There is nothing new in morals or religion, more than in the relations and laws of the material world, and reform that is propounded to us only in consistency with that acknowledgment, and offers but a more excellent way of applying an old and unquestionable faith, can be hardly injurious otherwise than as it may anticipate the designs of Providence, and provoke an unnecessary degree of agitation and resistance. *New-light*, another system of the world, the hallucination of enthusiasts, the consuming element of fanaticism, bewilders and destroys. But there is not a greater error than to put, indiscriminately, into the same class with visionaries and dreamers, those who, following God's appointed luminaries, the sun and moon and stars which he has ordained, yet aspire to take their observations with the advantage of more favorable circles, a clearer atmosphere, or a higher elevation. It is to discredit the source of all wisdom. It is to disparage those benefactors of mankind who have contributed to raise society to higher successive levels, or have laid the foundations on which others have erected those goodly and perfect structures which continue always the delight and admiration of the world.

The guardians of some of our public institutions have, of late, discarded the principle of emulation as a stimulus to academical study, and have substituted means which they regard as more simply moral, and for that reason more likely to answer the legitimate purposes of education. Have these men acted unwisely, injuriously? Is the change which they have introduced visionary, empirical, illusory? The inquiry is important. The regulation of the colleges and universities of our country is a matter of too great moment to admit of rude or romantic experiment. If such an error has been committed, the correction of it cannot be too speedily or imperiously required by an enlightened public sentiment. But if, on the other hand, a questionable principle has been exchanged for one whose soundness is undeniable, however intelligent and good men might differ in their judgments upon its practicability, there would be at least an apology for claiming a fair field of trial, if not a sufficient argument for the patronage and support of those who profess to favor the progress of society upon the principles of Revelation. It could not be thought wise, digni-

fied, or safe to discredit and oppose attempts, which, if successful, could result only beneficially to the community, and whose failure would argue a state of society more disordered and hopeless, from the fact that it was owing to the disapprobation of the very guardians and conservators of the public virtue.

The first issue respects the fitness of the principle of emulation, as an incentive in the education of youth ; and to that the following remarks will be confined.

A distinction will be admitted between duty and interest, as impulsive principles of action. The former is a moral element, an original guide to virtue. The latter is sensuous, and peculiarly liable to the vicissitudes of the disordered mind. The one has relation to the right, to principle, to the general good, and to the will and honor of the Creator ; the other to the expedient, the politic, to personal convenience and happiness, as these objects are viewed by the degenerate mind ; the one purifying and elevating in its moral tendencies, in proportion to the degree of its cultivation ; the other, in similar conditions, running down into a lust, and inviting to sordid and unworthy gratifications, according to the predominance of one or another class of affections. This distinction, even if not of the nature of an axiom, will hardly fail to commend itself to minds inclined to a spiritual morality, and conversant with the different stages and phenomena of mental history.

Emulation is an excitement of the selfish principle in appropriate circumstances of the social condition. It is the desire of excelling ; it supposes competition ; it contemplates precedence, pre-eminence. It is the action of diseased mind, subject to the irregularities and excesses of the self-will, overreaching, sequestering, or otherwise counteracting the moral sense, the law of charity, according to the strength of the constitutional bias, or the acquired stimulus. If any think the term admits of a more rational and intelligible definition, this is the only idea contemplated by those who so describe the principle in question, and who, in this view of it, discard it as immoral and of pernicious tendency both in private and public discipline.

The subject has been rarely treated by moral writers, and society has acquiesced in loose and indeterminate views of it. Emulation has been strangely vindicated on the ground that it is inseparable from our nature, and coeval with intelligence ; that it was cultivated in the schools of antiquity, was the spirit of national games and festivals, and for these reasons has a sort

of *jure divino* authority, without any consideration of its moral qualities or results. Some more ingenious and candid minds have confounded it with other impulses and affections, less concerned with moral agency, mere instincts, and useful or injurious only according to their relation to other principles of our nature. Thus the ordinary natural sympathies, the feelings dependent on peculiarities of structure and temperament, on our complex nature, the diversities of place, or the power of association sometimes urge us forcibly in a career of improvement, influence and distinction, which is mistaken for the effect of the principle in question, yet does not result from it, and is not necessarily indicative of any wrong habit of the mind. The same is true of the principles of self-respect, regard for personal rights, the love of approbation, the desire of an honorable standing, and of the rewards of industry, temperance, frugality and study, all inherent and innocent, subserving important uses in the forming of our character, and no more to be condemned than the instinctive pleasures of the palate, or of vision. The Scriptures speak of this general appetency to personal good with decided commendation: *A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold.* They reprobate the want of it, as more injurious than speculative unbelief: *He that provideth not for his own house hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* It is indispensable to individual and social advancement. He, who obeys it, is not, indeed, on that account, a good man, in the evangelical sense of that appellation; but neither is he, on that account, a bad man. It is a mercifully conservative element in our nature. We put in the same class with taste, the pleasures of the imagination, the love of letters. We should as wisely disparage polite learning, mechanical improvements, the fine arts, or any other ingredients of civilization, as that property of our nature which is obviously related to these effects of intelligence, and which is the evidence of our capacity for elevation and enjoyment, and of likeness to the original of all fitness and beauty. It is a poor substitute for moral virtue, but a necessary preservative from the coarseness of brutality. It regulates the inferior passions, bringing into correspondence the material and the spiritual of our nature, and, when controlled by the higher principles, conducing to that symmetry, proportion and harmony which are essential to the idea of a perfect man.

We can easily stop here, at the idea of desiring a personal

good, and putting forth the requisite effort to obtain it. And in coming to this point, we offend not against any moral sentiment. It is obedience to an instinct, a law of sentient being, apart from any regard to moral faculty or accountability. We have it in common with the lower orders of the creation. But when we place ourselves in connection with our fellow-beings, then a law comes over us adapted to that new relation, regulating the instinct so far as it affects the interests of social life, and limiting our desire of personal good to a rigid impartiality. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* No commentary can simplify the conception of our obligation in this respect. To have an exclusive regard for our own advantage, or a selfish complacency in it, is a violation of the law; and to seek that advantage, in a course of competition, aggravates the criminality, just in proportion to the excitement of the race. When we have attained the objects of our wrong ambition, we perceive that we have invaded the territory of conscience, and have lost the assurance and the recompense of spiritual integrity. The laurel and the crown are the price of disinterested virtue.

The ideas, related to those which have been already considered, of imitating a model, of appreciating our own abilities, or of taking a place corresponding to our merits, have been often confounded with that of emulation. Let it be considered with how little reason. We are made to perceive and to admire the beautiful, the sublime, and to approve the right. By Christianity we are inclined to love true virtue, and reach forth to new degrees of moral excellence. Aspiration after greatness and goodness is legitimate; and eminence, honor, power, consequent upon the cultivation of our abilities, are as necessary, in the moral economy of God, as the proportion between gravitation and the quantity of matter, under the physical laws. They are the product, justly proportioned, of every man's seed sown. But this love of the excellent is distinct from the principle in question. It belongs to another class of our sentiments, and tends to abase and subdue the selfish passions. They propose distinction for an end; this receives it as a consequence. They run before that they may win; this follows that it may resemble. It obeys a universal law of Providence and of moral government; while they contemplate no divine arrangement or requirement, but a mere private interest, and that in circumstances and conditions where such a limitation constitutes transgression. You may be a Bacon, a Newton, a

Paul, with corresponding powers and advantages, and that by a constitutional necessity, and in harmony with all the divine counsels and arrangements. And so you may be an angel, may be like God. But to aim at that distinction for the distinction's sake, contemplating, not the positive, but the comparative elevation; that is a fatal incongruity. You become, indeed, the philosopher, the reasoner, the preacher, but not the Christian; a spirit fallen, an archangel ruined. You violate the social order, you overstep the law.

I charge thee fling away ambition.
By that sin fell the angels.

. Let us suppose a perfect state of society, in which all minds are conformed, invariably, to the divine will. Such was heaven, till that mad ambition, which the poet has so significantly described, took possession of the tall archangel. We cannot, by any effort, bring the mind to entertain the idea of competition, the lust of pre-eminence, as a trait of such a society. On the contrary, it was just that feeling which divided heaven, and cast down the spirits who kept not their first estate into chains and darkness. But the same law, which binds the angels, rests on man. It is eternal over the universe of mind; and every sentiment and act, partaking of a moral character, and not conformed to that perfect standard, are forever wrong. They deserve a place no more on earth than in heaven. They should have no allowance where Christianity is admitted as a rule of life; least of all in institutions set up for the glory of Christ, and the conversion of the world.

It may be thought that these sentiments are too refined for a world like ours; that we cannot govern fallen beings by a perfect law; that we cannot move them but by motives suited, in some measure, to their present character. But, who cannot govern them? Who cannot move them? Not their Creator; not their Judge. We do not find his requirements mitigated and let down in accommodation to the immoral sentiments of apostate beings: and, certainly, neither the scenes of Sinai nor Calvary are fitted to diminish our sense of the efficiency of his administration. Shall man be wiser than his Maker? On what principle shall we introduce into our administration, and apply as indispensable to our success, a rule of action which would be fatal to the divine integrity? On what principle shall we disparage a rule which God pronounces essential to his moral

government, or bring it into such unnatural alliance with our own short-sighted arrangements, as to dishonor it, and make it ineffectual? Shall we do this in our families, in the church of God? Have we forgotten the half-way covenant of New-England?

But, it may be said that principles of acknowledged validity and authority are yet to be restrained and limited in their application, by other principles equally true and worthy of regard; as in physics, many theories, established by general reasonings, cannot be carried out in practice, without great allowance for conflicting influences in the processes of nature. He who should abate nothing for friction, for different and opposite forces, would find himself materially wrong in his calculations, and unsuccessful in his results. He might be a consistent reasoner from partial or erroneous premises, but an unskilful machinist, or a dangerous navigator.

If by this it is intended, that, on moral subjects, different and opposite principles may be equally true and important, it is sufficient to say that such a sentiment carries its own refutation. It can never impose upon a thinking mind. If it is intended that, although moral truth is in its own nature immutable, it must be limited in its application by the opposing forces in the human will, by the errors, prejudices and passions of society, we say this is begging the question, and it is sufficient to meet it by a contrary assertion. It is not invidious to charge upon so broad a declaration the vice of submitting an acknowledged principle to the construction of a self-seeking expediency, and making a trade of our morality. It is arresting the progress of knowledge, and virtually giving our countenance to admitted error. It is holding up the lamp, but covering it with an extinguisher. It is obscuring the sun, in kindness to diseased eyes, and leaving those who otherwise would rejoice in the good light of heaven, to grope in darkness at noon-day.

That we shall not, in point of fact, attain to a theoretical perfection in the application of our general principles, in the present imperfect state of society, is doubtless true; and so far the analogy between physical and moral science is admitted. But as this admission affects not the essential truth and obligatoriness of any revealed precept, or settled principle of morality; it is of no little importance to the virtuous man to secure himself against the evil consequences which must result when such a precept or principle fails of its proper influence in society. Moral truth

cannot be acceptable to depraved minds. It is not likely to be admitted when proposed in real or imagined opposition to any established policy, or by way of objection to the projects of interested men. But he who, on that account, refrains from the assertion of his principles, in positions where moral action is required of him, lowers the standard of virtue, without getting any corresponding advantage in his influence over other minds, and generally, with no other result than to be classed himself with evil-doers. Far different was the attitude of Paul, when he took his weeping brethren to record that he was pure from the blood of all men, for he had not shunned to declare unto them the whole counsel of God.

The disinclination or resistance of disordered mind to moral truth is no reason for holding that truth in our own judgments, in any qualified or restricted sense. Much less is it a reason, when the well-being of others depends on the expression of our sentiments, for yielding it in accommodation to human weakness and depravity. We cannot, indeed, have impossibilities. We may not treat infancy as mature age, nor compel the progress of civilization, nor the action of any moral causes; and it were chimerical to make our efforts disproportioned to the capacity or condition of society, to shape our measures merely to its prospective stages, or an ideal model. There is a law of correspondence and congruity, as well as charity, which it is preposterous to violate. But all this has relation, not to the substance of truth, but its accidents, to quantity and manner, to time and place, and so far from being a reason for the compromise of principle, should awaken a greater jealousy and carefulness, lest in making allowance for human imperfection, we create an impression unfavorable either to general rectitude, or our personal integrity. The innumerable obstacles in our way, resulting from human ignorance and sinfulness, while they call for tolerance and patience, for good taste and temper, should, nevertheless, urge us to more assiduous labor, till society shall become wiser and better through our honest, yet judicious exposition of those principles by which only it can be saved. If any are unable to receive meat, the sincere milk of the word is their only proper aliment; and we do well to be advised, that although we acknowledge the fundamental principles of moral truth, yet, if we build upon them wood, hay and stubble, our salvation, though possible by divine mercy, will be effected only through the fire that burns up the monuments of our folly.

It is a poor justification of silence, when truth requires a testimony, that our speech will be liable to misconstruction or abuse, and of inaction, when all the world is in motion, that there are pitfalls or lions in the way. Of all the secondary virtues, prudence is, perhaps, the most important, but, at the same time, the most likely to degenerate into a vice. "From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step," is as true in morals as in policy. When our simple wisdom admits a tincture of worldliness it defeats its own ends, and descends from its elevation. It renounces the Providence of God for the miserable supports of earth, and these yield in the very extremities, which, but for our timorousness and unbelief, he would have made occasions of exhibiting his faithfulness and power.

The divine administration presents analogies, obscure but intelligible, to aid us in these difficult solutions. Many evils, occasionally tolerated by the Old Testament, have been sometimes drawn into an argument for justifying, or at least excusing infractions of the social law. But polygamy, divorce, slavery, and other kindred irregularities can hardly admit, with any reason, of so loose an interpretation. They were all the while declared evils, inconsistent with the original constitution; suffered, not allowed; tolerated, not excused; and when not remediable by the motives of an ill-understood economy, limited and restrained by various prudential legislation. The moral law did not the less stand out against them. It did not the less require a different habit of the public mind and life; and although God winked for a season at such sins of ignorance, they did not the less certainly work out the natural ruin of society.

It is still more observable, that Christianity was not introduced with any mitigation of moral principle, but a more imperative enforcement of it; and that the very evils, which a ruder dispensation had not been sufficient to extirpate, were declared to admit of no apology, in view of the clearer illustrations which Christ and his ministers gave of the principles and sanctions of moral government. Its first preachers were remarkably tolerant in matters indifferent, but they endured all things, they laid down their lives in maintaining essential truths, as well the moral pertaining to human obligation, as the evangelical, which concerned more intimately the mysteries of redemption. It was the same to them, whether men would hear or forbear. They had not learned the way of avoiding difficulties which the more subtle casuists of later times opened.

for the convenience of a feeble age, in which Christianity was diluted by the admixtures of a false philosophy, and bent to the purposes of the Man of Sin.

We take then an extremely uncomfortable and dangerous position, when we accommodate ourselves to habits of society incompatible with the decalogue, or only apparently excepted from that infallible rule, and more expressly condemned by Christianity upon the penalties of an eternal judgment. Even if we allowed ourselves to hope for ultimate forgiveness through the merits of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding this error, and were content to be beguiled by such an antinomian illusion, it is hardly conceivable that we could patronize unquestionable errors, without a diminished self-respect, and a distrust of our ability to answer the design of God in giving us influence over other minds. But it would be particularly humiliating to permit evils, which, with the gospel in our hands as an instrument of reformation, and the promise of the Holy Spirit to make that instrument effectual, we might reasonably expect to remedy.

Nor could it be supposed to lessen our difficulty, that others, placed under our influence or control, are personally accountable, and must meet their own risks in violating their obligations. We are undoubtedly answerable for whatever system of policy we adopt affecting the character and interests of society; and in regard to the principle now in question, as well as every other growing out of the moral degenerateness of mankind, it can be no excuse for measures which tend to develop and strengthen a wrong affection in other minds, that we put them under no invincible necessity of sinning, or that it is for them to take care for their own salvation. If we choose to proceed upon a denial of human depravity, or a future retribution, and shape our discipline to those theological errors, that may relieve us, more or less, from inconsistency, and shift our responsibility to other grounds. But if, with an understanding of our neighbor's sinfulness and accountability, we place him in circumstances of temptation, and minister to his depraved tastes and passions, his guilt and his pains will be any thing but an alleviation of our own.

It is obvious that we are obliged to reason at a disadvantage against the ambitious principle in education; for it may be alleged that we can show but little in point of fact, to justify the adoption of a different principle; and the allegation could not be denied. As yet, simple reliance on moral influence, by

which we mean law and its sanctions and the peculiar motives of Christianity, has been so partial and limited, that there is hardly a noticeable instance in which its sufficiency may be said to have been demonstrated by adequate experiment. Society has been guided by other views. Why it has been so, it is not our purpose, and it might be invidious to inquire. It is one of those mistakes in ethics which work themselves insensibly into other departments of study and action, perverting the intelligence and influence of ages. But it is unhappily real, and unfortunate for the purpose of these remarks. So extensive is the awkwardness of setting up general conclusions on such a subject, without facts, especially at a time remarkable for the utilitarian turn of the public mind, that we should entirely yield to the discouragement, were it not allowable to bring opposite theories to the test of their practical results.

And what are the facts on the other side? Let us be instructed by the history of society. It would seem that if our judgments could not be corrected by general reasonings upon the selfish principle, we might at least be startled by reviewing some of its obvious effects. It is not necessary to speak of those infractions of the social law which have marked every age with controversy, war, oppression and their kindred evils. It is sufficient, that the great labor of education itself has been, with remarkable inconsistency, and of course without success, to control the wrong propensity, on the one hand, while it has stimulated it on the other. Christianity, called in to cure the evils of a false philosophy, has been itself corrupted, and made to apologize for some of the grossest violations of its own precepts. Subserviency, intrigue, equivocation, envy, jealousy, wrath, strife, and all the host of malignant passions that are stirred up by a flattered and mortified self-love, have been absolved without confession, and have flowed out from the nursery, the school and the higher seats of learning, to disturb and desolate the world.

But it may be said that this is only the excessive acting of a right principle. We reply, it is merely the natural acting of self-love, under its appropriate excitements of competition, the very evil involved in our idea of emulation, the precise immorality, for which we would reject this principle, as far as possible, in our arrangements for the education of the young. It deserves no apology for the sake of its origin; and if it did, it were still an error to claim for it any hereditary property of moral

virtue ; for we have not learned that moral goodness, as it increases in degree, loses its essential character and becomes evil ; nor that any cause may produce effects unlike, and contrary to itself. We have better authority than that which has imposed on half of mankind with so shallow a pretence : *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit ; wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.*

It is by no means an unimportant consideration, drawn from Christianity itself, not only that its first and great requirement of man, as a social being, is the exercise of a disinterested good will, and that its general spirit and precepts contemplate a profound humility, the taking of the lowest seats, the preference of another's honor, but that the entire theory and fact of our redemption, which makes and constitutes Christianity as a remedial and disciplinary system, proceeds in opposition to the principle in question. It casts us down before God, as to our own sufficiency, and raises us again to his favor only through the merits of another. It shows the perfection of religious character to consist in our becoming nothing, and less than nothing, that Christ may be all in all. A more pointed rebuke was never given by our Lord, nor one more significant of our social duty, than when, in the strife that occurred in the college of his disciples, which of them should be greatest, *he called them unto him and said : Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them : but it shall not be so among you ; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.* What a commentary have we here upon the law that binds us ; exceeded in impressiveness only by that other instance, when, after he had washed the disciples' feet, he said : *If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet ; ye ought also to wash one another's feet : for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.* He added, doubtless for perpetual admonition : *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.*

If the views here presented are correct, it is obvious that the adoption of them in education must materially favor the healthful progress of society. A nation, the world is soon made or unmade, in the schools of elementary learning. The believer in Revelation expects improvement in the condition of mankind. How shall he attempt it more hopefully, than by intermingling

the precepts of Christian morality with the growing affections and capabilities of the human mind. If any judge that society has been, hitherto, too infantile and rude for such an economy, its present aspects certainly encourage the belief that a better era is at hand. The strife of moral questions is setting mind free from antiquated prejudice, and the maxims of a sensuous philosophy; and a more spiritual wisdom succeeds to appetite and force. The world is rapidly determining, in respect to all its interests, between right and wrong, law and self-will; and however violent the conflict between these opposite forces, we may not fear if the advancing spirit of education be directed by the salutary influences of the gospel. Mind—cultivated mind—will control the world, despite the dreams of ignorant enthusiasts, or the madness of atheistic levellers. But it will tend to the accumulation of spiritual and secular power, to the exactions of lordly prerogative, and to iron consolidation, unless the sway of the selfish principle shall yield to the redeeming benevolence of Christianity. Paganism, prelacy, slavery, all the forms of despotism, and the opposite extremes of revolution, anarchy, and ruin, are but developments, the action and reaction of the wrong affection. Christianity alone restores the equilibrium, the harmony of the otherwise disjointed and jarring members of the social system, and secures the proper results of its complicated arrangements. All other conservatives are vain expedients that issue in a worse excitement, a more terrible dissolution. Be it ours to apply this renovating agency, to give it circulation and direction, through the proper channels of intelligence and moral sentiment, and we accomplish what is impossible to policy or power. The sense of right will prevail when sophistry and cunning fail, and the sword is drawn in vain. For this end were we created, to obey the law of the Eternal Mind. That everlasting memorial, set up without the garnish of a false philosophy, encumbered not with human appendages, freed from the glosses of old tradition, *the law of right*, proclaimed in thunders, sealed with blood, inwrought by fire, will bring the predicted end of the divine counsels, the subjection of this world to its Redeemer. Be it ours to hasten that consummation. It is the proper glory of a rational nature. It includes all the good that can be desired for us, and all the distinction that is worthy of us: *They that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever.*

ARTICLE VIII.

EXAMINATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF PERFECTION, AS HELD BY REV.
A. MAHAN AND OTHERS.

By Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Prof. of Theol. in the Theol. Sem., Andover, Mass.

[*Concluded from page 189.*]

In the last number of the *Biblical Repository*, I endeavored to show that, in various instances, Mr. Mahan and others agreeing with him claim as a part of *their* system, what belongs to the common system as really as to theirs; and that, in this way, though it may be unintentional, they are likely to make a wrong impression upon incautious readers, and, for a time, to gain an unjust advantage to their cause. I also examined several of the arguments by which they labor to establish their doctrine; particularly the provisions of the gospel, the attainableness of complete sanctification, the promises of God, and the prayers of his people. If I mistake not, it was made evident that these arguments, taken separately or together, fail of proving that any believers ever have attained, or ever will attain to perfect sanctification in the present life.

Before proceeding to other points, I request Mr. Mahan and every reader to observe, that, so far as any of the above mentioned arguments prove that complete holiness is attained by *any* believers in the present life, they prove that it is attained by *all* believers. There is not the least intimation in the Scriptures, that the rich provisions of the gospel are made for a part of God's people, more than for all of them; or that perfection is more attainable to some than to others; or that the divine promises or the prayers of believers respecting sanctification will be carried into full effect in some, and not in others. Let this be well considered and remembered. It will certainly come out in the end, that the advocates of "Perfection" must give up the arguments just referred to, or, to be at all consistent, they must have the courage to maintain that *all* believers are perfectly sanctified in this life. They cannot, without palpable inconsistency, stay where they are. Their own arguments, so

far as they have already been considered, will unavoidably thrust them from their present position. They cannot, by any of these arguments, show that a *select few* are completely sanctified, without proving, at the same time, that this is the case with all Christians. But I shall have occasion to advert to this point more particularly in the course of the following discussion.

THE MAIN QUESTION AT ISSUE.

It is somewhat remarkable that men of sense, who are engaged in a controversy, should not be agreed as to the real question in debate. What! Do not disputants themselves know what they are disputing about? Mr. Mahan charges Mr. Folsom with having misapprehended and misstated the question at issue between the advocates and the opposers of the doctrine of "Perfection." And in the following passage (Bib. Repos. p. 409), he undertakes to state it *clearly and definitely*. The question is, he says, "*Whether we may now, during the progress of the present life, attain to entire perfection in holiness, and whether it is proper for us to indulge the anticipation of making such attainments.*" One part of the church affirm, that the perfect obedience which God requires of us, we may render to him. The other affirm that it is criminal for us to *expect* to render that obedience. One part affirm, that we ought to aim at entire perfection in holiness, with the expectation of attaining to that state. The other part affirm, that we ought to aim at the same perfection, with the certain expectation of not attaining to it. On the one hand, it is affirmed that we ought to pray that the very God of peace will sanctify us wholly, and preserve our whole spirit, and soul, and body blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the expectation that God will answer our prayers by the bestowment of that very blessing. On the other hand, it is affirmed that we ought to put up that identical prayer, with the certain expectation of not receiving the blessing we desire. On the one hand, it is affirmed that grace is provided in the gospel to render the Christian, even in this life, perfect in every good work to do the will of God. On the other hand, it is affirmed that no such grace is provided."

Mr. Mahan calls the question above stated a "*simple question*;" whereas it is very *complex*, being made up of different points, some of which are still compounds, consisting partly of

matters in dispute, and partly of matters not in dispute. This will be evident if we analyze the passage. He first states the question thus: "Whether we may now, during the progress of the present life, attain to entire perfection in holiness, and whether it is proper for us to indulge the anticipation of making such attainments." Here are two distinct questions, one of which, as I have explained it, we answer in the affirmative, the other in the negative. There is a sense, and an important sense, in which Christians might attain to perfection in this life; that is, they might attain to it, if they would do what they ought,—if they would rightly use all their powers and faculties of mind, and all their means and privileges;—so that their not attaining it is their own fault. We are accustomed to say that any object is *attainable*, if it may be attained on these conditions; although it never is attained; and so we answer the first question in the affirmative. The next question is, "Whether it is proper for us to indulge the anticipation of making such attainments?" i. e. in the present life. This we answer in the negative. For unless there is evidence that good men have attained or will attain to perfection in the present life, no one can properly indulge the *expectation*. These two questions Mr. Mahan puts together, and speaks of it as a *simple* question, and the question in debate; whereas it is *not* simple, and only a *part* of it is in debate. This mode of proceeding, instead of conducing to the end of free inquiry, certainly tends to throw confusion into the whole discussion.

The same is true of the other parts of the passage above quoted. After the general statement just noticed, Mr. Mahan goes on to exhibit it in various particulars, and most if not all of these, like the general statement above mentioned, are made up of two points, to one of which we assent, to the other we do not. He says: "One part"—those who agree with him,—*"affirm, that the perfect obedience which God requires, we may render to him."* But in the sense above given, *we* hold to this as much as they. "The other part affirm that it is *criminal* for us to expect to render that obedience." I wonder he should think proper to dress up our opinion in such startling language,—language which we never use, and which it is wrong for *him* to use. Why did he not say: the other part affirm that *it is not proper for us* to expect to render that obedience. As to this, we do differ from him. He proceeds to state the point in another form. "One part affirm that we ought to *aim* at perfection in holi-

ness, with the expectation of attaining to it. The other part affirm that we ought to aim at it with the certain expectation of not attaining to it." Here again are two points. As to the first, that "we ought to *aim* at perfection in holiness," we agree with him. As to the other point, the *expectation* of attaining to it, we differ, if, as he intends, the expectation looks to the present life merely. Justice requires that it should be kept in mind, that, according to the common doctrine, all believers do expect *ultimately* to attain to perfect holiness. Again, he says: "On the one hand, it is affirmed that we ought to pray that the God of peace will sanctify us wholly, etc., with the expectation that he will answer our prayers by the bestowment of that very blessing; on the other hand," that we ought to pray for perfect sanctification, "with the certain expectation of not receiving" it. This statement, like the others, fails of presenting fairly the point in debate. We affirm that we ought to pray God to sanctify us wholly, and to do it with the expectation that he will, at no distant period, bestow the very blessing we ask. But as to expecting the blessing to be fully granted in the *present life*, we differ from the advocates of perfection. Once more, he says: "On the one hand, it is affirmed that grace is provided," to render Christians, "even in this life, perfect in every good work." "On the other hand it is affirmed that no such grace is provided." This is certainly a groundless charge; we all hold, as much as Mr. Mahan, that the grace provided and revealed in the gospel is all-sufficient and boundless, and that the present imperfection of believers is owing altogether to their own fault.

Mr. Mahan says, a little after: "The question is *entirely distinct* from the question, What attainments do Christians actually make?" I hardly know why he should say this, when, on the same page, he makes it one of the three questions connected with the nature and extent of the promises, whether "any have attained or will attain to entire sanctification in this life, and when it is so manifest, in many places, that the other points he discusses are meant to bear directly upon this, and to end in it. He shows, very clearly, what is the main point as it lies in his *own mind*, when he says (Disc. p. 97): "On the supposition," that perfect holiness is *not actually attained* in this life, "how can the position be sustained, that it is *attainable*?" That is, he thinks it *not attainable*, if Christians do, in fact, fail of attaining it. After all this, with what reason can he say, that the ques-

tion in debate is *entirely distinct* from the question respecting the actual attainments of Christians? Did he think this last point attended with some special disadvantages, and did he, on that account, prefer, as a matter of reasoning, to keep it rather out of sight, and to give prominence to those points, which could be made more plausible? However this may be, intelligent readers will see, that the chief point at issue really is, *whether Christians do in fact attain to perfect sanctification during the present life*. And how can Mr. Mahan refuse to recognize this as the main point at issue, *if we choose to make it so*, and agree with him as to the other leading points? Surely he would not compel us to dispute with him about the extent of the provisions and promises of the gospel, or the attainableness of complete holiness, or the duty of praying for it, when we profess to have as large views on these points as he has. If the advocates for the doctrine of perfection can fairly and conclusively prove, that any Christians *actually attain to sinless perfection during the present life*, the common doctrine is overthrown, and the controversy is determined in their favor. But if they fail of showing this, all they can prove respecting other points, will avail nothing. And Mr. Mahan himself shows, in many ways, that he does, after all, regard it in this light, and that he values most of his other arguments on account of their supposed relation to this.

The question whether Christians are to expect perfect sanctification in this life, of which Mr. Mahan so often speaks, evidently depends on the question, whether there is evidence that any have attained or will attain to it. And we have seen that no such evidence can be derived from any of the topics of argument already examined. We are now to inquire, whether there is other evidence of this.

DO ANY BELIEVERS ATTAIN TO COMPLETE HOLINESS IN THE PRESENT LIFE?

Mr. Mahan says: "There is positive evidence that some did attain to a state of entire sanctification." (Disc. p. 38.) The texts he produces are Gal. 2: 20; 1 Thess. 2: 10; 1 Cor. 4: 4; Acts 20: 26; Phil. 4: 9, 3: 7; 1 Cor. 11: 1; 1 John 3: 20, 4: 17, 18; Rev. 14: 4, 5; Is. 6: 5—8. He might have added 1 John 1: 7, 9, 2: 5, 3: 3, 9; and many others.

Now the Bible is a very precious book, and is worthy of being studied with the utmost care. Mr. Mahan is sensible of

this, and, in various instances, shows that he is not disposed to adopt that sense of a passage which first offers itself to the mind of the reader, but thinks it proper and necessary to look into the context, to compare different parts of Scripture, and to examine all the circumstances of the case, in order to discover the exact meaning which the sacred writers had in their own minds, and which they intended to convey to others. And although liable to err in the results of his inquiries, he is certainly right in thinking, that we cannot always determine the true meaning of particular texts, by the *sound* or even the *sense* of the words, *taken by themselves*, and that we are often unable to come to a just and satisfactory conclusion, without a careful, patient and even protracted examination.

According to this just principle, the texts which seem, at first view, to assert or imply that believers attain to complete holiness in the present life, must be thoroughly examined, and their true meaning determined. And here it should be remembered, that the prophets and apostles wrote in a very free, unembarrassed and artless manner. Their object was not to settle the disputes which might be got up by speculating, adventurous minds, but to give important instruction to men of teachable and honest hearts. Their manner of writing is indeed such, that an advocate of Universalism, or Socinianism, or almost any other error, may find texts, which, *taken alone*, will appear in his favor. The advocates of the doctrine of "Perfection," which I believe to be an error, argue very plausibly in support of their doctrine from a variety of passages, *construed in a particular way*. There are even more texts than they have mentioned, which may *appear* to favor their cause. They argue from the passages which set forth the provisions and promises of the gospel, and the prayers of believers. These passages, understood as they *possibly may be*, would seem to countenance the doctrine of perfection. But we must inquire, whether, on a fair examination, we can understand the passages in this way, consistently with other parts of the Bible, and with well known facts. The texts which Mr. Mahan quotes, and others which he might quote, *if taken by themselves, and understood in the highest and most absolute sense*, would prove that at least some believers attain to perfect holiness in this life. Job was a *perfect* and upright man. Some are said to have followed the Lord *wholly*. God planted Israel *wholly* a right seed. Some walked in *all* the commandments and ordinances of God *blameless*.

The blood of Christ cleanseth from *all* sin. The apostles behaved themselves holily and justly and unblamably, and exhorted others to copy their example. "A bishop must be *blameless*;" "Let as many as be *perfect*, be thus minded." "Ye are *complete* in Christ." Paul and others *followed* Christ, and were *crucified* with Christ. Paul was free from the blood of all men. John speaks of those whose love was *perfect*, and whose hearts did not condemn them; and in the apocalypse, he says of the hundred and forty and four thousand, that in their mouth is found no guile, and that they are *without fault* before the throne of God.

Now the question is, What is the true meaning of these and other like texts? *Are they to be taken in the highest and most absolute sense, or in a qualified sense?* On the determination of this question the controversy chiefly depends.

First, then, I inquire *how the sacred writers, in other cases, employ terms like those contained in these texts.* And I soon find that they often employ them in a *qualified, restricted* sense. Thus, it is said that Joshua took the *whole land of Canaan*; though some small parts still remained in the hands of the native tribes. The meaning doubtless is, that no *considerable* parts remained unsubdued, and that he proceeded, without molestation, to divide the land among the Israelites. It is said, Judah was *wholly* carried away captive, though a small remnant continued in the land. "Jerusalem and all Judea and the region round about Jordan went out to John and were baptized of him," which means that there was a *general or very extensive* gathering of the people to him. Paul said: "*All* seek their own," although there were exceptions. Jeremiah says of the people: "They are *all* adulterers." Solomon says: "*All* things come alike to *all*." And it is repeatedly said, that "*all* flesh shall be saved." I find then, that the sacred writers use expressions of this kind in a *comparative* sense, or in a sense that is in some other way *restricted*. And what is more natural than to ask, whether it *may* not be so with the texts which seem favorable to the doctrine of "Perfection." How do we know that those texts are meant to be understood in the highest and most absolute sense, when other texts, containing similar expressions, are necessarily understood in a limited sense?

But I proceed with the inquiry, and I find that *some of the very texts, which seem most favorable to the doctrine of "Per-*

fection," are unquestionably to be taken in a qualified sense. And here I cannot but think that Mr. Mahan will agree with me. Job was a *perfect* man, and yet he showed plainly enough that *he was not without faults.* It is said of David that he followed the Lord *wholly* except in the matter of Uriah. But his history and his confessions leave us in no doubt, that he was chargeable with other sins, especially sins of heart. God planted Israel *wholly* a right seed. But it must be evident to all, that this expressed their character only in a *comparative* and *very limited* sense. "A bishop must be *blameless.*" But neither Mr. Mahan, nor any of his associates can think it essential to the character of a gospel minister; that he should be *absolutely sinless.* Paul said to the Colossians: "Ye are *complete* in Christ." But his epistle to them shows, that he did not think them *entirely without sin.*

I come then to this result: As a limited sense clearly belongs to *some* of the passages which seem, at first view, to favor the doctrine of "Perfection," it is quite *possible* it may belong to *others,* and it would be going too fast and too far, to decide at once, that *any* of that class of texts must be taken in the highest and most absolute sense.

In the next step of my inquiry, I fix my thoughts directly upon several of the texts which seem, at first view, most favorable to the doctrine of "Perfection." The texts I have in view are of no small moment, and I desire Mr. Mahan to join with me in a serious and unprejudiced examination of them, that we may discover what is the mind of the Holy Spirit.

I would then first ask my brother, whether his doctrine implies, that *all* true believers are *entirely sanctified,* either *now,* or *during the present life.* I know what his answer is; but I think it proper to propose the question, for the purpose of bringing out distinctly the exact *nature* and *extent* of the doctrine. In his publications, Mr. Mahan does often enough, and plainly enough, and with too much justice, represent the great body of true Christians, as deplorably deficient in their piety; and he labors with commendable earnestness, to excite them to make higher attainments. Indeed he claims complete holiness as a privilege enjoyed at present by only *a select few, a very small number.* I would then invite him to join with me in a careful examination of a few passages in the first Epistle of John. Let us begin with one of the texts which he quotes: Ch. 1: 6, 7. The apostle is here speaking of all true believers,

whose character it is, not to walk in darkness, but to walk in the light. Referring to *all* these children of light, he says: "The blood of Christ cleanseth us from *all* sin." He *now* cleanseth us from all sin; for the verb is in the present tense. But my brother does not understand it to mean that *all* real Christians are now, in the strict sense, cleansed from *all* sin, that is, *completely sanctified*; though he thinks the text somehow favorable to his doctrine. But it is perfectly clear, that whatever the text asserts of *any* Christians, it asserts of *all*. Let us then come fairly to the point, and inquire, what the text really means. Mr. Mahan will certainly be under the necessity of finding out *some qualified* sense, a sense consistent with what he regards as the real present state of *all believers*; for the text certainly relates to *all*. He may perhaps say, the blood of Christ *provides* for the entire cleansing of all believers *conditionally*; or that it *begins* the work of cleansing now, and secures its complete accomplishment *ultimately*. In this way or some other way, he *must* give the text a restricted sense, a sense different from what would, at first glance, be suggested by the words themselves, taken alone. He must do the same with v. 9, in which the apostle says, that, "if we confess our sins," as *all* Christians do, "he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from *all unrighteousness*." Does it mean that he *now* absolutely cleanseth all who confess their sins, i. e. the whole body of believers, from *all unrighteousness*? Mr. Mahan will answer, no. What then can he do, but, in some way, *limit* the sense? Again, ch. 2: 4, 5, the apostle teaches that every true believer keeps the word of God. And then he says: "*Whoso* keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God *perfected*; hereby know we that we are in him." He is evidently setting forth the character and state, not of a few, but of *all*, who are in Christ. Does Mr. Mahan think that the love of God is, in *his* sense, *perfect* in *all* true believers? No. He thinks it true of only a small number. But whatever the apostle here asserts, he asserts equally of *every true Christian*. Will not my brother then be compelled to find out some limitations of the sense, so as to make it apply to *all* true believers? Let him do this, and we shall see whether his interpretation of this text will not help us to the right interpretation of several others of a similar kind.

"Every man that hath this hope in him *purifieth himself, even as he is pure*." 1 John 3: 3. To be pure as Christ is

pure is a high attainment, and is doubtless the same as is required in the command to *be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect*. I suppose that every Christian does thus purify himself; that is, pursues a course of purification which will terminate in perfect purity. The expression, in my view, denotes, not the particular degree of purification which the believer has already attained, but the *gradual process* of purification, and the *perfect purity* after which he aspires, and to which he will come *in the end*. As his ultimate perfection in moral purity is *certain*, it is spoken of as though it were already accomplished;—a manner of speaking which often occurs in Scripture. Thus, Peter, speaking of his condition in the present life, says: “Who am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a *partaker of the glory that shall be revealed* ;”—a partaker, *even now*, of that *future glory by certain anticipation*. But how will Mr. Mahan explain the purity mentioned by the apostle John, so that he may predicate it, as the apostle does, of *ALL* Christians, and yet make it agree with the doctrine he maintains, that only a *few* are perfectly pure, while Christians, in general, are very far from perfect purity? If he says it means *complete purity*; then he cannot predicate it of *all* Christians, nor of the greater part. If he says, it means *that degree*, or *that gradual process* of purification, which *does* belong to all true Christians, then he comes into the principle of *limiting* the sense. And if he gives a *limited* sense to this text, why not to all the other texts which appear to favor his doctrine?

But the most striking passage which I wish Mr. Mahan to assist me in examining, is 1 John 3: 9. “Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.” Where, in all the Scriptures, can Mr. Mahan find another text, which seems to assert, so clearly and strongly as this, that Christians are *completely sanctified,—absolutely sinless*? It even declares that they are raised above the possibility of sinning. I am the more desirous of turning my brother’s attention to this passage, because he seems, somehow, to have overlooked it. This oversight may be thought by some to be a matter of wonder, considering that the text, understood in the large and absolute sense, which Mr. Mahan is so fond of in other cases, would be a better proof of the complete sanctification of believers, in the present life, than any he has quoted, I had almost said, than *all* the texts he has quoted. The language is exceedingly plain

and forcible. *Every believer*, we know, is born of God. And the text asserts, that "*whosoever* is born of God, *sinneth not, and cannot sin.*" True, if Mr. Mahan should introduce it, and argue from it as a *proof text*, it would give him trouble; because it would prove a great deal too much. It would go far beyond his scheme. Of course, if he should bring it forward, he would at once find himself in difficulty, and would be obliged to look out for some *limitations* of the sense. But any thing like this would hurt his argument. According to his way of interpreting other texts, this would certainly prove, that *all* Christians, from the time of their regeneration, are entirely without sin. But this is what he does not yet believe. He would, therefore, find it necessary to qualify the sense, and to say that it cannot be understood absolutely—that it can only mean, that those who are born of God do not sin *habitually*, or *impenitently*, as others do,—or, that they cannot sin with their *whole heart*,—or, that they cease from sin *as far* as they are sanctified by the Spirit, and will, *in the end*, cease entirely. In one way or another, he would be obliged to limit the sense, so as to make it applicable to all Christians. But if he should do this, he would be constantly expecting to hear the question: *Why not give the same limitation to other texts, which use language far less emphatical, and which will much more easily admit of limitations?* So that, after all, he may have done wisely in slipping by the text.

The query has sometimes arisen in my mind, how Mr. Mahan would meet a man, who should maintain, on the ground of this text and some others, that *all* believers on earth are absolutely free from sin, and do at once arrive at perfection. Such a man might frame his argument thus: "The apostle Paul says of himself and of Christians generally, *our old man is crucified with Christ, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.* And he says of those who are thus crucified, that they are *freed from sin*, and are *complete in Christ*. And the apostle John says, that the blood of Christ *cleanseth believers from all sin*, and that they *purify themselves even as Christ is pure*. He speaks of this as a general fact; and he says, still more plainly and forcibly, that *whosoever is born of God*, as every Christian is, *doth not commit sin, and cannot sin.* Now why should Mr. Mahan take upon him to contradict the apostles, and to hold that any man is a true believer, who falls short of complete sanctification? Why confine

the present attainment of sinless perfection to a few extraordinary saints, when the infallible Word of God attributes it to *all* believers?" It would be gratifying to know what reply Mr. Mahan would make.

We will now proceed with our examination, making it our object to determine the true meaning of the texts which seem most favorable to the doctrine of "Perfection." And here, I think, we must be satisfied, that in some of the texts, the language used is intended to set forth the *sincerity* or *uprightness* of believers, in distinction from hypocrites, and also their freedom from any such offences, as would expose their public character to discredit, or their piety to suspicion. Job was *perfect* and *upright*. The two words are doubtless of the same general import, denoting real *integrity* or *goodness*. In several instances, the Psalmist uses the strong language of self-justification, and seems at first view to say, he is not chargeable with any sin, when his meaning evidently is, that he is innocent of the crimes which his enemies laid to his charge. Even if, at any time, he was not conscious of any particular sins; he was aware that he was liable to mistake, and apprehended that there might still be some concealed evil in his heart; and with a view to this, he prayed God to search him, and see if there was any wicked way in him. In some cases, pious men under the former dispensation are said to have *followed the Lord wholly*, when the obvious meaning is, that they kept themselves from idolatry, and adhered uniformly to the worship of the true God. When the New Testament writers speak of *perfection*, they often refer to a state of *maturity* or *manhood* in knowledge or in holiness, in distinction from a state of *childhood*,—a state of *advancement* in piety, in distinction from the common state of *new converts*; and sometimes they refer to the purity and blessedness of heaven, which is the high object to which all Christians aspire. But in no case do the circumstances require that the language employed should be understood to denote *complete sanctification as actually attained in the present life*. Now such being the fact, Mr. Mahan surely has reason to hesitate, and to go into a thorough examination of the subject, before he relies upon any of the texts which he cites, as proofs of his doctrine.

But it is so indescribably important to obtain a right understanding of the Scriptures, that we cannot pursue our inquiries with too much diligence and care. Let us then go forward with our examination, and see whether the sacred writers will

not, in *other ways*, not yet mentioned, help us to determine in what light they looked upon Christians in the present life, and how their language in the texts referred to is to be understood.

Are we not then plainly taught, by the current representations of the inspired writers, that *the religion of God's people, throughout the present life, is progressive*, beginning at their conversion, and advancing from one degree of holiness to another, till they arrive at a state of perfect purity and blessedness in heaven? Is not the description, which the apostle gives (1 Cor. 13) of the progress of believers from partial to perfect *knowledge*, equally applicable to their progress in *piety*? This is plainly indicated by the fact that the same apostle expressly requires believers to *grow in grace*, as well as in *knowledge*. Can it be supposed that there were any Christians in the apostle's day, who had no need to grow in grace, and to whom that precept did not belong? How plainly does the apostle show, that he regarded religion as *progressive*, by what he says to Christians at Philippi:—"Being confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun a good work in you, will perform it,"—*will be performing it, or bringing it to a completion*, "until the day of Christ." The work of sanctification was begun, and was to be *in a course of accomplishment*—was to be *finishing, until the day of Christ*; when it would be perfected. So the Psalmist viewed it: "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." Had the apostle considered the good work as fully accomplished already, he would naturally have said:—Being confident of this, that He who has begun and completed a good work in you, will keep you in that state of complete holiness until the day of Christ. But instead of this, he represents the finishing of the good work as what God *was still to do*. In accordance with all this, he shortly after prays that their "love may abound yet *more and more*." In another place he speaks of all believers as changed into the image of Christ *from glory to glory*. So it is set forth in the Old Testament: "The path of the just is as the shining light, shining *more and more* to the perfect day. The writer to the Hebrews exhorts believers to "follow holiness." Mr. Mahan thinks the perfection mentioned, Phil. 3: 12, is the final state of blessedness in heaven. If this is the prominent sense of the passage, "following after" it denotes the strenuous efforts he made through life, to obtain it, as a *future good*,—efforts like those which a man in a race makes to obtain the prize. Now believers, in the passage just referred to, are di-

rected, by the same word, to *follow after holiness*,—clearly implying that it is not yet fully attained, but is still to be an object of pursuit. It will be noted, that the writer calls those to whom he wrote, "*holy*." They were so, as all believers are, *in a measure*. For them to *follow after holiness* was to aim at *higher* measures of it,—to aspire to that *perfection* of holiness, which they had not attained. This was enjoined upon *all Christians*; showing clearly what was in the mind of the inspired writer as to their real condition. If there had been any who were already perfect in holiness, how could they have been directed to *follow after* it, as an object to be obtained by future exertions? The same word is used by Paul to Timothy: "*Follow after* righteousness, goodness, faith, love, patience, meekness." Timothy had all these virtues in a degree; but he was to *follow after* them with a view to *higher* attainments.

The *progressive* nature of holiness in Christians is implied in all the texts which speak of their spiritual *warfare*. In this warfare, they are unceasingly to oppose every kind of evil, especially the evil in their own hearts. "Their warfare is within." In this warfare all Christians are engaged. The most advanced are not exempt. The apostle does indeed say, that Christians are already crucified and dead to sin. But keep in mind that he says this of *all* Christians. Keep in mind too, that he exhorts the same Christians to *put off* the old man, which is corrupt, and to *put on* the new man; to *be transformed* by the renewing of their minds, and to *put on* Christ;—urging all this as *a duty still to be done*. In like manner, he represents all Christians as *renewed*; and yet exhorts them *to be renewed*. It all shows, that the work of dying to sin is *begun*, and is to be *constantly advanced*; that at their conversion they are *renewed*, and that, so long as they live, they are to be renewed *more and more*. If the texts which represent Christians as renewed, dead to sin, &c., are understood to imply that the work of renovation is *completed*, what can be the meaning of the other texts, which enjoin the same thing upon *all* Christians, as *a duty still to be done*? And I must again request Mr. Mahan and others, from whom I am constrained to differ, to consider well, and not to forget that the most important texts which seem to favor their doctrine, relate, not to a few Christians of extraordinary attainments, but to *all* Christians. And if they imply that sanctification is at present complete, they imply that it is so with the whole body of believers. My brethren then will be under the

necessity of adopting the *qualified* sense which I have given of the texts, or of going a step farther, and maintaining, that *all* real Christians are now perfectly holy. If they allow themselves in serious unfettered thought, they cannot long retain their present position.

But I must refer to another class of texts, which will afford us additional aid in determining how we are to regard the present condition of good men,—those which represent *their desires after holiness*. It is the very nature of *desire*, to aspire after a *future good*,—a good not yet obtained. According to the Scriptures, it is characteristic of all the followers of Christ, that they *hunger and thirst after righteousness*; that is, they have a strong desire for *complete holiness*; which implies that they have not yet obtained it. If, in any part of their life, they were already “filled,” why should they “*hunger and thirst*?” When David said: “My soul *thirsteth and panteth* for God,” did not his desires fix upon a good, which he did not then enjoy?

Consider also *the prayers which believers offer up for themselves*. No part of the Bible exhibits a more striking view of the devout exercises of the believer's heart, than Psalm cxix. In various ways, it expresses the sincerest reverence and love for the divine law, and the most determined obedience; and, at the same time, a reaching after what had not yet been obtained. “O that my feet were directed to keep thy statutes!—Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect to all thy commandments.—My soul cleaveth to the dust; quicken thou me according to thy word.—Incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not unto covetousness.—Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity, and quicken me in thy way.—I have seen an end of all perfection; but thy commandment is exceeding broad.—I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant; for I do not forget thy commandments.” Language like this undoubtedly expresses the moral state and exercises of all true believers on earth. It is the language of those who, with warm desire and strong purpose of heart, are following after complete sanctification. As to the true meaning and intent of the language, let the wisest and best men who use it be the judges. It is easy to invent novel and eccentric interpretations of the Bible. But novelties and eccentricities will wax old and vanish away; while common sense and Christian experience, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit will guide into all the truth.

Consider too *the prayers which Christ and the apostles offer*—

ed up for the whole body of believers. Jesus said: "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil.—*Sanctify them through thy truth.*" The work of sanctification was begun in them. Jesus prayed that it might be advanced and perfected. So when Mr. Mahan, and the followers of Christ generally pray God to sanctify their fellow Christians, they doubtless fix their desires upon a degree of sanctification not yet attained. Jesus prayed also that believers might be *one*,—referring to a degree of union far above what then existed, or ever has existed since that time.

The first Christians were in circumstances highly favorable to eminent holiness. The great truths of the gospel came to their understandings and hearts in all their beauty and freshness, from the lips of inspired Apostles, unadulterated by human mixtures, and attended with the extraordinary power of the Holy Spirit. No doubt they did attain to a remarkable degree of faith and obedience, and may properly be regarded as patterns of piety to Christians in following ages. But how were the Apostles accustomed to *pray* for them? And what must have been the desires and aims, implied in their prayers?

After addressing the Christians at Thessalonica, who had truly received the gospel, and in whom it worked effectually; and after calling them his joy and crown, and telling them that he and his fellow-laborers, in all their afflictions, were comforted over them by their faith; the Apostle says: "We pray exceedingly that we might see your face, and might *perfect* that which is *lacking* in your *faith*." And then he adds: "The Lord make you to *increase* and abound in love towards one another, and towards all men, to the end he may establish your hearts in holiness." Again, in the same Epistle: "The God of peace sanctify you *wholly*." So in Heb. 13: 21: "The God of peace—*make you perfect* in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight." In another place: "The Lord *direct* your hearts *into* the love of God." He also prayed that God would *fulfil* in them all "the good pleasure of his goodness." For the Ephesians he prayed, that God would grant unto them "to be strengthened with might by his Spirit"—that they might "know the love of Christ," and "be filled with all the fulness of God." He expressed the same devout desires for the Colossians. And to the Corinthians he says: "I pray God that ye do no evil;" "And this also we *wish*, even your perfection.

Now what was implied in these prayers for primitive believers? The same, unquestionably, as is commonly implied, when similar prayers are offered up at the present day. Devout ministers and Christians everywhere pray for believers,—for *all* believers, that their hearts may be directed into the love of God; that their love may *increase*; that God would *sanctify* them, and sanctify them *wholly*; and that they may be filled with all the fulness of God. And if Mr. Mahan and other Christians will look into their own hearts, and see what they really mean, when they offer up such prayers, they will be likely to know what the Apostles meant. We have no evidence that the disciples ever prayed in *any* way for their Lord and Master. But if they prayed for him at all, did they ever pray for him in *this* manner? He offered up prayer to God for *himself*. But did he ever pray, that his love might *increase* and *abound*, and that God would sanctify him *wholly*?—The prayers which Christ and the Apostles offered up, and which are now offered up, and doubtless will be, to the end of time, for the whole body of believers, evidently imply, that whatever their attainments may be, they do, and always will, while here below, fall short of perfect sanctification; and that all the saints on earth are and will be in such a state, that they will always do, what Jesus never did, make continual *confession* of *sin*, and continually offer up *the sacrifice* of a *broken heart*, and a *contrite spirit*, as the sacrifice which God approves, *till they arrive at heaven*.

One thing more. All Christians suffer *affliction*. And what is the meaning and design of affliction? “The Lord does not afflict willingly the children of men, but for their profit, that they may be partakers of his holiness.” “It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.” The design of affliction is set forth with special clearness in Heb. 12. “Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. What son is he whom the father chasteneth not? If ye be without chastisement, then are ye bastards, and not sons.” And the writer adds, that God chastens us “for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness.” What now must be our conclusion, but this, that, as all Christians on earth endure affliction, which is always designed as *chastisement*; they all *need* it as a means of improving their character. Mr. Mahan’s “reply” to this argument directly confirms it. Speaking of the rod of our heavenly Father, he says: “Its object is to render us partakers of his holiness. *Till* this

end is accomplished, the rod will be used. *When this end is accomplished, it will no more be used.*" Who could express the sentiment of the sacred writer better? This is the view which gives all its force to the argument. *Till* believers are made partakers of God's holiness, the rod is used. *When this is fully accomplished, the rod is no more used.* Who now has this evidence of complete conformity to the divine holiness? Has Mr. Mahan, or Mr. Fitch, or any who agree with them? Are they free from affliction? Can they say that the rod is no more used with them? But would they any longer endure chastisement, if sanctification, which is the object of it, were fully accomplished? If any of them are indeed "*without chastisement*" what does the Scripture say of them? Now chastisement, if just, always implies some fault in the one who is chastised. When you see a wise and good father correcting his children, you know that he sees something amiss in them. And as divine chastisement is continued to all believers, as long as life lasts, it must be that God sees in them some fault to be corrected, or some moral deficiency to be supplied. When the end of chastisement is fully accomplished, Mr. Mahan says, "it will no more be used."

Now, the last and generally the greatest affliction which believers suffer, is *death*. And why may not this, as well as all preceding afflictions, be intended, by a wonder-working God, for their benefit, that they may, in a higher degree than before, be partakers of his holiness? Being the last, and a most remarkable case of suffering, why may it not be the means of completing their sanctification; and so the means of working out for them, in the last instance, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory? On the very principle laid down by Mr. Mahan, as well as by the sacred writer, why is it not reasonable to conclude, that the whole end of suffering is not accomplished *before* death, but is accomplished *at* death; and that this is the reason why there is no affliction after death? And how common it has been for the wisest and best of men to look upon death in this light, and to anticipate the event, however painful, as a blessing—a means of delivering them from all remains of depravity, and of finishing in them the work of preparation for heaven! *So long as they are in this tabernacle, they groan, being burdened.* And what burden so great as sin? The time when they expect to be like Christ; that is, perfectly so, is the time when he shall appear, and when they shall see him as he is.

I marvel that Mr. Mahan treats this common view of the subject as he does. See Disc. p. 47. He calls it *absurd*, and thinks he can dispose of it by a single stroke. To overthrow the doctrine that the work of sanctification is completed at death, he uses two arguments. "First, the grave, which sanctifies believers amid the gloom and wreck and distraction of dissolving nature, would, if applied, have sanctified him at an earlier period." Undoubtedly it would have done it, "*if applied*." But what if it was *not* applied? And how does Mr. Mahan know that it may not have seemed good in the sight of God to apply it at the time of dissolution, rather than *before*? May not this be one of the unsearchable things in the divine dispensation? And why did not Mr. Mahan see how easily he might disprove the Scripture doctrine which *he* believes,—that *Christians are sanctified by means of the common afflictions of life*? He might say: "The same grace which sanctifies the believer amid the gloom" and distress of heavy affliction, "would, *if applied*, have sanctified him before." And by this argument he might prove, in opposition to the sacred writers and to himself, that God does *not* sanctify believers by means of affliction;—yes, he might verily prove, that God does not sanctify believers by means of *chastisement*, because the grace, which sanctifies them by such means, would, *if applied*, have sanctified them before. In the same way, he might prove that *sinner*s are not, in any case, *converted* by means of preaching, because the grace which converts them by that means, would, *if applied*, have converted them at an earlier period! His second argument is this: "No other reason can be assigned for this grace (the grace which would wholly sanctify believers before death) being withheld, but the supposition that God can better glorify himself, and his kingdom be better advanced by saints partially, than wholly sanctified." The argument, plainly stated and carried out, stands thus: *There is no reason why* God should not bestow the grace which would wholly sanctify believers during the present life, but the supposition, that he is better glorified by their partial, than by their entire sanctification. And as this supposition is inadmissible, therefore, God does not withhold, but *actually bestows* the grace which wholly sanctifies believers during the present life. Now try this argument, and see how it would work in other cases. Would not God be more glorified, if all Christians should be perfectly holy *to-day*, than if they should remain partially holy? Must he not

then actually give them the grace, which will *make* them perfectly holy to-day? Again, would not God have been better glorified, if Mr. Mahan and other Christians had been converted at an earlier period of their life? If so, then there was no reason why he should withhold the grace which would have converted them earlier. And as he *does* nothing and *omits* nothing without reason, it must be that he actually bestowed the grace which converted them earlier; that is, bestowed the grace which converted them before they were converted. Once more. Mr. Mahan thinks that he was a wanderer from the right way, while he was a member of this Seminary; and in his charitable judgment, all his fellow-students were in so low and lamentable a state, that "not a single individual," out of so large a number, "enjoyed daily communion and peace with God." Surely Mr. Mahan thinks God would, at that time, have been more glorified by his complete holiness and that of his brethren, than by their very partial holiness. Must it not then have been the fact, that God did actually give them the grace which *made* them completely holy? But as this grace was not given, and as he thinks there could have been no other reason for not giving it, than the one he mentions, must not his conclusion be, that it was withheld without any reason?

I have dwelt so long on this point, to show that this mode of reasoning involves the most glaring falsities, and leads to the most dangerous results. What shipwreck will any one make of the truth, who argues in this manner! It is going beyond our province, and attempting to intrude ourselves irreverently into those secret things which belong only to God. Why should we take upon us to determine, by our own fallible judgment, what the dispensations of God will be? We know what the Lord requires of *us*,—that we should glorify him by constant and entire obedience. But how he will see fit to glorify *himself*, in his sovereign Providence, is another question. And who is able to compare the different ways in which God may, do this, and to determine, by his own reason, which God will prefer? Who is authorized to say, that God will not overrule the sinfulness which remains in his own children to the end of life, so as to make it the means of honoring, in the highest degree, his own infinite wisdom and grace? By this and all the other acts of his government, he will cause the world to know, that he is God. How admirable will his forbearance and mercy appear to his people hereafter, when they remember that they

carried with them, to the very gate of heaven, so much that was offensive in his sight! What wonder, love and praise will fill their illuminated and purified souls, when they call to mind their own deficiencies, and the long continued perverseness of their hearts, and then think of that redeeming grace, the aboundings of which rose so far above the aboundings of sin! -

Finally. I make my appeal to *the consciousness of the most advanced Christians*,—the Baxters, the Mathers, the Brainerds, the Edwardses, the Martyns and the Paysons,—Christians who have probably risen as high in their spiritual attainments, as the most favored of those who maintain the doctrine of Perfection; and I could show, from their own repeated and humble confessions, that they all had a deep and growing sense of remaining depravity; that they always abhorred themselves on account of indwelling sin, and felt the need of pardoning and sanctifying grace, even to the end of life. And the sacred writers show, in the various ways above mentioned, and in other ways, that they had the same conviction as to their own state, and the state of all the saints on earth. I might refer to John, who asserts that it would be false for believers to say, they have *no sin*, and immediately speaks of their *confessing* their sins, and of the readiness of God to *pardon* and *cleanse* them;—all showing that he meant to speak of what they were at the time he wrote. The writers of the New Testament manifestly had the same views with Solomon, who said, in the midst of a solemn, public prayer: “there is no man that sinneth not,” and who afterwards repeated the same sentiment: “there is not a just man on earth who doeth good and sinneth not.”

Such is the examination which we have pursued in order to ascertain the true meaning of the texts which seem, at first view, to favor the doctrine of “Perfection.” I have not presumed to determine this in a moment; but have felt it to be necessary, in so important a matter, to search the Scriptures, and to compare one part with another, so that, if possible, I might be able to determine exactly what is the mind of the inspired writers, and what is the doctrine they mean to teach respecting the subject under consideration.

In this examination we have found, 1. That the Scriptures, in other cases, frequently employ terms similar to those used in these texts, in a *restricted sense*. We conclude, therefore, that they *may* proceed on the same principle here. The most literal, absolute sense *may* not be the sense intended. 2. As to some

of the texts referred to, we have found that the circumstances of the case clearly forbid us to understand them in the literal and absolute sense. And our conclusion is, that the same *may* be true in respect to the other texts, though for reasons *less* obvious. 3. We have found, that the terms used in some of the texts are evidently designed to express the *integrity* of true believers, in distinction from hypocrites, or their freedom from *particular sins* which were charged upon them by others, or to which they were exposed; or the *maturity* of their religious character, compared with its commencement; or perhaps the fact, that they had *all the essential parts of the new man*, though in an imperfect state. In no case is the highest sense of the words absolutely required. 4. The *current* language of the sacred writers, in a variety of respects, implies that the piety of believers during the present life is *progressive*. 5. Complete holiness is represented as an object of *desire* to believers, desire, from its very nature, fixing upon a *future* good—a good not yet possessed. 6. Complete holiness is an object of the *prayers*, which the saints offered up for themselves and for one another; implying that it was regarded as a *good, not yet obtained*. 7. *Affliction*, or chastisement, which is intended as a means of sanctification, is continued to believers up to the very close of life; implying that, so long as life lasts, they have remaining sinfulness which calls for it. 8. The most advanced saints have always been *conscious* of the imperfection of their holiness.

Now do not all these plain instructions and representations, both separately and unitedly, make known the real spiritual state of the people of God during the present life? Do they not show very satisfactorily, that it was not the design of the sacred writers to teach the doctrine, that the saints as a body, or any part of them, actually attain to sinless perfection here? And must we not, therefore, understand all the texts which, at first view, seem to favor the doctrine of "Perfection," in a *qualified* or *comparative* sense, a sense corresponding with the general teachings of the Bible, as to the actual state of believers in the present world?

To guard against every thing which might appear questionable or inconclusive, I have thus far framed my argument without any reference to Rom. 7: 14—25. And yet, if the Apostle intends to speak of himself in his renewed state, the passage affords an argument of the first importance in support of the

common doctrine. I cannot now enter into the controversy respecting this passage. Highly respectable writers are found on both sides. I can only say, that I agree with those who consider the Apostle as setting forth his own state, and the state of others, as true believers. The reasons which satisfy me, are briefly given by the two most recent expositors in our own country, Hodge and Barnes. The considerations which are of most weight are these. 1. This is the sense which appears the most obvious and natural to common readers. 2. The language of the Apostle is well suited to express the exercises of the best men with whom I have ever been acquainted. And, so far as I know, those who have made the highest attainments in piety, have spoken of themselves most freely in the very language of the Apostle. 3. Some of the expressions cannot, without difficulty, be made to apply to the unrenewed. 4. The same conflict, which is here described, is set forth very plainly, and in similar language, in Gal. 5: 17, a passage which, by common consent, is applied to Christians.

Now if the other evidence in support of the common doctrine were in any way deficient, the passage from Rom. 7, would, in my view, supply the deficiency, and would at once make known the real doctrine of the Scriptures. According to this passage, the state of Christians in this life is one of constant conflict between sin and holiness, the old and the new man; a state of high aims and endeavors, but of comparatively low attainments; and while, in view of the power and grace of Christ, they rejoice, and give thanks, and are confident of a final and speedy victory; they have reason also, when they look at the remains of sin in their own hearts, to abhor themselves and repent in dust and ashes.

Consider how different the result of this examination would be, if we had found all the evidence which exists in support of the common doctrine, to be on the other side, going directly to confirm the doctrine of "Perfection." The question is: How are we to understand those texts which seem at first view to assert the present perfection of believers? Suppose we had found nothing, either in the texts themselves, or in any other part of the Bible, to show that the terms employed are ever to be taken in any other than the most absolute sense: suppose we had found that the current representations of the sacred writers clearly imply, that believers in general, at least the better part of them, are now without sin, that their piety, instead

of being progressive, comes to perfection at once : suppose we had found, that believers, instead of desiring and panting after complete holiness, have always been in the habit of congratulating themselves as already possessing it ; and that, instead of earnestly praying for it, they have habitually thanked the Lord, that he had already bestowed it upon them : suppose we had found that their struggle with indwelling sin is past, their warfare ended ; that they have no more chastisement, and of course no faults that call for it : and suppose it to be the belief, the inward consciousness of Christians, especially of those most distinguished for their piety, that they have already attained to a state of sinless perfection : suppose all this to be true, how different would be our conclusion ! We should at once agree to give all the texts referred to the largest and most absolute sense. And instead of disputing against “ the doctrine of Christian Perfection,” we should carry it much higher than its present advocates do. But what shall we say, and what will the advocates of the doctrine say, when it is seen that the evidence is all on the other side ?

As to the many remaining topics of remark introduced by Mr. Mahan and his associates, I shall confine myself to those which seem to be of chief consequence, and shall dispose of them as briefly as possible.

PAUL AND OTHERS HELD UP AS EXAMPLES.

It is mentioned as a proof of Paul’s complete sanctification, that he exhorts Christians to *copy his example*—to be followers of him as he was of Christ. The argument is, that he could not have held himself up as an example, had he not been perfectly free from sin.

On this I remark, that Paul speaks of the Thessalonian Christians much in the same manner in this respect, as he does of himself : “ Ye became followers of us and of the Lord, so that ye became *ensamples* to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia.” He also speaks with approbation of the Thessalonians as *followers of the churches in Judea*, implying that those churches were worthy of imitation. This argument then would prove that the mass of believers in Thessalonica and Judea were perfectly sanctified ; which is much more than any man will assert.

My next remark is, that Paul and the Thessalonians and other Christians being held up as examples, does not necessa-

rily imply more than that they were distinguished for piety in general, or for some particular branch of it. It is the same at the present day. If any man, a parent, a minister, or other Christian, exhibits the character of goodness more uniformly and conspicuously than is common; who hesitates to speak of him, as an *example of goodness*, and to exhort others to the duty of imitation? Our meaning is, not that he is without any fault—far from it—but that he is a good example *in the main*, or as to the *prominent traits of his character*, or as to *what is visible*. Thus Leighton, Baxter, Doddridge, Edwards, Brainerd, Payson and others are often spoken of as safe and useful examples. But who has any idea that they were *perfectly sanctified*? Who knows not that they were conscious of many sinful imperfections? Undoubtedly the sacred writers were accustomed to speak in the same *qualified sense*. Nothing can be more manifestly contrary to all just principles of interpretation and of reasoning, than to force the sense of a Scripture word or phrase to the *highest possible pitch*, and then to argue from that extreme sense, as though it were the *true sense*, in support of some uncommon opinion.

PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE DOCTRINE OF PERFECTION, AND OF THE COMMON DOCTRINE.

Mr. Mahan thinks much of the *practical effect* of his doctrine; and he represents those who do not embrace it, as making void God's law by their traditions. He seems to think (Disc. pp. 44—46, etc.) that the most eminent saints on earth have done nothing effectually towards their own sanctification, because they have not been in possession of the grand secret of efficient holy action. He says: "Who would expect an army to fight under the impression of inevitable defeat?"—thus misrepresenting our views, and taking advantage of the misrepresentation to discredit our doctrine, and to give plausibility to his own. Again, not seeming to be at all sensible how strangely and totally he misrepresents the great body of ministers and Christians, he first asserts (Repos. pp. 418—19) that his doctrine involves the principle which is considered essential to efficient action, and then says: "The belief that, as a matter of fact, we never shall attain to a certain state, renders it impracticable to aim at it;" and he speaks of it as "the testimony of universal consciousness, that no man ever did or can aim, or intend to reach a point, which he fully believes to lie beyond the line of *all*

expectation." And he asks, what more effectual means a parent could take to prevent the obedience of a child, than to require that child to believe that he will *never* render that obedience. When Mr. Mahan talks thus, it must be understood that he means to put down the doctrine of his opponents. But who among them believes any thing like what he thus implicitly charges upon them? Can he say, and does he mean to say, that we believe we *never* shall attain to perfect holiness; and that perfect holiness is entirely beyond our expectation? He certainly does *not* mean to say this. He only intends to say, we do not expect to attain it *during the present life*. Then why does he not take care to say just what he *means* to say? And why does he, by misstating our doctrine, give an appearance of strength to his arguments, when a true statement would leave his arguments, not only without strength, but without any *appearance* of it? He is right in saying, we cannot aim at a thing which we believe we shall *never attain*. And if his readers suppose that such is our belief,—and his language would naturally lead them to this supposition,—they will conclude at once that we are wholly in the wrong, and are in a very sad condition. But it is surely a very different thing to say, we believe we *never* shall attain to perfect holiness, from what it is to say, we do not expect to attain to it in a *day*, or during *the short period of the present life*. The fact is, that Christians in general *believe* and *expect* that they shall attain to complete holiness, as really as the advocates of Perfection. And I undertake to say, that our expectation is far more *confident* and *certain*, than that which our opponents indulge. If we are true Christians, we can say: "We *know*, that when he shall appear, we shall be like him." Here is a hope which has no mixture of doubt or uncertainty, and is rightly called *knowledge*. Though Mr. Mahan signifies that complete holiness is entirely beyond our expectation, we do expect it, and expect it soon. We believe that we shall, in a little while, be free from all remains of sin, and be completely changed into the image of Christ. We hope to reach this blessed state shortly, perhaps to-morrow. "We now groan, being burdened;" and we often cry out: "Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?" But we confidently look for deliverance. Yet a little while, and the day of victory will come. Has Mr. Mahan still to learn what joy, yea, what ecstasy of joy, devout Christians often experience, from the hope of speedily attaining

to perfect holiness in heaven; and how they reach forward and press on towards it, putting forth their highest efforts in the pursuit? He thinks the perfection, which Paul speaks of as the object of his desire, was the heavenly state, and not any thing he could reach in the present world; and yet he sees that this circumstance did not prevent him from exerting all his powers in the pursuit of it. Had he adopted the same principle here, as in the case under consideration, he would have said: the apostle must have expected to attain to the perfect state he aimed at, *in the present life*, or he could have had no motive to pursue it. He would have said too, that Paul believed he *never* should attain to it, because he did not expect to attain to it here below, and, therefore, that he could put forth no vigorous endeavors after it, being destitute of the only principle of efficient action. If he allows that Paul had a faith which gave reality to *future glory*, and brought it near, and that, under the influence of such a faith, he made great exertions to obtain it; why not allow the same to be true with Christians generally, in regard to that *complete moral purity*, which they look upon as an essential part of future glory? Why may they not exert all their energies in the pursuit, although, in their view, it is not to be fully attained within the short space of the present life? The apostle John brings out the principle concerned in this matter with perfect plainness, and speaks of it familiarly, as a thing well understood in his day. He tells us what the assured hope of believers is: "We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him;" and then adds: "And every man that hath this hope in him, (the hope of being perfectly like Christ in heaven,) purifieth himself, even as he is pure." The object was not to be reached in this life. But did this circumstance prevent primitive believers from laboring to purify themselves, and to become like Christ? Far from it. And it is my persuasion, that this *future* perfection in holiness, connected as it is with all the unseen glories of the upper world, has a far more commanding influence upon devout Christians, and rouses them to higher efforts after complete sanctification, than the expectation which Mr. Mahan and his associates indulge, of obtaining perfect holiness in the present world. In the first place, the *object* of our hope is far *higher* and *nobler* than the object of theirs. They are led, by the position they take, to lower down their object, that is, *Christian Perfection*, so as to bring it within their reach,

and to make it just that which they have attained, or are likely to attain in the present state. For consistency's sake, they are obliged to do this, and they have begun to do it. But it is a bold and perilous attempt. The law of God cannot bend; and those who undertake to bend it know not what they do. The moral law will not adapt its requirements to our mistakes, or to our attainments. And it certainly is a dangerous and daring thing for any man to take such ground,—as the advocates of "Perfection" evidently do,—that they will feel themselves urged, for the sake of consistency, to represent their own attainments as being the perfect holiness which God's law requires. Now let those, who hold to the Oberlin doctrine, come up, as some of them have done, to that which they consider to be "Christian Perfection;" and what further influence can the *expectation* of complete holiness have upon them? *Expectation* is superseded by *enjoyment*. And what occasion for efforts to *obtain* that which they already *possess*? They may pursue other objects; but their expectation of entire conformity to the divine law is realized. They have reached the object; and there is no place for further efforts. Where then is their "only principle of efficient action?" Look now at that state of perfect spiritual purity, that complete likeness to Christ, which is the high object of desire and expectation with Christians generally. How evident it is, that we shall be stimulated to pursue it with an intensity of effort, proportioned to the sublimity and excellence of the object.

But, in the second place, this expectation of ours stands before us in close connection with circumstances which make a strong appeal to the principles of the human mind, and powerfully move the springs of human action. That perfect holiness, to which we are taught to aspire, is associated in our thoughts with the ineffable joys and glories of the world above, with the presence of the exalted Saviour, and with things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived,—an object so sublime, and excellent, and attractive in itself, and surrounded with such invisible and celestial glories. Oh! how much deeper interest does it produce in the mind, and how much more powerfully does it excite the active energies of our spiritual nature, than the low attainments which man ever has made, or ever will make, in this state of weakness, and error, and moral defilement! That perfection which is actually attained by Christians, feeble and inconstant like ourselves, is

in sober truth, an object *too near, too familiar, too human*, yes, and *too easily obtained*, to take hold of our minds with the strongest grasp, and to elicit our mightiest energies. But tell Christians of the glorious appearing of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and inspire them with the hope of being like him when they shall see him as he is; the hope of being then adorned with all the beauties of holiness, and of sitting with Christ on his throne, and of dwelling forever in that blessed but unseen world, in which no sin shall be found, and you may be sure that they will hunger and thirst after righteousness, and will give all diligence to purify themselves, and to prepare for a heaven so holy and so glorious.

Thirdly: the expectation, which Christians generally entertain, has greatly the advantage over that which the Oberlin doctrine inspires, in respect to *certainty*. Those who act under the influence of that doctrine aim at perfect holiness, with a hope and expectation of attaining to it in the present world. But is their expectation entirely free from *doubt*, and attended with *certainty*? Can they say we *know* that we shall attain to perfection before this short life is ended? Are they certain that they shall *do* that which will insure complete sanctification—that they shall fulfil the conditions on which the blessing is promised? Those among them who have not yet reached perfection, would, I presume, think it going too far, to say that they certainly *know* they shall reach it in the present world. And those who cherish the pleasing, but, as I apprehend, delusive idea, that they have already reached that state, would probably be backward to say they *certainly know* that they shall continue in it. But the expectation, which believers generally indulge, is attended with *certainty*. They *know*, that if they are true Christians, they shall reach their object, and shall reach it soon; that when they are absent from the body, they shall be present with the Lord, and shall then be holy as he is holy. Now until those who embrace the Oberlin doctrine are able to entertain an expectation of complete holiness in this life, which rises to *certainty*, it must be evident to them, that, on their own principles, the hope which we indulge has a real advantage over theirs in point of *practical influence*. And if I mistake not, they themselves will, after all, feel the value of the common doctrine, and be sometimes driven to take refuge in it. For they will, in all probability, have seasons of doubting whether they have attained, or shall attain to perfection in

this world. And if they are disturbed with such doubts, what can they do but resort to the comforting truth, that, though they may fail of reaching complete holiness here, they shall reach it in heaven? And a small portion of true faith will bring the perfection of the heavenly state *very near*.

I have sometimes tried to account for it, that Mr. Mahan's doctrine exerts so mighty an influence over his mind and the minds of others, calling forth energies and imparting joys before unknown. He will allow me to say that I cannot ascribe all this to the *truth of his doctrine*; for I do not consider the doctrine to be true. And I would not undertake to pry into the secret chambers of his mind, and to judge of the unwonted movements which have been going on there. But there is a principle, implanted in our common nature, which operates powerfully in such a case, and in some minds *very* powerfully. When a philosopher, or a navigator makes a discovery, he is filled with emotions which can hardly be described; and he publishes it abroad with a zeal proportioned to his view of its importance. And its importance will be likely to rise very high, in his view, from the circumstance that *he* is the discoverer. The doctrine of perfection has indeed been long before the public. But Mr. Mahan appears not to have received it at second hand. It came to him as a new discovery. Suddenly, and in a remarkable manner, his eyes were opened, and he saw the freeness and fullness of gospel grace, and the way in which a believer can at once obtain sanctification. Now I would not, for the world, trifle with those unusual operations of his mind; for there is reason to think, that the Spirit of God was with him, and that he did actually attain to a more entire consecration of himself to God than before. But who can be sure that he was not more or less elated with the new discovery? Even the Apostle Paul,—that Mr. Mahan thinks was perfect,—even that great Apostle was in danger of being exalted above measure with the revelations made to him, when he was caught up to the third heaven. And it was found to be necessary that he should have a very humbling and long-continued affliction, a thorn in the flesh, to guard his heart from pride and self-complacency. And it cannot be going too far to suppose, that Mr. Mahan is as much exposed to this danger, as the great Apostle was. And surely it will not be amiss for him to inquire, whether his remarkable discovery, and the novelty of those exercises, which seemed to distinguish him above other ministers and Chris-

tians, may not have worked in with certain principles of his nature, not yet fully sanctified; and whether the singular zeal he shows in writing books, and in compassing the land to make proselytes, may not be owing in part to these principles of nature; and whether it would be safe for him to look upon all this excitement of feeling, and all this labor to propagate his new opinions, as the unmixed result of the Holy Spirit's influence, and as a certain evidence of his likeness to the blessed Jesus. And may it not be well for him to keep his mind open,—as I trust he will,—to farther instruction from the Word and Spirit of God? For, possibly, a higher degree of illumination may disclose to him some remaining deficiencies in his character, which he has overlooked. His heavenly Father may perhaps visit him with some severe affliction: “for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth.” If he does indeed trust in God and seek his help, God will supply all his need,—will correct any mistakes into which he has been betrayed, and help him to separate the hay, wood and stubble, from the gold and silver and precious stones,—will graciously assist him in reviewing his writings, and the whole course he has pursued in preaching, and the effects he has produced on the churches of Christ. And if there has been any thing wrong,—“for there is no man that doeth good and sinneth not,”—God will teach him what it is. And it may be, God will make him a greater blessing to the Institution over which he presides, and to the church of Christ, than he ever has been.

There are many minor points, on which I might remark. But I have meant to confine myself to the chief points. If the principal arguments, on which this doctrine of Perfection depends, have been shown to be inconclusive, it is all the case requires. In these two numbers, I have said all I have to say on this subject. I leave it to others to do what the cause of truth may further require to be done.

I close with three brief remarks.

My first remark is on the effect which will naturally be produced upon a man's own mind, by his believing that he has already attained to perfect holiness. And here I grant, that a man's believing himself perfectly holy, *if he were so in reality*, could have none but a good influence upon him. In such a case, it would be a *belief of the truth*. And surely, a *belief of the truth* must be supposed to have a good influence upon a perfectly holy mind. But suppose a man believes himself to be

perfectly holy, *when he is not*. This would be the *belief of error*. And it is easy to see what effect the belief of error, particularly of such an error as this, must have upon one who is sanctified only in part. And as I am persuaded, that those who think themselves completely sanctified are mistaken, I cannot but conclude, that their opinion of themselves, is really thinking of themselves more highly than they ought to think, and that its hurtful influence upon their feelings and conduct will ere-long become visible.

My second remark is, that we, who do not believe the doctrine, are *in some danger of injuring ourselves and others by opposing it*. The preaching and the writings of those who maintain the doctrine contain a great portion of most precious truth. And it is by this mixture of truth, that the error is made plausible, and insinuates itself into the minds of others. Now the danger is, that by means of the opposition we make to the particular error which they hold, we shall be led to believe the important truths contained in their writings with less firmness, to love them with less sincerity, and to use them less profitably. The Lord preserve us from this danger, and so influence our minds and hearts, that we shall most heartily believe that portion of the truth which is exhibited in the writings referred to, and shall give it even a higher place in our thoughts and in our preaching, than we have heretofore done. Thus, while we prove all things, may we hold fast that which is good.

My last remark is, that *we ought not to be over anxious on account of the temporary prevalence of error*. We ought to exert ourselves to the utmost in the spirit of love, to defend and propagate the truth, and confute error; to cherish the sincerest desires, and offer up the most fervent prayers for the good of our fellow men, and for the advancement of the reign of Christ. Thus faithfully performing the duties which devolve on us, we may, with confidence and with quietness of mind, commit all the interests of the church to the God of truth, who will certainly take care of his own cause, and will, in his sovereign Providence, confound every false doctrine far more effectually, than we can by our arguments. And this he often does by letting error run on, till its nature is acted out, and its fruits are made manifest to all. It pleases the most High God to carry forward his plan of redeeming mercy through various and mighty conflicts. And every conflict will be made a means of clearing up and establishing divine truth; and will in the end contribute to

the glory of God, and the good of his people. The errors, as well as the wrath of man, will be made to praise God. This mixed, disordered state, this war of elements in the moral world will continue a while longer ; but it will not last-always. Better days will come to the church on earth, and an eternal day of perfect light, and purity, and joy to the church in heaven.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF NORDHEIMER'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.

A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By Isaac Nordheimer, Phil. Doct., Prof. of Arabic and other Oriental Languages in the University of New-York. In two volumes. Vol. II. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1841.

By Taylor Lewis, Esq., Prof. of Greek in the University of New-York.

THE ardent lover of Philology might justly regard, as its chief excellence, the happy position which it occupies between the subjective and objective sciences. Whether we employ these terms or others of a similar import, the distinction conveyed by them is important and clear. Science relates to the world within, and to the world without. It is, therefore, internal and external, subjective and objective, logical and experimental, intuitive and inductive, or essential and phenomenal. Each of these sets of terms presents ultimately the same distinction, and, in reference to it, two modes of scientific inquiry are suggested, which may be denoted by the same or corresponding appellations. In the one class, without aiming at great accuracy, we may include mental philosophy in all its various departments, together with logic, ethics and the pure mathematics, which is only a knowledge of the mind's necessary conceptions in relation to space and figure ; in the other, the whole range of the physical sciences. In the one class, the soul goes not out of itself to seek for facts or make experiments. Being at the same time object and subject, it views itself either by introspection, or through a reflex objective medium of its own creation. The knowledge obtained does not consist so much

in new discovered facts, as in seeming recollections of what had previously been concealed beneath the soul's own consciousness; although forming as real a part of its being, as its best known, its most familiar thoughts and emotions. In the other class all is external,—a posteriori,—inductive,—never exceeding the limit of those generalizations, to which experiment is the only guide. Theories here are themselves experiments. Even when best founded, they are but hasty generalizations, in which the impatient mind, in order to obtain a better field of view, ventures to assume an advance position, to be retained only in case subsequent induction should fill up the links which connect it with previously ascertained facts.

We have said that Philology possesses the middle ground between these two grand departments of science; or rather, that it belongs equally to both. Language is an emanation of the mind, and may thus be regarded as part of the mind itself. When actually formed, however, it is as clearly objective as the phenomena of astronomy or chemistry. It is what the natural sciences would be, were nature really, and not merely in the dreams of the transcendentalist, the creation of the soul that contemplates its laws. Language is the objective medium through which the mind views itself,—the *intelligible species* of its own creation (if we may use the language of the schoolmen), by which it impresses, with its own image, the *sensible species* of the external world, and transmutes them into that knowledge, which becomes a part of its intellectual being. These remarks are applicable to language in its most extensive sense, as that medium of communication from soul to soul, which, however it may vary in its modes, must be supposed necessary for every rank of being beneath him to whom all things are *immediately* present in their unveiled essences.

Its modes of investigation partake of the same character. It may be studied by the a priori, or by the inductive method. It may be regarded as a type of the soul, or as the object of experiment, having a phenomenal existence in vocal enunciation or written characters. These two methods may be united, and it is their happy union that gives rise in certain minds to that exquisite delight which is found in the study of philology; especially, that part, which relates not so much to the external dress, as to the inner spirit. Induction here is not so much the instrument of discovery as of verification. The mind goes forth into the field of experiment, with full confidence, that its

a priori views will be realized ; whilst in every process of the kind, other modes of conception are suggested, which, when verified in their turns, open still more distant views, and impart a deeper insight into those processes of the soul, which, although constantly going on within us, lie beneath the surface of ordinary consciousness. It is thus a constant source of ideas begetting ideas, branching forth into all the relations of our being, and producing in the study of verbal combinations, and the various modes of mental conception exhibited by them, a more delightful excitement, and a nobler exercise of the soul than can be found in all the synthesis and analysis of natural science.

These remarks are applicable, in some degree, even to the etymological department of philology. The very sounds, forms and inflections of words, instead of being arbitrary, have without doubt some relation to the laws of the mind, and the modes in which its conceptions are varied. These, however, may be supposed to be more immediately connected with the sensitive, than with the rational soul, and are therefore less capable of a priori explanations. But in the department of Syntax, or the combination of words in logical propositions, mind meets mind with a delightful and unwavering confidence in the identity of human nature in all ages, and with a full belief of finding in the languages of David and Homer, the same analogies of thought that exist in our own. It is true that peculiar emotions, modified by peculiar external circumstances, may have given such a prominence to certain modes of conception, as to render frequent in one tongue, what is comparatively rare in another ; yet without introducing any that are absolutely new, or not to be traced in some form in every human dialect.

That excellency of method which we have been regarding in the abstract, the author of the work before us has most happily and practically exemplified. His first volume was most favorably noticed by several periodicals, both at home and abroad. The second has even a higher claim to commendation, not only for the great beauty and neatness of its execution, but still more, for the perspicuity of its style, and the intrinsic excellence of its matter. He has composed, not simply a book of reference, but one which can be read through repeatedly, both by scholar and critic, with unfailing interest. It is this very circumstance, which tends to blind the mind of the reader

to one of its principal merits. The delightful ease with which we pass over its pages, the interesting manner in which the author has laid open to us the processes of our own minds, the many apposite and beautiful examples adduced by way of illustration, the absence of all pedantry, its freedom from far-fetched theorizing and illogical reasoning produce such an impression of ease, truth and clearness, that we almost claim the thoughts and conclusions as our own, so spontaneously do our own minds meet those views which are everywhere presented. It is this, which makes it at first difficult for the reader to conceive the vast amount of labor which the work must have cost, the great care which must have been used in arranging principles in such natural succession, the toilsome minuteness of investigation which has produced so great a number of apposite illustrations, and that watchful avoidance of prolixity whereby the author has been enabled successfully to condense, into an octavo volume of 350 pages, such an amount of practical knowledge and philosophical investigation.

We might enlarge upon the style, arrangement and typographical beauty of the work. Its chief merit, however, as before observed, is the well-sustained union of the subjective and objective, or a priori and inductive modes of investigation. The latter, when used alone, produces an uninteresting collection of facts, and of rules, apparently arbitrary, founded upon them. Unlike the results of induction in the physical sciences, they present the phenomena of principles with continual exceptions; and these, at times, almost as numerous as the cases which seem to be embraced by the rule. The impression is thus produced, that every thing in language is arbitrary; that its principles are not to be found already deposited in the soul itself, but must be obtained only by induction from without, and retained only by the iron grasp of memory. This must be so, as long as the external manifestation is alone the object of study. A resort to the other process shows us, that these exceptions are only apparent, and that with each variety of expression, there is also connected—whether we can discover it or not—a corresponding variation in the mode of conception. The one process presents the mere anatomy of language, the other supplies it with nerves and muscles. The one furnishes the materials, the other builds them into a living, organic system.

There are also strong objections to exclusive theorizing. Theories in syntax, it is true, are not like theories in chemistry.

The former may be deduced, and deduced correctly, by a priori reasoning. The results obtained will be correct; the hypotheses will be well founded; but they will lack system. They will not be all the results. They may not be the results which are most needed. A careful study of the modes of the mind's conceptions will give us truth on which we may rely as far as it goes, but it will not give us all the truth, neither does it necessarily conduct us to those we most desire. The mind needs a guide in the examination of itself, and this guide is found in the experimental use of that objective instrument which the soul has instinctively created, and in which its most secret processes will be found to have exhibited themselves in a visible form and order. Besides, although all human minds are essentially the same, yet, from peculiar circumstances, certain modes of conception may be more common in one age and nation, than in others. In a system of general grammar, they must all be alike viewed as having their foundation in the universal laws of the mind. Those, then, which in any one language are more prominent, or so frequently employed as to become idiomatic, can only be ascertained by a careful examination of it, as an external existing thing. As, for example, the occasional use of the present for the past may be said in some degree to belong to every tongue. It may, however, be the case that a greater vividness of conception, a fondness for the descriptive rather than the narrative style, arising from the peculiar circumstances of a people, may make this a predominant trait in one language, whilst in another it is hardly known. Again, there may be something so very unusual in the condition and habits of one nation, that its dialect may exhibit peculiarities of which no traces can elsewhere be found; as in the case of the Hebrew prophetic past. This could hardly be contained in a system of general grammar, and could not well be deduced from a priori reasoning, because it depends upon a supernatural state of the soul, superinduced by a divine influence.

The almost exclusively inductive method may be said to characterize the works of Gesenius. The opposite fault is less common, although it manifests itself, in a high degree, in the writings of some of the ablest German philologists. Our author, as we conclude after a careful examination of the work, has most happily combined the two methods, and the success of the effort is exhibited, as before observed, in the delightful satisfaction with which we follow him in the illustration and appli-

cation of his principles. The mind is not wearied, on the one hand, with a dull collection of apparently arbitrary rules, followed by hosts of exceptions beyond the power of memory to retain, or bewildered with theories of general grammar, which have not been verified by a careful induction from the particular language to which they are applied. In almost every page we are reminded of the presence of one pervading principle, which may be regarded as the soul of the work. It seems to be assumed as the fundamental position, which every thing else is designed to illustrate, that there is nothing arbitrary in the syntax of a language; that a reason exists for every change, although that reason may not be always discoverable, or may not have been, in the majority of cases, distinctly present to the consciousness of the writer; or, in other words, that we have not the full sense of a passage, until we can enter into the variation of feeling or conception, by which a variation of expression was caused. When this is discovered, the rule of syntax no longer comes by induction from *without*, and lodges in the folds of the memory, but is found to exist *within* us, written on the soul, though now, it may be for the first time, brought forth into the light of its own consciousness. It follows also conversely from this, that for the student to give the full meaning of a passage, and to feel the emotion which gave rise to its peculiar phraseology, is to give its rule of syntax. Unless they lead to this, rules are useless; and when they do accomplish this, they absolve the memory from the difficult task of retaining them as mere abstract propositions.

We will not say that there can be no exception to a rule of syntax, as there can be none to a principle in physics when rightly understood and cleared of every thing extraneous; but we must conclude, that language is not a correct representation of the minds of those who use it, in as far as it allows of arbitrary varieties in the expression of the same subjective state. The external fact stated, or the scene described may indeed be set forth in various modes; but these arise from, and constantly follow certain modes of conception, under which the same fact or scene may present itself to different minds, or to the same mind in different circumstances. In translating, therefore, it is not enough merely to ascertain the event narrated, or the proposition set forth. The emotion, or state of mind with which it is contemplated, forms likewise a most important part of what may be styled the full sense of the passage, and in no

case is this principle of more value than in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The critical grammarian must then investigate the new aspect or change of conception, to which the superadded emotion is to be attributed. In one case there may be the mere historical mention of a fact, in which the writer manifests but little interest, and demands none of the reader : at another time, the same event or one in all respects similar, may be connected with certain strong emotions of the narrator. In one case, the subject and predicate may be viewed as of equal importance, or the mind may be simply occupied with the assertion of their logical connection. Here the sentence will present its ordinary grammatical form, free from all apparent anomalies. The ordinary principles of agreement in gender and number will be observed, and every thing will be adjusted to a proper balance. Again, in relating the same fact or stating the same proposition, the soul may be so occupied with one part, as to destroy this balance, and to impel to a mode of expression, giving greater conspicuousness to that which lies nearest the heart. This can only be effected by sundering the ordinary connections, and causing the emphatic word to stand out in anomalous prominence. To understand this, it is not enough to be content with external induction, which would class all these apparent irregularities as exceptions, but we must enter subjectively into the writer's state of mind, or in other words, put our soul in his soul's stead. Then do we not only understand or remember, but we are *feelingly impressed* with the fact or sentiment intended to be communicated.

The work before us is entitled to the praise of having done much to accomplish this important end. The space allotted to us would not admit of extended illustrations. We select a few portions, and dwell upon them with some degree of minuteness. Passing over the chapter on the article, we select examples from that department of agreement, which is supposed to abound so much in anomalies, and in which, in other grammars, there are so many arbitrary exceptions. Many of these are satisfactorily disposed of under the head of nouns construed collectively. Others are found, which, as our author observes, "appear to be utterly subversive of all order and harmony." We refer to cases of the disagreement of the subject and predicate in gender. These, however, he satisfactorily explains by a concise mention of the principle to which we have more fully alluded. Sometimes more is intended in such examples than simply to

assert a logical connection. There is associated with them an emotion of the speaker, which destroys the balance, and leads him to adopt some mode of expression, which may place the mind of the hearer in the same state. Hence if the cause of this emotion be the subject, it is separated from its verb by a difference of number or gender; or rather, the predicate is thrown into the impersonal form, and the isolated subject presents thereby a stronger claim upon the attention. Thus, for example: *A grievous vision is declared unto me:—Thy terror hath deceived thee:—A cry is heard among the nations:—Iniquity was not found in his lips:—Knowledge is pleasant to the soul.* In all these examples, as they stand in our translation, there is simply the assertion of the logical connection of the subject with the predicate, with nothing to suggest any thing anomalous in the original. Such anomalies, however, do exist, without an understanding of which we cannot put ourselves in the subjective state of the writer, or receive *all*, whether of fact or emotion, which he intended to convey. In every one of these cases, the predicate is of a different gender from the subject, by which fact, the reader is, as it were, directed to use the former impersonally, and to regard the latter as in a certain sense independent. Their best rendering into English, according to this view would be as follows:

A grievous vision! it is declared unto me.
 Thy own terribleness! it hath deceived thee.†
 A cry! among the nations is it heard.‡
 Iniquity! it was not found in his lips.§
 Knowledge! it is pleasant to the soul.||*

In the first example, the ordinary translation is too cold. Something anomalous in the expression was required to set forth a peculiar modification of the conception. The context will show why this apostrophic mode was adopted. The soul of the prophet, *on the watchtower*, was occupied with the vision itself, not simply with the fact of its having been declared. In the second example, there is a superadded emotion. It was not simply *terribleness*, but *thine own terribleness*, etc. This, it is true, might have been expressed by the suffix pronoun alone, but it would not have been sufficient to give that prominence to the fact, which arises from the mode adopted. In the fourth

* Is. 21: 2. † Jer. 3: 5. ‡ Jer. 50: 46. § Mal. 2: 6. || Prov. 2: 10.

example, there is an expression of surprise and indignation. The bare suspicion of the contrary produces an apostrophe of the subject. *For the priest's lips must keep knowledge, etc.*

Other cases, in which agreement in number is neglected, are well explained by regarding plural nouns, joined with a singular verb or adjective, as taken distributively. This, however, is noted by almost all writers on Hebrew Syntax, and is generally well observed in our translation. We are told that the number is frequently neglected, when the verb commences the phrase; as in Jer. 51: 48, *the spoilers shall come upon her*—*יבוא עליה השודדים* or, in the Hebrew order, *shall come upon her the spoilers*. We are not to infer, however, that this arrangement is arbitrary or accidental, or that the neglect of number is the result merely of the collocation. The verb is not only designedly placed first, but left uncontrolled by the number of the noun, in order to give it prominence and emphasis. The noun (spoilers) was in itself of secondary importance. That there should be an invasion, an invasion of Babylon, was the strange thought that filled the writer's mind, which called forth the strong emotion, and forced upon him the anomalous expression. In the preceding part of the same verse, the noun contains the predominant idea, and the verb, notwithstanding it is placed first, conforms to it in its accidents. *The Heavens shall cry out against Babylon*—*ורגזו על־בבל שמים*

We regret to find the author regarding the plural names of the Deity as merely plurals of pre-eminence. He has no doubt the majority of modern authorities on his side, and may perhaps be right, although we are inclined to differ from him; still it is far from being so clear as to warrant its being laid down, as an unquestioned principle in a work on Syntax. A good grammar is likely to be a book of far more authority with a student than any commentary. His mind, therefore, should not be prejudiced in favor of a theological opinion, in respect to which there may be good grounds for a contrary belief.

The following reason is assigned for the different location of the adjective, according as it is predicative or qualificative. "In the latter case, the idea it expresses is accessory to that of the noun it belongs to, which, as the principal member of the compound term, is placed first, by a constant law of the Shemetic languages, according to which the most important word assumes the right of priority in the sentence. But when an adjective forms the predicate of a proposition, the case is

different; for then, instead of being an appendage to a noun, it constitutes a most important part of the sentence, and is accordingly placed before the noun, at or near the commencement of the proposition." The mere order of the location of words must, we think, be regarded as belonging to the externals of a language, in the same manner as its elementary sounds and forms. For these, no doubt, reasons exist, but they pertain rather to the sensitive than to the rational or logical soul, and are, therefore, less capable of a priori explanation. Other languages, we know, assign a different place to those which are deemed the most important words, and sometimes defer them to the very close. We can, however, determine a priori, with almost as much confidence as is felt in the solution of a mathematical problem, that every language must have *two distinct modes* for expressing the difference of conception, which arises from regarding the adjective as predicative or qualificative, and that these modes when established would be almost invariably adhered to. Induction is to determine the particular method adopted; but when this is done, it belongs to the critical grammarian to explain apparent exceptions, and reduce them all, if possible, in subjection to the reason of the general rule. We think that our author has not always gone as far as he might in the application of his own principles. He allows the predicative adjective, in some few cases, to follow the noun. It may be a question, however, whether in all the instances cited as exceptions, the full sense is not better brought out by adhering to the general position, and regarding the adjective as a qualificative. Thus, Ps. 99: 2 is rendered: *Jehovah is great in Zion*. The adjective in the Hebrew has the position of a qualificative, and we cannot help thinking that by so regarding it in reality, we obtain a more vivid sense, and enter more truly into the conception of the writer: *The Great Jehovah is in Zion*. The one proposition seems to limit his greatness; the other expresses, at the same time, his universal agency and condescending protection of his peculiar people. On a careful examination of all the cases of apparent exception cited under this head, we have little doubt that they may all, in a similar manner, be reconciled with the general usage of the language.

We are compelled to pass, although with regret, several intermediate chapters, throughout which we find that same predominant feature, which may be regarded as the peculiar

excellence of the work. Attempts are everywhere made, and generally with complete success, to refer all varieties of expression, to changes in the subjective state of the writer. We find this, especially, in the very full discussion of direct and indirect objective relation, which abounds in the most apposite illustrations, and renders what is generally regarded as the least interesting portion of Syntax, one of the most satisfactory in the work. All seeming departures from the more ordinary *usus loquendi* are regarded, not as arbitrary, but as having a real foundation in the state of the writer's soul, according as it views an event or a truth under different aspects, or with different degrees of emotion. In this way, the author accounts for the frequent omissions of prepositions in Hebrew poetry, as arising from the particular manner of viewing the relation, and the energetic conciseness of the poetical conception.

We would notice here, by the way, the accuracy everywhere exhibited in the divisions and subdivisions under each head of each chapter, and the great number of carefully selected examples, with which they are enriched. Some might fancy that there is too much minuteness. Whilst, however, so little is omitted that the subject almost seems exhausted, there is, at the same time, still less that can be regarded as redundant. The author can seldom be charged with bringing under special subdivisions, what might have been included in the general principle, although such cases may occasionally be found. It may also be thought that the book is crowded with too many examples. This, however, should be regarded as one of its chief merits. No reduction in the size of the volume could have countervailed the loss arising from such an omission, although, if collected in a body, these examples would form no small portion of the Hebrew Bible. The object could not have been to swell the work with matter easily obtained; on the contrary, there can be no doubt, that in this very department there have been bestowed the most scrupulous care, and the severest toil. He has thus furnished to his reader a most agreeable exercise, in tracing the application of principles, in the thousands of examples cited, and methodically arranged. To obviate all objections on the score of economy, it may be said, that the course adopted entirely supersedes the necessity of a *praxis* or *chrestomathy*. The student who is tolerably acquainted with the etymology, and has acquired a moderate facility in reading, will be able to see the bearing and application of each example. To

such a one a better course could not be advised, than to read this second volume, without the omission of a single reference; examining also, when necessary, the contexts in the Bible as far as is required for their more full explication. He will thus familiarize himself in the most pleasant manner with all the important principles of Hebrew Syntax, and at the same time, peruse to great advantage, in a critical point of view, no small portion of the sacred writings. Should he mark in the margin of his Bible, opposite to all the examples quoted, the number of the paragraph in which they are cited, and in his subsequent reading endeavor to associate these marked passages with the sections of the grammar to which they refer, he would adopt one of the most rapid and effectual means of rendering himself a critical Hebraist.

We proceed to the chapter on the Hebrew tenses. This may be regarded as, in some respects, the most finished and satisfactory portion of the whole work. The subject has long been viewed as presenting almost insurmountable difficulties. Many excellent scholars have been led to regard them as having in themselves no distinctive character, but to be determined in every case by the context and the *exigentia loci*. The student, on his first introduction to the language, is struck with that peculiarity by which the Hebrew is distinguished, in the use of only two tenses, the past and future, without any distinct form for the present. His surprise is increased on learning that the office of each of the tenses is reversed by simply prefixing the conjunction Vau. Indulging the hope that these rules, so unlike all his former experience, will nevertheless be found definite and fixed in their applications, he enters upon the reading of the Hebrew Bible with little apprehension of any practical difficulty. In the narrative parts they are observed with a tolerable degree of uniformity, with now and then some rather startling exceptions; but on entering upon the study of the didactic and devotional books, he finds himself perplexed at every step, and almost utterly without a guide. All the special exceptions and explanations, laid down in his grammar, fail to meet the difficulties which are constantly presenting themselves. No rule holds good for a single consecutive chapter; till at length, he ceases to pay any regard to them, and governs himself, in every case, by the apparent demands of the sense. To escape these difficulties, some have substituted for the usual appellations, those of the first and second mode; the sole result of which, as our au-

thor says, is to represent the Hebrew as destitute of tenses altogether. These terms suggest nothing as to the nature of the forms to which they are applied. It is most evident that they do contain a distinction of time of some kind, and that the predominant office of the one, when standing alone, is to designate the past, and of the other the future. This most plainly appears in those cases in which the time is an essential part of the proposition, and, especially, when the two forms are antithetically employed.

We are satisfied from careful examination, that our author has adopted the only theory by which these apparent anomalies may be explained. Its novelty does not consist merely in the use of the terms *absolute* and *relative*, for these had been employed by others before him; but in the peculiar manner in which he applies them to particular examples. We would, however, venture the opinion that the author has not tested, to their fullest extent, his own views. The principles he has laid down, if carried out in all their details, might perhaps have interfered with the assigned limits of the work. But we are satisfied, that a faithful application of their spirit would introduce a most beautiful order into what has heretofore been regarded as a chaos, and deliver his own system from some apparently arbitrary exceptions which are yet allowed to remain. We fully concur with him in the opinion, that the source of all our perplexity is found in our occidental mode of viewing time. Time with us is ever on the wing. The present is our fixed point, and we are stationary in it. The future is regarded as an unreal and imaginary region, ever coming forwards and sweeping by us into the certainty of the past, whilst the latter is continually receding farther and farther from our view.

Ut unda impellitur unda
Tempora sic fugiunt

is the standing simile in all the occidental tongues. Hence, according to our mode of conception, the present becomes the *standard tense*, and is always our own fixed position. In the Hebrew, on the other hand, time is fixed, whilst we are moving on. The present has in itself no extent, but is absorbed, either in the past on the one side, or in the future on the other. These constitute the only real divisions. Our present arises from a false conception, by which we combine into one stationary period, two small portions which belong to those two depart-

ments. According to the Hebrew conception, the future world does not come to us and acquire *reality* by being made present, but we are going into it. It has as real an existence as that through which we have passed. In the prophetic vision, events are there, even now, preceding and succeeding each other. It has its relations of antecedent and consequent, of cause and effect. The Hebrew present, on the other hand, is ever the shifting station from which past or future scenes are viewed. It has only a subjective existence in the soul by which its position is determined. We may transport ourselves far back, in the annals of time, and view historical facts as still past or future to each other; or into the ages to come, and find there the existence of the same relations. The position assumed is ever the dividing point. In a simple narration of the successive order of events, the first of the series constitutes this subjective standpoint of observation, and all that follow bear to it the relation of future. In the prophetic ecstasy, the order is reversed. Events, which require the journey of ages before we can reach them, are to the Seer long since past and gone. This then is the peculiarity of the Hebrew. It ever represents facts, not in reference to a *fixed* present, but as they exist subjectively in the mind of the narrator; who views them in the relations which they bear, not to himself, or to us, but to each other. When there is a necessity for fixing the actual present, other modes, as we shall see, are resorted to.

We cannot stop to show that this conception of time is as natural as our own, and more philosophically correct. It is sufficient for us to be satisfied that it is the Hebrew mode, and the true cause of those apparent anomalies, which have so much perplexed the lovers of this ancient language. When the soul of the reader is thoroughly imbued with this view, so that the order of his conceptions begins to be influenced by it, we can easily imagine how much more life and strength will be imparted to Hebrew narration and description. The occidental style may be compared to an historical painting, in which actors and events are fixed immovably upon the canvass; the oriental to a picture, in which, by some mysterious art, they are endowed with life and motion, ever presenting a varied aspect according as they are seen from varying positions.

In correspondence with his theory, the author deduces four distinct modes of time;—two *absolute*, which relate to the *actual* present, or present of the narrator; and two *relative*, viewed in

their relations to the *present* of the actor or subject. 1. The absolute past or קָטַל form. 2. Absolute future or יִקְטַל form. 3. The relative past or יִקְטַל form. 4. The relative future or יִקְטַל form. No particular objection need be made to this phraseology. We think, however, that the symmetry of the system would have been better maintained by giving different appellations to the third and fourth. The prefixing of the Vau does not wholly divest the one of the idea of futurity, nor the other of that of the past; and these ideas should have been preserved in the names. Might they not have been better distinguished as *future past*, and *past future*, or by some such Hebrew technics, as our author has used to so great advantage in his first volume? This is a matter of little consequence, yet we think that some of the illustrations would have been better understood, by the adoption of some different mode of naming.

"The present," says our author, "is merely a moment separating two immeasurable durations of past and future; and as the province of one tense ends where the other begins, and as the point of their mutual coincidence is the time of narration, either may be properly used to predicate an event at the time of its occurrence, *the choice, in every instance, depending on whether the writer's attention is more particularly directed to the commencement of the action in the past, or its continuance in the future.*"

This last remark clears up at once hundreds of passages in which the change of tenses, without such explanation, presents an inexplicable enigma. In the narrative parts of the Bible, we find long series of the relative past succeeding each other like the Greek aorists in Homer. These, even in the ordinary explanations, present but little difficulty. In the expression, however, of thought or feeling, we often find a change from the preterite to the future, or *vice versa*, without the prefixing of the Vau. The author refuses to regard these as arbitrary changes, but as arising from a difference of view or conception in the writer, although they are both properly rendered into English by a present. Thus, *Why do the Heathen rage* (רָגְזוּ) *and the people imagine* (יָדְעוּ) *vanity?* Ps 2: 1. In the use of the first verb, the writer's mind was occupied with a past *experience* of popular commotion, in the second, with a foreboding view of the continuance of popular delusions. *The Lord hears* (שָׁמַע) *my supplication* (past experience), *the Lord receives* (קִבַּל) *my prayer* (hope of an answer). Ps. 6: 10. Sometimes the future

precedes. *The work of the Lord they regard not* (לֹא יִבְרִיחוּ) *nor consider* (וְלֹא יִחְשְׁבוּ) *the productions of his hands.* Is. 5: 12. The latter fact stated may be regarded as the cause of the first, and therefore preceding it in time, although not in the order of logical construction; the first as a consequence of the second, and therefore future in reference to it. *I trust* (אֶשְׁכַּחֵם) *in thy mercy, my heart rejoices* (לִבִּי) *in thy salvation, oh let me sing* (אֲשִׁירָה) *unto the Lord, for he hath, &c.* Ps. 13: 6. First, *present trust* founded on *past experience* or promises;—the second, *present joy*, with the *expectation* of its continuance;—the third (the paragogic future), *present praise*, with an ardent *desire* that it may be eternal. All these, taken together, constitute one present subjective state of the soul. The language however expresses not only this, but also all their modified relations. It may be said that the second verb here might be rendered directly in the future: *My heart shall rejoice.* But this would not give the full sense, as it would contemplate a future time detached from the present. The full emotion can only be received by discarding all occidental forms, by entering into the Hebrew mode of conception, and thus taking the sense directly from the original. We fully believe that nothing will more contribute to such a habit of reading, than a careful study of the principles laid down by our author, and that, in this respect, their constant application will serve the purpose of a living commentary, evolving not only the facts and truths, but all the thought and feeling of a passage, in a manner at once the most satisfactory and delightful.

When thus viewed, the want of a precise form for the present, and the supplying of its place by the varied use of the preterite and future, might seem an excellence, rather than a defect. We would not wholly adopt a position so paradoxical. There is undoubtedly a want of precision, in those cases in which the actual present time of an event is an essential part of the proposition. Still the opinion may be hazarded, that in description, and the expression of the states, and emotions of the soul, there is a positive advantage, in not being confined to a form which in its natural acceptance relates only to one point of time. In the examples we have cited, and others of a similar kind, the nature of the subject sufficiently indicates the present existence of the emotion at the period of utterance; whilst the variety of form sets forth the character of the feeling, according

to the predominance of experience or faith founded upon the past, or of hope, fear, or desire in reference to the future.

In respect to the relative forms, the author makes every thing to depend upon a right understanding of the leading tense. Being in their nature merely consecutive, they are to be regarded as past, present, or future, according to the time of the principal verb to which they stand related. Careful attention must here be given to the rules laid down by the author, in order to a proper appreciation of the truth of his theory. But, there is one difficulty in respect to the relative future or *תִּקְטֹל* form which we do not think is sufficiently explained. He regards it as inversely analogous to the relative past. To be completely so, however, it should represent a future nearer to the actual present than the leading verb; that is, a future to which this leading verb is still more remotely future. There are doubtless many cases to which this view of the matter would be applicable, and in which the particle *Vau* may be rendered by the connective *when*, denoting that the verb to which it is prefixed, although subsequent in the order of construction, either actually precedes the other in time, or is simultaneous; being brought in by way of explanation, or as constituting the cause, of which the preceding verb denotes the effect. Thus, *Then shalt thou delight (תִּשְׂמַח) thyself in the Lord, and I will feed (וְיִקְטֹל) thee with the inheritance of Jacob* (as it is in our translation), would be better rendered: *Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, when I shall have fed thee with the inheritance of Jacob.* Is. 58: 14. The majority of cases, however, will not submit to this explanation. The relative future will often be found to be strictly consecutive. Why then should not the *תִּקְטֹל* form be used to denote *succession* in the future, as well as in the past, since this is its natural office, and since it depends for its actual time on the leading verb? The truth is, that it is often used in this manner, when, as our author tells us, the succession of future events is to be set forth with great emphasis and solemnity, as: *I will call thee in righteousness, and I will hold thee by the hand*; just as we repeat the auxiliary *will* in like cases. But in ordinary predictions, there seems to be a propriety in the avoidance of the *תִּקְטֹל* form, in consequence of its being constantly used to denote the succession of past events. On this account, for the prevention of ambiguity, there seems to be a change to an apparently opposite mode, and hence the origin of the *תִּקְטֹל* form or relative future.

"If a clause," says our author, "commence with any other word" (than Vau), the connection is broken, and the absolute form is again made use of." The spirit of his whole grammar has produced in us such a habit of seeking for reasons, and given us such an aversion to regard any thing in the syntax of a language as arbitrary, that we feel as though he should have gone farther, and not simply have referred to the change of expression, but have given us the reason on which it is founded. May it not be that in such cases, the use of the consecutive future or relative past would not have conveyed the meaning intended; which may have been to express simultaneous acts, or parts forming a whole, instead of consecutive events? As, in the example given: *And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night*, there is evidently but one act of calling, although consisting of two parts, such as we could express by one verb; *and he called the light day, and the darkness night*. But suppose the Hebrew had been thus יוֹם וַיִּקְרָא לְחֹשֶׁךְ לַיְלָה, would it not have represented them as consecutive, instead of concurrent parts of one great act? Whether the same explanation would apply to all similar cases, we are not prepared to say. Sometimes the descriptive may have been adopted instead of the narrative style, and events may have been conceived of, *as passing together* before the mind, although actually consecutive. Had the author given his attention to this point, his investigations would doubtless have resulted in a certain and satisfactory rule.*

After the general statement of the nature of the absolute and

* Some examples of this kind seem very much to resemble the change in Greek from a series of consecutive aorists to the imperfect. There is in both cases a stoppage in the flow of the time, a going back, or a recapitulation and bringing up, of some event which was coextensive with all that were mentioned before. *And they took (וַיִּקְחוּ) Absalom, and (after that) they cast him (וַיַּשְׁלִיכוּ) into a pit, and (after that) they placed upon him (וַיַּצְבּוּ) a heap of stones; (וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכֹל־יְמֵי־אֵלֶּיךָ) and all Israel (during all this time) were fleeing.* 2 Sam. 18: 17. The last event mentioned did not succeed the others, but was cotemporaneous with them all. It forms, as it were, the back ground of the picture. The proper Greek rendering would be καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν Ἀβσαλὼμ, καὶ ἔρριπον αὐτὸν εἰς χάσμα, καὶ ἐστήλωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν σωρὸν λίθων, καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἔφεγγον. The LXX however have in the last case an aorist.

relative forms, the various modifications which arise from them are clearly set forth. A general proposition, which always holds true, is expressed in other languages by a present or an aorist. In Hebrew, the past or future is used, according as it is regarded as a maxim founded upon *experience*, or an inference of *necessary consequences*. We have another modification in ~~what~~ may be styled the *habitual future*, denoting habitual or constantly repeated acts. This is evidently an elliptical substitution for a more extended phraseology, which, if given in full, and with the repetitions which are peculiar to the Hebrew, would consist of a series of consecutive futures depending on a leading preterite. In the full expression, the future form being predominant, in the ellipsis, it is put for the whole.

Besides the *וַיִּקְרָא* form the author admits of a species of relative past, not depending on a leading preterite, but on a particle of time, such as *אָז*, *כִּשְׁכֵּן*, *כִּשְׁמָר* etc. It is regarded as substantially the same with the ordinary relative past; the particle of time standing in the place of the leading verb, so as to commence an order of succession without the connecting Vau. Cases, however, yet remain, in which the future, although apparently absolute and unconnected with any stand-point of either kind, seems to denote a past, and can hardly be rendered otherwise, without a harsh violation of the context. We are told that in such examples, "the narrator speaks of an action that has already taken place as passing before his mind; in which case he employs the future form with the force of the present." This explanation does not seem satisfactory, or, rather, it does not go far enough. It opens the door to arbitrary exceptions in a system, otherwise completely guarded against them. It seems to countenance a theory to which our author is opposed, viz. that what is commonly styled the future is primarily and radically a present. It does not explain why in those cases there is often a mixture of preterites. Would it not be more in accordance with the whole spirit of our author's theory, to regard such cases as really expressing a species of past futurity; or as examples of the relative past, in respect to which the stand-point is neither in a leading verb, nor in a particle of time, but is to be assumed as existing in the mind of the speaker, although not expressed in words. May we not suppose the future form, in all cases, to demand of the reader to conceive himself at a point back of the event mentioned, and to have in his soul the feelings that belong to such a post of observation? It may be difficult to express this

in words of another language, yet the mind may acquire the habit in silent reading of thus connecting the form with a conception so modified ; and it does seem to us, that by such a process, the Hebrew poetry is invested with a power, a life and beauty which can be realized in no other way.

We would illustrate our meaning by a reference to the vision of Eliphaz, Job 4: 13. Most of the verbs here are preterites. They are mingled, however, with three futures. In the ordinary version all are alike regarded as past. Although necessity may compel us thus to render them in a concise and plain translation, we contend that the reader of the original ought to vary his conception, in the case of the three futures, and to feel that the writer intended such variation instead of a mere arbitrary change of expression. It should be regarded not as the future used for the present, and then that present used for the past, whilst preterites are strangely mingled in the description, but as a carrying back of the mind *in medias res*—to a point at which some of the feelings, which go to make up the compound emotion, partake of the characters of experience, and others, of fear or apprehension. In such cases, *events* are not so much narrated or described, as the *state* of soul which resulted from, or existed in anticipation of them. In the passage selected, the scene opens with the period, when the first mysterious presentiment of the approaching vision *was coming* upon the narrator. This is expressed by the future. *It was stealing upon me* (יִנָּבֵר), or *it was about to steal upon me*, and *mine ear received a hint* (or *whisper*) *thereof*. His bodily state is described by preterites: *Fear came upon me and trembling which made all my bones to shake*. A return to the vision itself, and to the mention of the approaching spirit, arouses the feeling of apprehension or foreboding fear, and the tense, true to the subjective state of the soul, changes to the future. *A spirit was about to flit* (יִפְּזֹז) *before my face, the hair of my flesh began to rise ; it was about to assume a form* (or *position* יִצְבֹּר), *yet I could not discern its appearance ; an image was before mine eyes, and I heard a voice, &c.* Job 4: 13. This seems to be in accordance with the idea of Jarchi in a note which the author has given on page 168. He thus renders Job 3: 3. יָאֵבֶר יוֹם אֲנִי בֹי *May the day perish in which I was about to be born, and when I was not yet born*. Jarchi regards this as much more forcible, than the similar expression, Jer. 20: 14, in which the preterite is used ; *cursed be the day in which I was born* (יָלַדְתִּי). A simi-

lar example may be given from Ps. 107: 4. *They wandered* (וָהָלַךְ) *in the wilderness, &c. ; their soul was on the point of being overwhelmed* (הִשְׁחָדָה). So also, in the language of prophecy, a most exquisite beauty is sometimes conferred upon a passage, by thus taking a position *in medias res*, from which the soul views events as at the same time advancing and receding. *Joy and gladness shall overtake them* (וְשִׂמְחָה), *sorrow and sighing have fled away* (וְאֵיֶכָה). Is. 51: 41. We fully believe that these views result directly from the principles laid down by our author, and that when properly applied, they leave but very few apparent anomalies in the use of the Hebrew tenses, that will not readily admit of an easy and satisfactory solution.

There is an immense advantage derived to the reader from this habit, into which our author leads him, of viewing the Hebrew poetry, not so much as setting forth events, as the narrator's feelings in reference to them. We are too much in the habit of regarding the Psalms and other devotional parts of the Bible, as a record of the past devout feelings of others, rather than as those into which we ourselves are called to enter. The church has too much neglected them as liturgical exercises, applicable to all times and circumstances. The Psalms express, not merely the hopes and fears and prayers of David, but of the Head of the church while on earth, and through him of its members until the end of time. In reference to such a use of them, nothing can be more valuable than those views of our author, which seem to pervade every part of his work, and to form its actuating spirit.

In a highly commendatory review of the first volume, an objection is made to the names which the author has applied to the tenses. It is contended, in accordance with the theory of Professor Lee of Cambridge, that what has heretofore been universally called the Hebrew future is, in reality, a present, and that its frequent use as a future is only a secondary application. Notwithstanding many plausible arguments for this view, drawn from the analogy of other languages, we are still inclined to the old nomenclature which our author retains. Although the other presents a plausible solution of some apparent difficulties, it leaves many others entirely unexplained. We can only here allude briefly to the objections, and state what appear to us the corresponding answers. It is true, that in the occidental tongues the present has more the appearance of an original tense than the future ; but it should be borne in mind, that in those lan-

guages, the present is the *root* or fountain of the whole verb. In this latter respect, there is a fundamental difference between them and the Hebrew, in which it is admitted, on all hands, that the preterite is the root. From the difference in their mode of conceiving time, the two races seem to have started in the development of the verb from different positions. In the occidental tongues, time being viewed in relation to the *actual present*, gives rise to three modifications. In the Hebrew, the first event is ever a shifting present to the second, and hence arise only two modifications, of precedence and succession. Hence the present, when found as an original form, is ever attended by its preterite and future, both branching from it as collaterals. No examples can probably be found of a language with but two tenses, and those two the present and the past.

In the Hebrew, the preterite is beyond all doubt the earliest tense or fountain of the verb. As ideas naturally evolve their opposites, a form for the future would be the next necessary development, and this is clearly shown in those cases in which the tenses are antithetically contrasted. Their joint use answering all the purposes of the present, (and, as our author has shown, even better, in some cases, than a peculiar form confined in its general application to a precise point of time,) there would be no actual necessity for any further development, and the language might long retain its ancient constitution. In a more perfect stage, such a form might perhaps arise. This in fact is the historical order of the Greek tenses. The second aorist, and the old second future seem to have been first in use, and to contain the simple radicals without addition or insertion. The present, in all verbs in whose letters the process can be traced, has evidently the appearance of a subsequently added form. It contains, in many cases, letters which have been doubled, inserted, or lengthened, and of which it must be divested in order to arrive at the pure radical. Thus, second aorist and future, *ταμ, τεμ, βαλ, τυπ, λιπ, λαβ*, present *τεμν, βαλλ, τυπτ, λειπ, ληβ*.

Much stress is laid upon the fact, that in our own tongue the present is sometimes used for the past. This is true, to some extent, in all languages. We do not, however, regard it as presenting the same case with the use of the *Vau conversive* future in Hebrew. This latter is the ordinary tense of sober narration,—used for consecutive events, in a manner similar to the consecutive use of the Greek aorists. The use of the pres-

ent for the past, whenever it occurs in any tongue, has a poetical aspect. It is the language of description, or an animated recital of events so near to each other, that a vivid conception regards them as simultaneous. Even when the historian thus employs it, he affects the poetical style, and instead of consecutive narration, aims at presenting to the mind of the reader a picture, in which acts, which constitute minor parts of one great act, and which follow each other at small intervals, are set forth as concurrent. This is done to heighten the effect, or to produce totality of view; and is not merely used as an arbitrary substitute for the more ordinary mode. The effect is not to bring down past events, even in imagination, to the *actual present* of the writer, but to represent them as *present to each other*. They are thus, as it were, thrown upon one canvass, and a deeper emotion is produced by their being viewed as a whole, and not in successive parts. If present time then constitutes the radical and primary idea of this Hebrew tense, it would not be adapted, in its *Vau converse* state, to the narration of events in succession, but could only represent them as simultaneous or concurrent. To convince ourselves that this is so, we need only take up any of the plain historical passages of the Old Testament. It will be found that consecution is ever expressed by this form, and that often in a sober narrative series, it follows on, chapter after chapter, precisely in the manner of the Greek aorists. If the name *future* should be abandoned, we regard the present as not at all qualified to supply its place. Better style it, when joined with the Vau, the tense of succession. This name would, at all events, preserve in the mind one of its predominant features.

Our translation, it is said, has been marred in some cases by an improper rendering of the future as future. It could be shown, however, by hundreds of examples, that it has suffered far more by the neglect of the radical and primary idea of this form. In many cases, it has been arbitrarily rendered in the past, because found in connection with preterites, when the rendering of the absolute future is not only free from objections, but actually makes the easiest sense, and produces the strongest emotion. By this means, an interjunctory expression of feeling, or a devout utterance of faith and hope, called forth by the recollection of the events described, is violently converted into a part of the narration. Thus, to give one example out of many, in Pa. 18, we have a series of preterites in the 4th

and 5th verses, followed in the 6th verse, by a sudden transition of this kind to the future, which the translators have entirely disregarded. *In my trouble I will call* (אֶקְרָא) (*not I called*) *upon the Lord, and to my God will I cry* (אֶשָּׁעַ). *He will hear my voice and my prayer shall come before him; even when* (1) *the earth shall rock and tremble, and the foundations of the mountains shall be moved and toss themselves because of his wrath.* The passage is in all respects similar to Ps. 46: 2: *Wherefore will we not fear though the earth be removed, &c.* After this expression of strong confidence in God, the writer proceeds with his narration in a series of verbs in absolute or relative past time, until in the 17th verse there is a similar burst of prospective feeling, with a similar change to the absolute future. *He will send forth* (יִשְׁלַח) *from above; he will take me* (יִקַּח), *he will draw me out of many waters. He will deliver me* (יִצִּיל) *from my foes.* Some reason must have existed in the state of the writer's soul for these sudden changes of tense; can any reason be assigned, why, in these, and so many similar cases, they are utterly neglected in the translation?

The space, which we have allotted to the consideration of the tenses, compels us to pass very briefly over other parts of the work. In the chapter on the modes, we find the same philosophical depth and clearness, that are manifested in the discussion of the tenses. "The indicative," says our author, "makes a direct and independent statement, and its form is consequently concise, but as the other modes are used to indicate, not facts, but desire, possibility, or necessity, existing in the conceptions of the soul, the speaker dwells on the verb, and this gives rise to a protraction of its form." We were at first disposed to regard this explanation as fanciful. But an examination of the analogies of other tongues, and the reasons advanced by the author satisfy us that he is correct. The rudiments of the Hebrew modes are traced in the future, in a manner reminding us strongly of the connection in Greek between this same tense, and the subjunctive, which seems to have been developed out of it. The optative has a greater affinity to the past, and the examples of what may be called the corresponding mode in Hebrew, formed by the union of the preterite with a conditional particle, present a striking resemblance to the process in which the Greek form must have originated.

The chapter on the particles is one of the most valuable in

the book. Most of the defects, which the warmest advocate of our translation must admit to exist in it, arise from the neglect of particles. The same remark is applicable to the Latin and Greek versions. Propositions, having a close connection, appear detached from each other, or united in a manner so stiff and unnatural, that it cannot escape the notice even of the ordinary reader. This is doubtless, to some extent, the nature of the Hebrew style; yet a close study of these joints and sinews of the language would show, that it has more flexibility and a closer connection of parts, than is generally supposed. The conjunction *Vau*, for example, is almost everywhere regarded in our translation as equivalent to *and*, with some few exceptions in which it is rendered *or*. Almost all Hebrew scholars, however, admit that it has a much more extensive range of meaning, denoting connection, not only by way of addition, but also of consequence, cause and effect, purpose and motive,—being often equivalent to the Greek *ὅτι*, *ἵνα*, and *ἐπεὶ*. It is sometimes disjunctive, expressing connection by way of contrast, and sometimes used as a particle of time, in which case it may be rendered *when*. In the proverbial or antithetical style it is often a particle of comparison; for the want of attention to which circumstance, some of the most pointed of the Proverbs of Solomon are reduced to the most naked truisms. The various uses of all the particles are clearly pointed out in the work before us, and illustrated by the most apposite examples.

The subject of the consecution of the accents closes the book. We can only make a very few remarks in relation to it. This is a department in which the best of Hebrew scholars have often confessed themselves deficient. The intrinsic difficulty of the subject has not been the only reason. It is impossible to enter heartily upon any pursuit, without a corresponding motive; and where,—it has been often asked,—is the inducement, sufficiently powerful, to engage the mind in what appears so barren, so utterly destitute of utility and interest? Nothing but the disagreeable consciousness of failing, in what had so long been regarded as a branch of Hebrew scholarship, could overcome the repugnance felt at devoting time to what seemed a mass of rabbinical fooleries, utterly useless in respect to the substantial advantages of biblical interpretation. But the views presented by our author clothe this heretofore most perplexing of all studies, with an interest which we did not imagine it could

possess, and which other grammars had failed to impart. One important distinction, which we have met with nowhere else, presents the whole subject in a new aspect. The consecution of the accents is shown to be based on a most perfect system, combining the principles of *rhythmical* and *logical* harmony, and of great value as an ancient guide to the proper interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. We are aware that we have indulged in the language of praise, and have been more anxious to point out excellencies than defects, yet perhaps nothing that has been said will appear so extravagant as the opinion now advanced, that Dr. Nordheimer has in reality rendered the Hebrew accents a branch of study, in which the reader may find, not only profit, but delight.

It is but justice to say, before we close, that the author, in the execution of the work, has had the assistance of two most valuable auxiliaries. This volume is the most beautiful specimen of Hebrew typography, whether from the English or American press, which we have ever seen. For this, and it is no small merit, it is indebted to Mr. John F. Trow, printer of oriental languages, whose types have been procured from the celebrated foundry of Karl Tauchnitz. We can only say in addition that the book is entitled to equal praise for its exceeding accuracy. The other aid to which we refer pertains to the spirit rather than the letter. With honorable frankness, the author acknowledges "the important assistance" of Mr. W. Turner, not only in giving the work "its English dress," but in perfecting "the scientific treatment of its details and the completeness and symmetry of its parts."

The closing remark of the preface reminds us of what is of more value than any merely critical commendation. It contains the author's devout acknowledgments to the God of his fathers for the assistance rendered in the composition of the work—(אֱשֶׁר, מְזַרְקֵי זֶר בָּרוּךְ)—and a fervent prayer that it may be a means of promoting his glory. The *Laus Deo* was a common conclusion of our older writers, both theological and civil. It has fallen into disuse in modern times, and we must confess that we were most agreeably surprised to find this pious custom revived in the work before us. Although little in accordance with the spirit of the age, the sentiment is purely scriptural; and it was uttered, doubtless, under a devout feeling that even learning is a divine gift, and that all true wisdom cometh from the Lord.

ARTICLE X.

THE INTERMEDIATE PLACE.

By Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D. Prof. Theol., Theol. Sem. Bangor, Me.

THE question of an intermediate *place* is very different from that of an intermediate *state*. This latter phrase has generally been understood to denote the conscious, active state of the departed, between the periods of death and the resurrection, in opposition to those who hold to a temporary sleep of the soul. All evangelical Christians, at the present day, are believers in the doctrine of an intermediate state. Indeed with the Bible in his hands, I see not how any one can disbelieve it.

But the doctrine of an intermediate place is quite a different matter. This teaches that the soul, when it leaves the body, does not go to heaven or to hell, but into an intermediate place, denominated in the original Scriptures *ἄδης* and *ᾗδης*, where it remains confined, till the resurrection. Different ideas are entertained as to the nature and situation of this place, and the condition of those who inhabit it. Some fix it in the centre of the earth: others are not so definite, but regard it as a *nether* world—a place of shades, of gloom, of repose. "It is always represented," says Campbell, "under those figures which suggest something dreadful, dark and silent; about which the most prying eye and listening ear can acquire no information." One part of *ᾗδης*, however, is represented as more pleasant, or less gloomy, than the other. Into this better compartment, the souls of the righteous descend at death, and are there confined until the resurrection. They are "the spirits in prison," spoken of by Peter, 1 Pet. 3: 19. The author of the "Physical Theory of another Life" represents this as "the *chrysalis* period" of the Christian. He describes him as in a state of "comparative inaction," of "suspended energy," of "seclusion," of "destitution." Into the other part of *ᾗδης* the souls of the wicked descend at death, and there await their final sentence to depart accursed into hell, the place prepared for the devil and his angels. The better apartment in *ᾗδης* is supposed to be the *paradise* of the New Testament; where are Abraham

and Lazarus, and into which the penitent thief entered, on the day of his crucifixion. The other apartment is called *Tartarus*; and is that place of torment into which the rich man was plunged at death.

In remarking on the subject thus introduced, it may be well to state plainly, and at once, that I reject this whole theory of an *intermediate place*; believing, according to most of the Protestant Confessions of Faith, that "the souls of the righteous at death, being made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God, in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and that the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day."*

The questions first presenting themselves, in entering upon this discussion, are: What is heaven? and, What is hell? What are we to understand by these important terms? I answer, that they denote, not mere *states* of being, but *places* of being—the separate abodes of the righteous and wicked in the other world. So they are uniformly represented in the Scriptures. Heaven is spoken of as a "city which hath foundations," a "house not made with hands," a kingdom which God hath prepared for them that love him." Our Saviour expressly calls it a place: "I go to prepare a place for you." John 14: 2. Hell, too, is uniformly spoken of as a place. It is the "place of torment"—the place "prepared for the devil and his angels."

In what parts of the universe these opposite places are situated, as God has not been pleased to inform us, it would be presumptuous even to conjecture. We may be sure, however, that our blessed Saviour is now in heaven. When he ascended from Mount Olivet, it is expressly stated that he was taken up into heaven." Acts 1: 11. In subsequent parts of Scripture, he is repeatedly and positively said to be in heaven. Heb. 9: 24, 1 Pet. 3: 22. Heaven is further spoken of as the residence of the holy angels. Mark 12: 25, 13: 32. To quote passages in proof of this point would be superfluous. Hence, to be with Christ and with the holy angels is to be in heaven.—Hell, too, in whatever part of the universe it may be situated, is the place where the devil and his angels are now reserved in chains under darkness, and to which, with all the

* Presbyterian Confession of Faith, p. 32.

finally miserable of our race, they will be remanded after the judgment.

The questions before us are, therefore, these: Do the souls of the righteous at death go to be with Christ and holy angels in heaven? And do the souls of the wicked at death go to the place of the devils in hell? Or do both go into different portions of the same general region, denominated in the original of the New Testament *ἄδης*, there to await the resurrection of their bodies, before entering on their final state?

It is obvious, at a glance, that the decision of these questions must depend very materially on the signification of the word *ἄδης*. And it is insisted by the advocates of the intermediate place that, in interpreting this word, we must have a strict regard to its ordinary signification, in the classics, and in cotemporary Jewish writers. But I would ask, in reply: Is the word used with such precision and uniformity by classical authors, as to fix upon it any determinate and invariable signification? And, if we admit that it is so used, will it of necessity follow, that it must be used in the same sense by the inspired writers? The word came into the New Testament, not from the Greek classics, nor from Josephus, but from the Septuagint, where it was introduced as a translation of the corresponding Hebrew term *בְּשַׁרְיָה*; which is of too ancient a date to receive any modification from those classical or cotemporary authors, of which we have any knowledge. It might be presumed, therefore, that these words would be used in the Scriptures in a somewhat peculiar sense; and so I think we find them. And the proper question is not, how are they used by classic and Jewish authors, but, how in the book of God? If the language of Scripture is to be interpreted according to the opinions of Josephus, and his Jewish cotemporaries, we must receive, not only their paganized notions of *ἄδης*, but a great deal more. We must receive their doctrine of the seven heavens, of the transmigration of souls, of purgatory, and of a semi-terrestrial, sensual paradise. That this last idea was common among the Jews, is evident from a question which the Sadducees proposed to our Saviour: "In the resurrection," or future life, "whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her."—Matt. 22: 28.*

* See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 4, Chap. 32. Also, Wetstein on Luke 23: 43.

But it is said that these words are used in the *Scriptures* to signify the *nether world*, an *intermediate place*, into which the spirits of both good and bad men depart at death, and where they are confined till the day of judgment. In reply, I observe that the words in question are used by the inspired writers to signify the *grave*—the resting place of the bodies of both the righteous and the wicked. They are also used to signify hell—the abode of miserable spirits. But they are never used, so far as I have been able to discover, to signify the abode of the spirits of just men made perfect, either before the resurrection, or afterwards.

In by far the greater number of instances, the word *בֵּרַךְ* is used in the Old Testament to signify the *grave*—the place of the dead body; and is properly so rendered by our translators. "I will go down into the grave to my son mourning." Gen. 37: 35. "Ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave." Gen. 42: 38. "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up." 1 Sam. 2: 6. David charged Solomon respecting Job: "Thou shalt not let his hoary head go down to the grave in peace." 1 Kings 2: 6. Job says: "O that thou wouldst hide me in the grave." "If I wait, the grave is my house." "They shall go down to the bars of the grave, when our rest together is in the dust."—Chap. 14: 13; 17: 13, 16. In very many instances, this word is used, in the writings of David, Solomon and the prophets as it obviously is in the cases above referred to, to signify the grave. Indeed, this is the more common and literal signification of the term, in the Old Testament. But as the grave is regarded by most persons, and was more especially so by the ancients, with awe and dread, as being the region of gloom and darkness, so the word denoting it soon came to be applied to that more dark and gloomy world, which is to be the abode of the miserable forever. Numerous passages to this effect may be quoted from the Old Testament, some of which are, perhaps, doubtful, but others are decisive. "A fire is kindled in mine anger, which shall burn to the lowest hell." Deut. 32: 22. Isaiah, predicting the destruction of the king of Babylon, says: "Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming. It stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth."—Chap. 14: 9. In this sublime and awful passage, we have either a bold personification of the grave and its

inhabitants, or—what is more probable—a direct reference to the world of miserable spirits. Certain it is, we find no good or happy spirits here.

In many passages in the Old Testament, *בְּשֵׁן* is used in immediate contrast with heaven, and of course must be supposed to signify hell. "It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know?" Job 11: 8. "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there." Ps. 139: 8. "Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down," Amos 9: 3. Really, I think there ought to be no dispute respecting the meaning of this word, in passages such as these. It certainly stands for the opposite of heaven; and of course must signify, not the grave, nor the general state and region of the dead, but hell.

There are other passages, if possible, still more decisive. "The *wicked* shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." Ps. 9: 17. The hell here spoken of certainly is not the grave, nor any other place in this world or the next, into which the *righteous* are sent. It is the place prepared for the future abode of the wicked, and for them exclusively. In other words, it is hell. "Thou shalt beat him (the unruly child) with a rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell;" not from the grave, certainly, nor from the future abodes of the righteous, but from hell. Prov. 23: 14.

In the New Testament, *ᾗδης* is used much as *בְּשֵׁן* is in the Old, except that, in a less proportion of cases, it signifies the grave. Still, there are instances, in which the word is used in this sense; as, "O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!" 1 Cor. 15: 55. In general, however, the *ᾗδης* of the New Testament is no other than the world of future misery. "Thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell;—" a place the opposite of heaven. Mat. 11: 23. "On this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Matt. 16: 18. As, in ancient times, the chief men of a city were accustomed to sit in the gates to decide causes, and execute judgment, so by the gates of hell, I think we are to understand the *chiefs* of hell, particularly the devils. These shall never be suffered to prevail against the church; and the place of their abode is the hell spoken of in the passage above quoted. It was in this same place that the rich man lifted up his eyes, be-

ing in torments. Luke 16: 23. This passage needs no comment. Certainly, the world of future misery is here set before us. I know it is said, that this was the lower Tartarean part of *ᾗδης*, and that Abraham and Lazarus were in the upper part, and this is thought to be evident from the fact, that they were sufficiently near to each other to hold conversation. But I see no evidence that Abraham and Lazarus were in *ᾗδης* at all. The Scriptures do not so teach us, and the supposition is altogether gratuitous. The supposed *division* of this place into the two apartments of paradise and Tartarus is of heathen and not of Christian origin. I can find no trace or intimation of it in the Bible. The fact that Abraham and the rich man were in circumstances to speak to each other no more proves that they were in different apartments of the same place, than does the fact that God and angels are often represented as speaking out of heaven to inspired men prove that earth and heaven are but different apartments of the same place. Without doubt, spirits can see each other, and hold conversation, at much greater distances, than would be possible to us. We certainly know, that the rich man and Lazarus were *widely* and eternally separated. The former "lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and saw" the latter "afar off." There was an impassable gulf betwixt them—wide enough to sever between the everlasting abodes of the righteous and wicked—between heaven and hell.

I have said that neither *ᾗδης* nor *ᾗδης* is ever used in the Scriptures to signify the abode of the spirits of the just. In opposition to this statement, a single passage has been referred to. David says: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption." Ps. 16: 10. The Apostle Peter, having quoted this passage and applied it to Christ, goes on to assure us, that David here "spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither did his flesh see corruption." Acts 2: 31. We have then, in this verse from the Psalms, a poetical prediction of the resurrection of Christ from the tomb, and of nothing else. The prediction is expressed, after the usual manner of the Hebrew poets, in a parallelism; the plain import of which is, that Christ was to be raised from the dead, he was to be raised speedily. His life was not to be left in the grave. His flesh was not to see corruption. The *ᾗδης* and *ᾗδης* in this passage properly signify the grave, and not the future world of spirits. In this interpretation I am sustained by eminent critics, some of whom are ad-

vocates of the intermediate place. As this passage is the only one on which the semblance of an argument can be founded, that the words in question are ever used, in the Scriptures, to denote the world of happy spirits; and since, properly interpreted, they have no such signification here; I am warranted in affirming that they have it nowhere. They signify the grave—the place of the dead body; and also the world of miserable spirits; but never, the future abode of the righteous.

Another argument for the intermediate place is derived from certain passages of Scripture, in which “things under the earth” are represented as ‘doing homage to God and the Saviour. “That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things *under the earth*.” Phil. 21: 10. The “things under the earth” are supposed to be the souls of departed saints, who are shut up somewhere in the bowels of the earth, and who, from those deep caverns, are sending up a spiritual worship to the Saviour.* But a comparison of passages will show, that the time, when every knee is to bow to Christ, is the day of judgment. “We shall all stand before the *judgment seat of Christ*: for it is written: As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.” Rom. 14: 10, 11. In the great day of judgment, every creature will do homage, of some sort, to the Saviour. But then, the bodies of the saints will have been raised, and the intermediate region, if there be any, will have been deserted.

The following passage has been quoted for the same purpose, as that above. “And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, heard I saying: Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever.” Rev. 5: 13. This grand chorus of praise the holy Apostle heard sung in *heaven*; and every creature in heaven united in it, even those who had left their bodies to moulder and dissolve on the surface of the earth, and under the earth, and in the sea. That this is the proper sense of the passage is to my own mind certain; and thus interpreted, it not only does not prove an intermediate place, but it proves the contrary. It proves that the souls of the righteous dead were, at the time of the vision, in heaven. If the passage before us proves that any

* See *Physical Theory of another Life*, p. 192.

of the souls of the righteous were, in John's time, "under the earth," it equally proves that some of them were "in the sea"—a place to which no critic, I believe, has yet consigned them.

Another passage, which has been appealed to in proof of the intermediate place, is that in which Christ is said to have gone and "preached to the spirits in prison." 1 Pet. 3: 19. These "spirits in prison" are supposed to be the holy dead—perhaps the virtuous heathen—imprisoned in the intermediate place, into which the soul of the Saviour went at death, that he might preach to them the gospel. On this interpretation, I remark, in the first place, that the preaching spoken of was bestowed, not upon the holy dead, or the virtuous heathen, but upon the impious antediluvians, who were "disobedient in the days of Noah," and perished in the flood. This is indubitable, from the passage itself. Secondly, Christ did not preach to these imprisoned spirits in person, but by his Spirit,—the Holy Spirit,—that Spirit by which his lifeless body was quickened, or raised from the dead. "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by *which* also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." Thirdly, this preaching was accomplished, not while the body of the Saviour was entombed, but "when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing." Then, "while the ark was preparing," Christ preached by his Spirit, inspiring and assisting Noah, to those who, in Peter's time, were "spirits in prison"—spirits shut up in the prison of hell. I know of no other interpretation which can fairly be given to this vexed passage of Scripture; and thus explained, it goes not a step towards proving the doctrine of an intermediate place.

Another passage from the Apocalypse has been often quoted, in proof of the intermediate place. "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire." Chap. 20: 14. This is represented as taking place at the close of the general judgment, after which there is to be no more death, and the entire world of *ἀδης*—paradise, Tartarus, and all—is to be cast into the lake of fire! To me, I must confess, this is a very strange interpretation. The tree of life, which grows in the midst of the paradise of God, is then to be burnt up, root and branch! Those holy seats, in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, all the patriarchs and prophets, saints and martyrs had so long dwelt, and where they had offered up their songs of praise, are to be cast into the lake of fire! The whole paradise of God, with all its lovely bowers

and pleasant fruits, is to come to an end, and a most miserable end ! It is to be cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death. This will be "Paradise Lost," with a vengeance. Suffice it to say, that I reject such an interpretation as this, and adopt one which, to my own mind, seems much more natural and consistent. At the close of the judgment, *death*, which is the last enemy to the believer, is to be destroyed ; and all those who came to the judgment from hell, the world of miserable spirits, are to be cast into the lake of fire. They are to be remanded back to hell again, which is now to be their prison forever.

It is further urged, in proof of an intermediate place, that the Scriptures represent the happiness of the righteous as not complete, until after the resurrection. The fact here alleged is admitted ; but the conclusion drawn from it is denied. It does not follow, because the happiness of the righteous is not complete, until after the resurrection, that previously their souls are imprisoned in the centre of the earth, or in any other similar place or region. If in the moment of death, their disembodied spirits rise to heaven, and continue there till the resurrection, it is altogether likely that their happiness in heaven will be incomplete. It will be greatly increased, when they shall have received their glorified bodies from the tomb, and entered on the full rewards of eternity.

Again : it is insisted, that the early Christian fathers inculcated the doctrine of an intermediate place. It is admitted that such was the belief of many of the fathers, particularly those in the East. It may be accounted for, too, that such should have been their belief, without supposing that they derived it from the apostles. They were in continual controversy with the Gnostics, who undervalued the body, considered it as the grand corrupter of the soul, and denied altogether its resurrection. This led those fathers to set a high value on the resurrection of the body, to insist much upon it, and to represent the soul as in a very imperfect condition—in *abditis receptaculis*, vel in *exterioribus atriis*—while the body was entombed. The effect of this error, on the minds of those fathers who adopted it, was unhappy ; leading them early to institute prayers for the dead, and resulting, after a time, in the belief of a purgatory. On the whole, the authority of the fathers, in reference to the matter before us, is of little weight. The question to be decided is not, What thought the fathers ? but, *What saith the holy Scriptures ?*

I have now examined the principal arguments in favor of an intermediate place; and to my own mind, they are far from being conclusive. They fail essentially in establishing the point for which they are adduced.

Let us now consider the arguments on the other side;—those which are urged to show that the souls of the righteous, at death, go immediately to heaven, into the presence of Christ and the holy angels; and that the souls of the wicked go immediately to hell. I commence with the proof of the first part of this proposition,—the souls of the righteous, at death, go immediately to heaven.

1. As much as this seems to have been indicated to the ancient patriarchs, in the promise of Canaan. These fathers of the faithful regarded the earthly Canaan as a type, an emblem of the heavenly Canaan. In the promises of an earthly inheritance, they read their title to a better country, even a heavenly. So we are assured by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. And where did they think this heavenly Canaan was situated? *Directly across Jordan—the cold river of death.* They did not place it in ~~that~~ that gloomy and horrid region, of which the dark grave was to them but a type. No; it was heaven which they looked for. Heaven had been promised them, and heaven was the object of their hopes. Nor were their hopes disappointed. They have gone to heaven. They are spoken of in the Scriptures as those who “through faith and patience, now inherit the promises.” Heb. 6: 12. Now, while their bodies are slumbering in the earth, their glorified spirits possess the promised rest above.

2. Our Saviour represents the saints, in the future life, and—as the connexion shows—previous to the resurrection of the body, as being “*like* unto the angels in heaven,” and “*equal* to the angels.” Mat. 22: 30. Luke 20: 36. Indeed, it would seem, that they must be more like the angels, before the resurrection of the body, than afterwards. But if they are like and equal to the angels in heaven, why should they not dwell with the angels in heaven? Why should they be imprisoned, many of them for thousands of years, as some will have it, in the centre of the earth?

3. Our Saviour's declaration to the dying thief: “This day shalt thou be with me in paradise,” is evidence, that the souls of believers go immediately from this world to heaven. The attempt has been made to use this passage in proof of the inter-

mediate place. Paradise, it is said, is no other than the upper and better part of *ἄδης*. But to me it is evident, that the paradise of the Scriptures has no connexion with *ἄδης* at all. It is heaven—the third heaven—where are the throne of God and the Lamb. Of what, I ask, was the earthly paradise—the garden of innocence—where grew the literal tree of life,—the symbol or emblem? Not of the upper part of *ἄδης*, but of *heaven*, where grows the tree of life above. The Apostle Paul represents himself as having been “caught up into the third heaven”—“into paradise,” where he “heard unspeakable words.” 2 Cor. 12: 2, 4. No person, I am sure, could ever have regarded the Apostle, in this short passage, as referring to two distinct visions, and as describing two different places, under the terms, “third heaven,” and “paradise,” unless he had first got his notions of paradise from some foreign source, and then felt it necessary to break in the passage, that it might correspond with his preconceived views. The writer of the Apocalypse, in one place, represents the tree of life as growing in the heavenly city, near to the throne of God and the Lamb. Chap. 22: 2. In another place, he represents this same tree as growing in the midst of the paradise of God. Chap. 2: 7. The conclusion is, that the heavenly city and paradise are one and the same place. Hence, the paradise, which our Saviour promised to the penitent thief, on the very day of his death, was heaven. This is the happy place, to which the glorified spirit of the Saviour went, while absent from the body, and to which all the spirits of the righteous are received, when they depart out of the present world.*

4. The case of Moses and Elias, on the mount of transfiguration, has an important bearing on the question before us. One of these personages appeared there as a disembodied spirit; the other with his glorified body. The latter, we know, when he left the earth, was taken “up, by a whirlwind, into heaven.” 2 Kings 2: 11. In all probability, he came from heaven, when he met his Saviour on the mount. Is it not morally certain, that Moses came also from the same place?

5. Another case, bearing on the question before us, is that of the martyr Stephen. Just before his death, he “saw the heavens

* The early Christian fathers, even those who held to the intermediate place, believed that paradise was heaven, and that the souls of the martyrs were received directly there.

opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." And he prayed and said: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Acts 7: 56, 59. Who can believe that this prayer was rejected; and that Stephen, instead of being received up to heaven, was sent down to *αἶδης*, where he remains imprisoned to the present time?

6. The Apostle Paul represents the whole church of God as being, at present, in *heaven*, or on *earth*. "Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." Eph. 3: 15. I see not how this representation can be reconciled with the idea, that a great part of God's redeemed family—and probably the greater part—are now neither in heaven nor on earth, but in *αἶδης*, the dark and secluded prison of unbodied souls.

7. We are taught by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, that in the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, there dwell, not only God, the judge of all, and Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and an innumerable company of angels, but also *the spirits of just men made perfect*. Chap. 12: 21—24. All are represented as dwelling together, in the same holy and happy place.

8. In several passages in the epistles of Paul, the souls of the saints, while absent from the body, are represented as being with Christ in heaven. "We know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved"—in other words, if the body die—we know that "we have a building of God, a house not made with hands"—where? "eternal in the heavens." "We are willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord." 2 Cor. 5: 1, 8. "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better." Phil. 1: 23. "Who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep," i. e. whether we live or die, "we should live together with him." 1 Thess. 5: 10. These passages of Scripture, if there were no other, are decisive. They prove, beyond all reasonable controversy, that the souls of believers, while absent from the body, are with Christ—the risen and glorified Saviour in heaven.

I know it is said, that Christ may be, in some sense, in *αἶδης*, and that Paul expected to be with him there. And so is Christ, in some sense, with his people on earth; and Paul, on this ground, need have been in no strait betwixt living and dying, in order that he might be, in some sense, with Christ. But could Paul have been where he desired to be, in the personal

presence of Christ—the glorified God-man and Mediator—and not have been in heaven? Could he have gone to that “building of God”—that “house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens”—and still not have been in heaven? There ought to be no question here.

9. The beloved John, in his visions on the isle of Patmos, saw, in a great many instances, the spirits of the just made perfect in heaven. It was these which sung that “new song saying: Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.” Chap. 5: 9. None but redeemed spirits can ever sing such a song as this. On another occasion, John “saw a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues”—of course gathered from the earth—“standing before the throne of God, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.” Chap. 7: 9. On still another occasion, John saw “the Lamb standing on Mount Zion, and with him a hundred and forty four thousand” redeemed spirits; and they sung a new song, which no beings in heaven could sing, except themselves. Chap. 14: 1—3. At another time, John saw in heaven “the souls of them which had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.” Chap. 6: 9. I might quote many other passages from this wonderful book, proving as certainly as that there is any heaven, that the souls of redeemed saints are there.

It may be said, in reply, that the place described above—the happy abode of the spirits of the just, where they sing the new song of redeeming love—is only the better part of *ἄδης*. To this I answer:

1. If the upper region of *ἄδης* is such a place as is here set forth, I have no objection to the thing itself, but only to the bad name by which it is called. For this, surely, is a bad name. It is the name, uniformly, of a bad place. The cold and silent grave is the least gloomy prison to which it is ever applied in the Scriptures. In the New Testament, it is most commonly used to set forth the prison of despair. Why should the blessed abodes of the righteous in the other world be ever designated by such a name?

2. The place described by John and Paul is no part of *ἄδης*. It is heaven. If there is any heaven spoken of or promised in

the Scriptures, it is here. It is "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." It is inhabited by "an innumerable company of angels." It is near the throne of God and the Lamb. It is expressly and repeatedly called heaven by the Apostle John. In the commencement of his vision, he saw a door opened in heaven. And the vision throughout is a heavenly vision, in which the glorified spirits of the just are represented as mingling with angels, with Jehovah and the Lamb.

But it is time that I turn to the other part of the subject, and show, in few words, that the souls of the wicked at death go immediately to hell—the place prepared for the devil and his angels. It is admitted by the advocates of the intermediate place, that the souls of the wicked, when they leave the body, go immediately into *punishment*: but the place of their punishment, previous to the resurrection, is not hell; it is *Tartarus*—the lower and more miserable part of *ᾗδης*. But it is certain from the Scriptures, that Tartarus is hell—the very prison of the devils—the place prepared for their confinement and punishment. So it is represented in the only verse of the New Testament in which there is any mention of Tartarus. "God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell (Tartarus), and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." 2 Peter 2: 4. Here then is that place, prepared for the devil and his angels, into which, our Saviour has assured us, the wicked of our race shall be plunged, at the close of the judgment. "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Matt. 25: 41. Beyond all question, this place is hell—the hell of the New Testament; and if it be still insisted that this is in *ᾗδης*, I admit it. *ᾗδης* is hell; at least, as the term is commonly used in the New Testament. In two or three instances, it signifies the grave, but much more frequently, the prison of the devils and of damned souls; in which case it has substantially the same meaning with Tartarus, and Gehenna, and with the strictest propriety is rendered hell.

Whether the righteous and wicked, after the judgment, will go to literally the same places, in which they were situated before, it is not material to inquire. But, both before and after the judgment, the righteous will be in the same place with their glorified Saviour and his holy angels; and this will be heaven; and, both before and after the judgment, the wicked will be in

the same place with the devil and his angels; and this will be hell. It may be added, too, that both before and after the judgment, heaven and hell will not be the same place, nor different apartments of the same general region; but will be widely and eternally separated, the one from the other.

I have thus examined, in as few words as possible, and with all the scrutiny and fairness of which I am capable, the question of an intermediate place. And I feel constrained to reject the theory, as one having no real foundation, or countenance, in the Word of God. I regard it as of heathen, and not Christian origin—one better becoming a believer in the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome, than a disciple of the Saviour. I regard the theory, too, as of dangerous influence. Could it be generally received by Christians, it would be followed in a few years, I have no doubt, with prayers for the dead, and with the doctrine of a future probation and restoration,—perhaps, with all the superstitions of purgatory. This is the course which the error took in the ancient church; and there is every reason for supposing that it would take the same again. The believers of God's truth should then beware. Let them learn wisdom from the ages which have gone before them. Let them hold fast the form of sound words which they have received, and not be driven about by every wind of doctrine.

ARTICLE XI.

UPHAM'S MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing the two departments of the Intellect and Sensibilities, in two Vols: A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on the Will. Forming a third Volume of a System of Mental Philosophy: Elements of Mental Philosophy abridged, and designed for Academies and High Schools. By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New-York. Harper & Brothers. 1841.

THESE works have been the result of the long experience and extensive researches of the author as an instructor in the departments of Mental and Moral Philosophy. His "Elements of Mental Philosophy," as first published, a number of years

since, consisted chiefly of a collection of facts, and was especially valuable for the richness and variety of its matter, the perspicuity of its style and its adaptation to the existing state of the science in this country. It was then, as it has continued to be, eclectic in its character, and left the author uncommitted to any school of philosophy in his subsequent investigations. His first original work was the "Treatise on the Will." In this he assumed a threefold division of the mind, as the basis of the system which he has since more fully illustrated, and which distinguishes it from that of some English and American writers, who appear to have embraced all the faculties of mind in the Understanding and the Will.

The Treatise on the Will was, at the time of its publication, the only one in our language that professed fully to examine this department of mind. The work of President Edwards was not designed to be a full and complete view of the Will, but "*of that Freedom of the Will which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, virtue and vice, reward and punishment, praise and blame.*" Nearly every treatise on the Will, which has since made its appearance, has been either a review, or an explanation of, an apology for, or an attack upon Edwards. This work of Professor Upham was, therefore, in some sense a novelty; but was not of that startling kind, which is fitted to excite a momentary wonder, and then be forgotten. The work advances from step to step, calmly and cautiously, without doing violence to cherished associations, without assailing existing prejudices or attempting to overthrow established systems.

After the Treatise on the Will had been published and favorably received, the "Mental Philosophy" was re-written on the philosophical basis already adopted in the Treatise on the Will, viz., that the Mind is to be contemplated in the threefold aspect of the Intellect, the Sensibilities and the Will. The first volume embraces the Intellect, the second the Sensibilities; so that each of the three volumes (the Treatise on the Will forming properly the third volume) is in a sense distinct; and yet all are essential to a full view of the Mind. And perhaps no other works in our language will give the student a better introduction to the outlines of a course of mental and moral training for himself, and for those he may have opportunity to influence. The whole work, as it now appears, embraces the results of extensive research, of patient analysis, and of long experience; and appealing, as it does, to consciousness, and

fortifying its positions by cumulative evidence and illustration, it can be read with great pleasure and profit by many, who would find some difficulty in mastering the works of Stewart or Brown. As the best justification of our opinion, we proceed to give a brief analysis of the work itself; in which the reader, we trust, will find some interest and instruction.

The propriety of the threefold view of mind adopted in this work seems manifest on a moment's reflection; and the wonder is that it should ever have been overlooked. No other evidence of it would seem to be needed, than what is implied in the simple expressions, *I know, I feel, I will*.

However these states of mind may be connected, and however rapidly one may succeed the other, our consciousness clearly reveals to us a fundamental distinction in the mental states thus designated. But obvious as the distinction is, the author has done well to exhibit its reality and importance so fully as to remove every objection.

THE INTELLECT.

This department of mind receives and combines knowledge. In other words, it *perceives, compares and reasons*. The several bodily senses are the inlets of external knowledge. The mind through these becomes acquainted with the external world, and the mental states thus occasioned are named *sensations*.

When the mind refers these sensations to certain objects as their causes or occasions, and thus has a knowledge of those objects, we are said to perceive; and the states of mind, which then exist, are called *perceptions*. The mind recalls some past or absent object, and dwells upon it till mental impressions or states arise, similar in many respects to those which the objects occasioned when present; and these mental states are denominated *conceptions*. The states of mind, which are thus furnished to us, are entitled by our author *intellectual states of external origin*.

But the mind has an *internal* as well as an *external* empire. It has fountains of knowledge in itself. Locke, heretical as he is supposed to be on some points, expressly admits this. He says: "the other fountain of knowledge, from which experience furnishes the understanding with ideas, is the perception of the operation of our own minds within us, as it is employed about the ideas it has got, which operations, when the soul comes to reflect on and consider them, do furnish the under-

standing with another set of ideas, which could not be had from things without; and such are perception, thinking, doubting, believing, reasoning, knowing, willing, and all the different actings of our own minds; which we being conscious of, and observing in ourselves, do from these receive into our understanding ideas as distinct as we do from bodies affecting our senses. This source of ideas every man has wholly within himself, and though it be not sense, as having nothing to do with EXTERNAL objects, yet it is very like it, and might properly enough be called INTERNAL SENSE. But as I call the other sensation, so I call this reflection; the ideas it affords being such only as the mind gets by reflecting on its own operations within itself." Our author, perceiving the errors into which Locke fell, has wisely chosen a phraseology which covers a much broader ground than the term reflection. That knowledge which is of internal origin, considered in reference to powers by means of which it is developed, is susceptible of classification, and is arranged in the work before us as follows:

Original Suggestion. To this important source of internal knowledge, which is distinctly recognized as such by the leading writers of the Scotch school, are traced the ideas of existence, mind, self-existence, personal identity, unity, succession, duration, time and its measurements, eternity, space, power, right and wrong, moral merit and demerit, and a number of others. The reason for using the term *suggestion* we give in the language of the author. "In giving an account of the ideas from this source, we have preferred as designative of their origin, the term *suggestion*, proposed and employed by Reid and Stewart, to the term *reason*, proposed by Kant and adopted by Cousin and some other writers, as, on the whole, more conformable to the prevalent usage of the English language. In common parlance, and by the established usage of the language, the word *reason* is expressive of the *deductive* rather than the *suggestive* faculty; and if we annul or perplex the present use of that word by a novel application of it, we must introduce a new word to express the process of deduction."

Consciousness. This, considered as a source of knowledge, embraces at least three distinct things. 1, Self or personal existence; 2, a state or operation of mind; 3, a feeling of relation, that is to say, the relation of the state of mind to the conscious being or self. Consciousness does not properly embrace, or have relation to any thing extra-

neous to the mind, although it may relate to the sensations which they produce within us ; nor to the perceptions and feeling of *past times*, although we may be conscious of the recollection of them. We are not, strictly speaking, *conscious* of the existence even of our own minds ; but only of their operations, and of the *belief* of their existence, which these operations indicate. We are conscious of different degrees of belief and disbelief, of doubt, uncertainty, full assent, etc., when our minds exist in those particular states which these terms express. We are conscious of thinking, attending, perceiving, conceiving, remembering, comparing, judging, abstracting, reasoning, imagining, and all similar mental acts and operations ; not of the mental *powers* it will be noticed, but of the mental exercises or acts. We are conscious of emotions, desires, affections, and of all other mental states, which properly come under the head of the natural sensibilities. Accordingly it will be perceived, that a wide range of knowledge is opened to us here.

Relative Suggestion or Judgment. These two terms are used by Brown as nearly synonymous, and in the work before us the same usage is admitted, although the author remarks that "the latter term is sometimes employed with other shades of meaning." Although the number of relations is very great, which are discoverable by means of this power, it is supposed that they are susceptible of being arranged in the seven classes of identity and diversity, degree, proposition, time, place, possession, cause and effect.

Reasoning. An idea of this source of knowledge, as it stands related to the other internal sources, we give in the words of the author :

Reasoning is not identical with, or involved in consciousness. If consciousness gives us a knowledge of the *act* of reasoning, the reasoning power, operating within its own limits, and in its own right, gives us a knowledge of other things. It is a source of perceptions and knowledge which we probably could not possess in any other way. Without the aid of Original Suggestion, it does not appear how we could have a knowledge of our existence ; without consciousness, we should not have a knowledge of our mental operations ; without Relative Suggestion or Judgment, which is also a distinct source of knowledge, there could be no Reasoning ; and unassisted by Reasoning we could have no knowledge of the relations of those things which cannot be compared without the aid of intermediate propositions. The

reasoning power, therefore, is to be regarded as a new and distinct fountain of thought, which, as compared with the other sources of knowledge just mentioned, opens itself still further in the recesses of the Internal Intellect; and as it is later in its development, so it comes forth with proportionally greater efficiency.

After defining reasoning, and describing the process of mind which takes place in every case of reasoning, the author proceeds to illustrate the two leading kinds or forms of Reasoning—Demonstrative and Moral. Demonstrative Reasoning, as is well known, is employed generally, and perhaps exclusively, with abstract ideas and the necessary relations between them. Moral Reasoning, in distinction from Demonstrative, relates to *matters of fact*; and in some respects also its conclusions differ. In conclusions drawn from moral reasoning there may be different degrees of belief, expressed by the words presumption, probability, moral certainty, and an opposite belief or opinion may not necessarily be absurd; but demonstrations do not admit of degrees of belief, and their opposites always involve an absurdity. Three processes of moral reasoning are illustrated by the writer—reasoning by Analogy, Induction, and by Cumulative Argument.

Imagination. Mr. Upham regards this as involving an intellectual, rather than a sensitive process of mind, and as closely related to the Reasoning power; from which, however, he thus distinguishes it. "Reasoning, as it aims to give us a knowledge of the truth, deals exclusively with facts more or less probable. Imagination, as it aims to give us pleasure, is at liberty to transcend the world of reality, and consequently often deals with the mere conceptions of the mind, whether they correspond to reality or not." Such is a concise and imperfect outline of the volume on the Intellectual. We proceed now to the other great department.

THE SENSIBILITIES.

The action of the Sensibilities is easily distinguished from that of the Intellect, inasmuch as it always implies an antecedent intellectual action. "As a general thing," says the writer, "there is, and can be, no such thing as an emotion, desire, or feeling of moral obligation, without an antecedent action of the intellect. If we are pleased or displeased, there is necessarily before the mind some object of

pleasure or displeasure ; if we exercise the feeling of desire there must necessarily be some object desired, which is made known to us by an action of the intellect." In this department of the mind the leading distinction adopted by the author is between the *Natural* and *Moral* sensibilities. The distinction is important, as the following statement, taken from the second volume, will show.

The Natural and Moral Sensibilities appear to take fundamentally different views of the objects, in respect to which they are called into exercise. The one considers objects chiefly, as they have a relation to ourselves ; the other as they relate to all possible existences. The one looks at things in the aspect of their desirableness ; the other fixes its eye on the sublime feature of their rectitude. The one asks, what is good ? the other, what is right ? The Natural Sensibilities, which are first considered, admit of a subordinate division. The result of the action of the Natural Sensibilities are found in the two classes of Emotions and Desires. Emotions precede and give rise to Desires. This is not only the order in succession of time ; but it is also the order of nature."

The emotions are represented as being numerous ; and as we have a knowledge of them by Consciousness, every person has a key to them, if he will learn to use it. As they arise in consequence of previous intellectual acts, their character will change in accordance with changes in the perceptions. They give rise to desires ; and without careful analysis and attention we are liable to confound them with desires, from which they should be distinguished. Among other emotions of especial interest are those of Beauty. The occasions of these emotions are various. "All nature, taking the word in a wide sense, is the province of beauty ; the Intellectual and the Sensitive, as well as the Material world." The examination of objects in reference to their power to awaken emotions of beauty admits of a twofold view. Hence we have what may be called Original beauty, and also, in distinction from it, Associated beauty. Objects may awaken emotions by means of their original and intrinsic elements ; or they may do it by association with other objects. Nearly allied to emotions of beauty are those of Sublimity, differing from them more in degree than in nature or quality. There are also *Emotions* of cheerfulness, joy, gladness, melancholy, sorrow, grief, surprise, astonishment, wonder, dissatisfaction, displeasure, disgust, regard, reverence,

adoration ; all of which and others are subjected to examination and analysis.

The Desires. These are embraced in the Second Class of mental states, resulting from the action of the Natural Sensibilities; and are distinguished from the Emotions by the position they occupy and by other characteristics. Their place, as we have already seen, is after the emotions. They are separated from intellections by the emotions which are antecedent to them; and come between the emotions and volitions; which last evidently have a subsequent place in the mind's action. They differ from emotions in having more permanency. They also necessarily imply an object, which is desired. And it is another characteristic, that their fulfilment (that is to say, the attainment of their object) always gives pleasure. The term Desires is, for reasons which are particularly indicated, employed *generically*. And under this general head the author considers a number of distinct mental states, some simple and others complex; particularly the Instincts, Appetites, Propensities, and Affections.

The Affections. These are still higher in rank than the principles which have been mentioned, and distinguished by characteristic features. One characteristic of the Affections is, that they are not *simple* states, as the Appetites and Propensities may probably be, but *complex*. The Affections are emotions either pleasant or painful, exercised in view of some object; and combined with and modified by a desire of good or evil to that object. They are accordingly divided in the work before us on this basis—the nature of the *desire*—into the Malevolent and Benevolent Affections.

Under the class of the Malevolent Affections are arranged Resentment or anger with its modifications, Peevishness, Envy, Jealousy, Revenge, Fear. The author suggests the query, which would naturally arise, whether Fear should be classed among the Malevolent Affections, but as it includes the emotion of pain with the desire of avoiding the object of fear, it necessarily implies a degree of *aversion*, and seems naturally to fall into this class.

Benevolent Affections. Love or benevolence in general being first considered, we have then arranged under the general head of these affections, the Parental affection, the Filial affection, and the Fraternal affection. These, in accordance with common parlance, are properly termed the Domestic Affections; and

their uses and moral character are beautifully dwelt upon by the Author. Humanity or the love of the human race is also set down as belonging to the Benevolent affections; and the evidence that it is an original affection is examined at considerable length. Patriotism or love of country and Friendship are regarded not so much as distinct and original affections, as modifications of other affections; and yet they are sufficiently important and remarkable to deserve a separate notice. Pity or Sympathy is classed with the benevolent affections; for, although attended by painful emotions, it is connected with a desire of good to the object of sympathy.

In this part of the work is a chapter devoted to an interesting inquiry; the result of which we can only state in few words, earnestly inviting the attention of our readers to the discussion itself. The inquiry is, whether there should not be, in order to complete the proportions and preserve the harmony of the Sensitive nature, another affection, which reaches forth and claims the Supreme Being as its object. The conclusion of the Author is, that originally such was the case. The relations we sustain to God, the evidences of design and adaptation in all other departments of mind, our necessities, the testimony of the Scriptures that man was created in the image of God, the passages which contemplate the restoration of that image, are all appealed to in support of the position, that, originally, supreme love to God was an implanted element of human nature, and that at the present moment, it is, or ought to be, in every human being a distinct and operative principle. It is in this part of the work also, that we find the Author's views of Human Depravity, which seem to agree with those of President Edwards, and which naturally flow out of the general principles of his philosophy.

The law of Habit, which first makes its appearance in the volume on the Intellect, is considered in relation to the Sensibilities likewise, and we have various illustrations of the fact that the mind, in its sentient as well as intellective action, acquires strength and facility by repetition. The Appetites, Propensities, and Affections of every grade are subject to this law, and may acquire strength of action for good or for evil, of the most glorious or the most fearful import.

The Moral Sensibilities come next under review. The fact that man has a moral nature being established, the classification of the phenomena embraced in it, and its place or position,

mentally considered, are attended to. The results or actings of the Moral Sensibilities are divided into moral Emotions, viz., feelings of approval and disapproval, and feelings of Moral Obligation. The Moral emotions, like the Natural or Pathematic emotions, are immediately successive to acts of the Intellect; and the feelings of moral obligation, which succeed the emotions, may be considered, like the desires, as in immediate proximity to the Will. If we may be allowed the expression, the Will has an opportunity of acting sometimes in accordance with the feelings of moral obligation, and sometimes in accordance with the desires.

The relation of the reasoning power to the moral nature, which has led many to confound the two, and to deny the existence of the Conscience as a distinct moral principle, is carefully considered. This connexion, it is admitted, is very intimate, and yet, the two mental principles are found to be distinct. Reasoning, when in exercise, is purely an *intellectual* process, in distinction from an *emotive* or *sensitive* process. They belong, therefore, to different departments of the mind. Yet such is the connexion of the conscience with the reasoning power, that it admits of improvement or perversion by means of this connexion; and is susceptible of education as well as other parts of mind. Men may consequently be guilty of wrong consciences as really as of wrong affections. So that man is under obligation to keep a *conscience void of offence*, and to enlighten and strengthen it by the appropriate exercise of his intellect.

The various principles which are laid down under the general head of the Moral Sensibilities, furnish basis enough for a consistent and durable Moral Education. This education should begin early. The earliest years of life are favorable to moral culture. It is true, the Intellect is developed *first* in the order of nature; but the Heart and the Intellect are so closely united, that emotions, both natural and moral, follow closely the intellectual perceptions and deductions. Accordingly if the intellect is early occupied, whether with good or bad principles, these principles must necessarily affect the heart. If good principles are neglected, bad ones will inevitably spring up; and as they gain strength by time and repetition, it will not be easy to dislodge them. There is no ground of discouragement if the efforts for moral culture seem for the time being less effective than those of an intellectual kind. "The moral and religious

instruction, communicated to the youthful memory, is deposited in the keeping of a power, which may sometimes slumber, but can never die. It may long be unproductive; it may remain for years without giving signs of vivification, and of an operative influence; and yet it may be only waiting for some more favorable and important moment, when it shall come forth suddenly and prominently to view." The importance, in this view, of correct speculative opinions, and of a knowledge of the Supreme Being, and of religious truth generally, as insisted on by Mr. Upham, will be distinctly seen.

THE WILL.

The Treatise on the Will, as it may be important for the reader to recollect, is philosophical and practical, rather than theological. It appears in a separate volume, and is sold separately; but it is bound uniformly with the volumes on the Intellect and the Sensibilities, and seems to be necessary to a complete view of this great subject. The first part of this treatise is chiefly occupied with a classification of mental powers, and with the relation of the intellect and the sensibilities to the will. The student who has examined the other volumes, will probably not regret this circumstance, as it affords substantial aid in reviewing and fixing principles more firmly in the mind. And to those, who had not this preparatory training, this course seemed absolutely necessary.

There is, however, one other important topic, which is discussed in Part I. of this Treatise, on the Distinction between Desires and Volitions. Edwards, Brown, and some other writers appear to regard them as identical. The writer of these volumes, reasoning at some length, endeavors to show that they are not so. The reader will naturally pay close attention to the various arguments which are adduced on this topic; because if there is a failure here, it necessarily vitiates the whole book. If desire and volition are identical, what need of a philosophy of the Will? Does not the philosophy of the Desires cover the whole ground?

Part II. is occupied with the difficult subject of the *Laws of the Will*. In entering on this topic, our Author seems duly impressed with the importance of the subject in hand, considered not only in its inherent and intrinsic worth, but in view of the great difference of opinion which has prevailed, and the controversies thence arising in relation to the Laws and the

Freedom of the Will. Whether the will has Laws, he considers as an inquiry preliminary to that of its freedom; and the method, taken to establish the general fact of the Will's being reached by Law, may be considered one of the most thorough specimens of cumulative argument to be found in the compass of moral reasoning. Our limits, however, will not permit us to give an analysis of it. We merely quote one or two of his concluding remarks.

It is in this simple proposition of the Will's subjection to Law, that we find the golden link, which binds us to the throne of God. If my Will is not subject to Law, then God is not my master. And what is more, he is not only not so in fact, but it is impossible that he should be so. But on the other hand, if my will is not independent, in the sense of being beyond the reach of law, then the hand of the Almighty is upon me, and I cannot escape even if I would. The searching eye of the great Author of all things ever attends my path; and, whether I love or hate, obey or rebel, I can never annul his authority, or evade his jurisdiction.

The subject of Part III. is the Freedom of the Will.—The leading topics in this part of the Work are the Nature of Mental Freedom; Mental Harmony the basis or occasion of Mental Freedom; the Freedom of the *Will* in distinction from the mere general idea of mental freedom, sustained in a number of successive chapters by various arguments and illustrations; the consistency of Law and Freedom, and the Enthralment or Slavery of the Will. In connection with this last named topic a note is appended at the end of the volume, which is designed to throw light upon its Theological bearings.

The leading subject of Part IV. is the Power of the Will. The writer makes a distinction,—which some will perhaps regard as novel, but which if true will aid in the understanding of the nature of the Will,—between freedom and power. The titles of the chapters, as they appear in this part of the Work, are as follows: Nature of Mental Power, The Power of the Will, Self-determining Power of the Will, Differences of Voluntary Power, and Consistency of Character; followed by a chapter, which concludes the whole work, on the Discipline of the Will. The views previously unfolded prepare the way for a chapter on this important topic; and the question arises spontaneously, Why in systems of mental philosophy,

in treatises on education, in schools and in all processes of education, has the *education of the Voluntary Power* been so generally overlooked? We stop not to consider or comment upon the inquiry. The importance of the subject seems to be duly estimated in the Treatise we are examining, as will appear by a mere reference to the topics discussed. The titles of the sections which are embraced in the chapter on the Discipline of the Will are as follows: A due balance of all the powers, the most favourable state of things to the just exercise of the Will, Of the culture of the appetites, propensities, and passions as auxiliary to the discipline of the Will, Instances in proof of the necessity of this culture, Importance of repressing the outward signs of the passions, Of enlightening the intellect in connexion with the discipline of the Will, Of aiding the Will by a reference to the regard of others, Of aiding the Will by a reference to the conscience, Of the aids furnished by the principle of Imitation, Aiding the Will by placing ourselves in circumstances which do not admit of a retreat, Effects of habit in giving strength to the Will, Of strengthening the Will by religious considerations.

We cannot forbear quoting at the close of this examination the closing part of the paragraph on the influence of religious considerations.

Other considerations may undoubtedly give strength, but those of religion give *more*; mere worldly motives may impart a considerable degree of strength, but the ennobling incentives, drawn from the character and government of God, inspire an energy far more intense as well as more elevated and pure. How many have been able to say with Pellico in the miseries of his ten years imprisonment: "Religion taught me to experience a sort of pleasure in my troubles, to resist and to vanquish in the battle appointed me by heaven." How many in a yet higher strain have been able to say with the three pious friends of the Prophet Daniel: "We are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace." How many in all ages of the world have been sustained by such unspeakable energy, extracted from the quickening elements of religion, that they could truly exclaim with the poor and suffering Waldenses, when encircled with fire and sword in their Alpine fastnesses, and hurled "*mother and infant down the rocks.*"

" Yet better were this mountain wilderness,
And this wild life of danger and distress,
Watchings by night and perilous flight by day,
And meetings in the depths of earth to pray,
Better, far better, than to kneel with them,
And pay the impious rite thy laws condemn."

We have thus, with as much brevity as the nature of the subject seemed to allow, followed the investigations of the author in his analysis and classification of the various mental powers and operations. Whether his classification is in all respects just, or not, it is certainly a great convenience to find an attempt of this nature. The outlines of a system, the several parts of which are adapted to each other, as they seem to be in the three volumes which we have noticed, afford, at least, a fair starting point for future inquiries in this department of study. We shall have failed in the design of preparing this analysis, if it shall not have the effect to draw attention to the works themselves, and to aid to some extent in entering upon their thorough study. They deserve to be studied.

ARTICLE XII.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*The Correspondence of William Wilberforce. Edited by his sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A., Vicar of East Farleigh, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; and Samuel Wilberforce, M. A., Archdeacon of Surrey, Rector of Brighthelm, revised and enlarged from the London edition: in two volumes. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 1841. pp. 336, 332.*

Those who have read the life of Wilberforce will be anxious to know more of this venerable man. We have never closed a biographical work, with greater respect for the subject, or greater reverence for that religion, which could so appropriate genius, wealth and influence, and make them habitually subservient to the interests of truth and humanity. It would be difficult to find an instance of such winning gentleness, such untiring benevolence, and such uniform consistency, in times and amid events which held out the strongest temp-

tations to unfaithfulness, as well as the best apologies for occasional deviations from the path of Christian rectitude.

In some respects, the Correspondence of Wilberforce is less interesting than his Life. In the memoir which his sons have given us, we see him in the family and the closet; here we obtain access to the inmost workings of his heart; here we discover his humility, his submission, his forbearance, his purity; here, in short, we behold the hidden springs of that machinery, the outward results of which are destined to be so benign and lasting. But the Correspondence is by no means devoid of interest. It covers a most eventful period—from 1783 to 1833—and brings before us the chief actors, both in the political and moral world, during that era of commotion and change. It contains the familiar letters of Pitt, Fox, Canning, Brougham; also the gentler and more disinterested effusions of Newton, Cecil, Venn, Milner, Thornton and Hannah More. But the letters of Wilberforce are the great attraction of the work. These are always written without affectation and without effort; he had no time, indeed, to devote to mere beauties of style. The writer, therefore, is seen in his genuine character—the affectionate father, the steadfast friend, the advocate of the wronged and the hater of oppression, the ardent lover of domestic quiet, and yet the willing servant of his country, the church and the world.

- 2.—*The Works of W. Chillingworth, M. A., containing his book, entitled The Religion of the Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation, together with his Sermons, Letters, Discourses, Controversies, etc. First American from the twelfth English edition, with Life by Birch.* Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1840. pp. 764.

It augurs well for American literature, that the solid learning and masculine logic of the seventeenth century are receiving so much attention in this country. And it augurs well for the American church, that ministers and laymen are becoming familiar with the English divines of that stirring period. It is healthful and invigorating to go back, and mingle, occasionally, with those intellectual giants. They were men of profound and accurate thought, and, though deficient in symmetry of learning, as well as of character, they grasped many subjects with a power which has never been surpassed.

It is hardly necessary, at the present day, to commend the Works of Chillingworth. Archbishop Tillotson pronounced him "incomparable, the glory of his age and nation." Locke

proposes the constant reading of his works as teaching "perspicuity and the way of right reasoning better than any book" he ever knew. The most valuable of his productions are controversial. He was born and educated in the established church—Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was his godfather—but he became, while fellow at Oxford, perplexed with the sophistry of a Jesuit, and embraced the doctrines of Romanism. He actually went over to the Jesuits' College at Douay; but, through the influence of Laud, then Bishop of London, he was induced to return to England in 1631, and subject the claims of the church of Rome to a new and more thorough examination. The result of a protracted and careful investigation was a firm conviction, that the pretensions of the papal hierarchy were utterly groundless. His return to Protestantism involved him in several disputes with the Jesuits; and his "Works" are made up, almost entirely, of the writings which he published in defence of his new position. His principal work—the Protestant Religion a Safe Way to Salvation—appeared in 1637, and was received with great favor. Two editions were issued in less than five months. It is a successful vindication of Protestantism against the most plausible objections of the Romanists. His extensive learning and his patient industry eminently qualified him to produce a treatise, which has never been satisfactorily answered.

- 3.—*General History of the World; from the earliest Times to the year 1831.* By Charles von Rotteck, LL. D., Prof. in the Univer. of Freiburg, Aulic Counsellor, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Baden, etc. Translated from the German, and continued to 1840; by Frederick Jones, A. M. Illustrated by 24 Engravings. In four volumes. First American Edition. Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer. New-York: J. A. Hoisington. 1840. pp. 381, 466, 384, 398.

Rotteck was born at Freiburg in the Grand Duchy of Baden, in 1775. He was made a Doctor of Laws in 1797, and, in the following year, professor of history in the university of his native city. In 1818, he exchanged the professorship of history for that of natural law and politics. In 1819, under the new constitution of Baden, he was elected by the university to the Chamber of Deputies. In this situation he soon became distinguished as one of the most liberal advocates of political

reform. On the reorganization of the university in 1832, he was dismissed with a pension. His death, which occurred a few months ago, produced a general sensation of regret throughout Germany: a costly monument is to be erected to his memory by the citizens of Freiburg.

The work before us is justly regarded as one of the ablest historical productions of the present century. Its popularity has been almost without a parallel. More than 100,000 copies, in various forms, have been sold in Germany; and it has been translated into several European languages. It ought not to be supposed, however, that the General History is merely *popular*; a term which too often means attractive but superficial, elegant without penetration or depth. On the contrary, while the narrative is always well sustained, and sometimes eloquent, its philosophy is comprehensive and profound. According to his definition, "the History of the World is a continuous representation of all the principal revolutions of the earth and mankind, by which we may become acquainted with the present and past condition of both and its causes." It holds, therefore, a middle ground between an exhibition which is too ideal and argumentative, and a dry collection of facts. It differs from the History of Mankind, inasmuch as the latter has less of narrative, giving results rather than facts and dwelling mainly on the course of the human race as a whole. It differs from Universal History, inasmuch as the latter is a general repository of all the memorable occurrences of all times and places and kinds, while the former selects only the *events* of the world,—those occurrences which have exerted the greatest influence, mediately and immediately, on the condition of man.

Rotteck adopts the usual division of history into Ancient, Middle and Modern. The first period extends to the great migration of nations,—A. D. 395; the second, to the discovery of the two Indies,—1492; the third, to 1831. Each of these intervals is again divided into three shorter periods. The first volume is devoted to Ancient History; the second, to the Middle Ages; the two last, to Modern History. The fourth volume begins with the French Revolution. It is the design of the author, as he travels down from age to age, to present to the reader, not the greatest number and variety of facts, but the most comprehensive and satisfactory view of society as a whole—its changes, its improvements, the lessons of wisdom it imparts and the hopes it inspires. He is peculiarly instructive, therefore, on many subjects which have

received too little attention in most of our general histories.

We are sorry that we cannot close our notice without advert- ing to one objectionable feature of this valuable work. We have been much pained by the author's want of respect for biblical history. It is a favorite theory of German historians that the province of history embraces only *natural* events: the *supernatural* they resign to theologians. This theory appears to have been adopted by Rotteck; in pursuance of which he affects to have nothing to do with the facts of Revelation. But facts so important in the history of the world could not be passed over without notice. They must either be adopted, as historical verities, or discredited. Our author has ventured on the latter alternative. The third chapter of Genesis, he thinks, "is similar to the box of Pandora, and several other fables of different nations, showing the same tendency;" though "the Mosaic fable is distinguished by more true and significant images." "The scientific inquirer" "admits Noah by no means to be the second ancestor of mankind, but is contented with the first ancestor, Adam, if he is inclined to admit such a general origin anywhere. He by no means appropriates to *history* the accessory circumstances related by Moses, of what is called the deluge, which are connected with the description of it, as a divine punishment, but resigns them to theologians. According to such views he necessarily rejects every theory of the population of the earth, which is confined to the sons of Noah." "The population of Egypt and its civilization are more ancient than the deluge." In the wonders which were wrought at the exodus of the Israelites, "we can often discern a real fact" "which easily took the form of the miracle, sometimes by its peculiar nature, sometimes by the enthusiasm of those upon whom it operated, and, perhaps, also, by a sage policy of the narrator, which was adapted to the time." In speaking of the legislation of Moses, he says: "It was not the divine Spirit, which is a Spirit of love and justice, that suggested to Moses those inhuman laws against Canaan." His account of the early spread of Christianity leaves out of view entirely "the mighty power of God." His notice of several religious controversies is not altogether candid and impartial. We regret that we are obliged to mention these faults in a work of such distinguished excellence. In the next edition, we hope the translator, who has generally done his work well, will enter his caveat by appending suitable notes to the objectionable passages.

- 4.—*The Martyr Lamb ; or Christ the Representative of his People in all Ages. Translated from the German of F. W. Krummacher, D. D. Author of Elijah the Tishbite, etc.* New-York: Robert Carter. 1841. pp. 288.
- 5.—*The Flying Roll ; or Free Grace displayed. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D. Author of Elijah the Tishbite.* New York: M. W. Dodd. 1841. pp. 296.

The popularity of this attractive and spiritual writer is not at all surprising. It is seldom that a voice from Germany finds its way so directly and irresistibly to our hearts. We are constantly importing the multifarious learning of that distant land, but we are able to reckon among our treasures very little religion. The bones are very many and very dry. But Krummacher comes to us, not as a scholar, but as a Christian brother. He speaks a language which needs no interpreter, because it is the language of the heart, the world over.

These volumes are like those which have already been published in this country. They will be expected, of course, to bear the impress of the author's peculiar style. They abound in expositions of Scripture, sometimes fanciful, but always interesting and often exceedingly instructive. At the same time, they bring out strongly and boldly his doctrinal sympathies ; and exhibit him as a fervent, orthodox and distinguishing preacher. The subjects of the first of the above named volumes are Christ and the first Sinners, Moses' Wish, David and the Man of God, Bethlehem, the Blood of Sprinkling, the New Creature, the Martyr Lamb, the Great Exchange, the Easter Message, the Easter Morning, the Walk towards Emmaus, Easter Peace, the Office of the Holy Spirit, the Christians after the Feast of Pentecost. Among other topics discussed, the author dwells upon the necessity and nature of the atonement, the agency of the Holy Spirit, etc. The subjects of the other volume are the Flying Roll, Who is he that Condemneth ? the Characteristics of a State of Grace, the Abuse of the Doctrine of Free Grace, the True Church, the Ransomed of the Lord, Stephen, Solomon and the Shulamite. The last is a beautiful illustration, in six discourses, of the relation of Christ to his church, founded upon several texts in Solomon's Song. Both works have many rich veins of thought, and many passages of great beauty.

- 6.—*Jacob Wrestling with the Angel.* By Rev. G. D. Krummacher. *Solomon and the Shulamite.* By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., *Author of Elijah the Tishbite.* Translated from the German. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1841. pp. 298..

Of Solomon and the Shulamite we have spoken in the previous notice. The author of "Jacob," the reader will perceive, is a different individual from the one who has become so extensively known on this side the Atlantic, within a few years. But the writings of each might be easily mistaken for those of the other. We recognize in both the same warm hearted piety, the same extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the same copiousness of thought and illustration. The author of *Elijah the Tishbite* is more imaginative and fanciful, but the author of *Jacob* is equally felicitous in unfolding the deep things of the inspired volume. This will be evident to any one who reads the work. It is founded upon that portion of Genesis which describes the wrestling of Jacob with the angel. The various truths taught in the passage, directly and indirectly, are successively considered in eleven short sermons.

- 7.—*Cornelius the Centurion.* By F. A. Krummacher, A. M. Translated from the German, with notes and a biographical notice of the Author, by Rev. John W. Furguson, Minister of St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1841. pp. 212.

Still another Krummacher, strongly resembling the two already mentioned in mental bias, doctrinal sympathy and devotional spirit. He was born in Westphalia in 1768. He was formerly a professor of theology; but he relinquished this station for the more congenial employment of preaching. He now resides in Bremen. "From an early period, he has been intimately acquainted with ancient and modern poetry; this, with his profound knowledge of the languages and customs of the Eastern world, and his diligent study of the Scriptures, has given that peculiar bent to his mind, which beams through all his writings. "The meditations on *Cornelius*," the author observes, "were originally preached as sermons at Bremen. They are now divested of that form; some are enlarged, and some are curtailed. The style is historical, as being suited to the subject and my own views of Scripture. It appears to me that the numerous divine manifestations related in the Old

and New Testaments, may be regarded as one continued history of God in his relation to man. Luther calls it 'the history of all histories,' for it is an account of the stupendous miracles of the divine majesty and grace, from the beginning even unto eternity. The sermon of Peter is the simplest and at the same time, the most comprehensive of all narrations."

- 8.—*Popular Lectures on Geology; treated in a very comprehensive manner.* By R. C. von Leonhard, Counsellor of State, and Prof. at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. With illustrative engravings. Translated by J. G. Morris, A. M., and edited by F. Hall, M. D., formerly Prof. of Math. and Nat. Phil. Middlebury College, Vt., and afterwards Prof. of Chem. and Min. Washington College, Ct., Nos. I.—III. Baltimore: Publication Rooms, 1839-40. pp. 100, 89, 100.

The author of these Lectures is favorably known in Europe and to some extent in this country, as a distinguished professor at Heidelberg. His Manual of Geology and Geognosy, and his Treatise on Basaltic Formations have secured for him a high rank in this department of investigation. The present work is intended to be—as its name imports—*popular*; it is prepared with a particular reference to the wants of those who desire some acquaintance with geology, but who have too little auxiliary knowledge to plunge at once into the technicalities of this science. Ten lectures have been presented to the American public, the subjects of which, we presume, will give some idea of the general plan. They are as follows: Sources of Geological Knowledge, Importance of the Art of Mining in Geological Researches, Description of Mines and Miners; Sciences auxiliary to Geology,—Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy,—general Properties of Bodies; Observations on Light, Heat, Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism and Thermo-magnetism; Chemical Phenomena, Elements, Oxygen, Hydrogen, Nitrogen, Carbon, Sulphur, Chloride, Fluorine, Phosphorus; Metals; Air and Water; Combinations of Gases, and with other Elements; Acids, Alkalis, Salts; Earths and Ores; are Rocks forming at the present day? simple and compound Rocks, Forms of Minerals, Quartz, Feldspar, Albite, Labrador-spar, Mica, Augite, Hornblend, Magnetic Iron, Lime, Gypsum.

Prof. Leonhard, as our readers will perceive, has traversed a wide field; indeed he has touched upon topics that might have been omitted, even in a popular course on geology. But

he is always interesting; his style is well chosen and his illustrations are abundant and happy. The last three or four lectures create a desire to see the remaining numbers. Hereafter, the proprietors expect to publish a No. once in two months, till the whole shall have appeared.

- 9.—*Sermons on Public Worship, suited to the Times. By Samuel Nott, Jr., Author of Sermons from the Fowls of the Air and Lilies of the Field.* Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 1841. pp. 404.

The subject discussed in this volume is always important. The Christian ministry can effect but little without the aid of the sanctuary: if the courts of the Lord's house are empty or thinly attended, religion must decline. But there is reason to fear, that, in some parts of our country, the urgent necessity of sustaining public worship is not felt as it should be. The influences adverse to the Sabbath are many; and these, of course, bear directly on the ministrations of the Sabbath. The customs of society, particularly in cities, the rapid increase of light reading, lax notions of personal duty—all tend to aggravate the evil.

A work "suited to the times" in this respect, if generally read, cannot fail to be useful. This volume contains twenty discourses; the first five discuss the object, character and history of public worship; the next six, the character of the ministry required by public worship; the eight following, the character demanded of the attendants on public worship; the last is a centennial discourse. Sermons are far from being the most popular reading of the present day; these, however, will be perused with pleasure as well as profit. The style is perspicuous and animated, the sentiments are weighty and earnestly enforced. We feel as we accompany the author, that we are communing with one who is deeply penetrated with the sacredness of his office. Prevented by the Providence of God from laboring in a foreign country, he is evidently solicitous to devote himself wholly to his Master's work in the land of his birth. We trust that this effort will not be in vain.

- 10.—*Universalism as it Is: or Text Book of Modern Universalism in America. By Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield.* New-York: J. A. Hoisington. 1841. pp. 341.

The history of modern Universalism affords a melancholy illustration of the downward tendency of error. Huntington

and Winchester would have recoiled with horror from the blank and soulless creed of Balfour, the Ballous, etc.; and the full development of this mystery of iniquity, we firmly believe, is yet to come. Abner Kneeland was once a Universalist, and many appear to be treading in his steps. The prevalence of this sect is no matter of surprise. A system, that makes such fearful havoc with the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, must always secure numerous adherents.

The work before us is timely and valuable. "Orthodox preachers," the author observes, "in order to acquaint themselves with the peculiarities of this sect, have, in too many cases, contented themselves with an examination of the masterly argument of the younger Edwards against Chauncy, or the Calvinism Improved of Dr. Huntington, or the writings of Winchester and Mitchell. Thus informed, they have constructed a most powerful argument, and completely overthrown the strong holds of the early advocates of this peculiar creed, and they wonder that any can hold on to a doctrine so untenable, and be Universalists still. The truth is, that not a Universalist preacher in the land, so far as the author has been able to learn, does hold on to the system thus attacked. These are not their text-books. They that would know what they believe must consult more modern writers, and gather their creed from their more recent publications, and inform themselves thoroughly in regard to the latest discoveries and intrenchments of the sect, or they will labor in vain." Hence the publication of "Universalism as it is." The picture is frightful, but, we fear, too true.

The results of the author's investigations were first given to the public in the *New York Evangelist*. This volume is a republication of those essays, rewritten and enlarged. His diligence and fidelity are entitled to confidence, and there can be no reason to doubt the substantial correctness of this exposition.

- 11.—*An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry on the Freedom of the Will.* By Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College. New-Haven: Durrie and Peck. Philadelphia: Smith and Peck. 1841. pp. 352.

This is a labored exposition of Edwards on the Will. Such an undertaking was called for at the present time. The treatise on the "Freedom of the Will" was never adapted to popular reading. In addition to this, we have that which

claims to be the philosophy of Edwards served up in almost every imaginable form. The abettors of error and of truth avail themselves alike of the name and authority of Edwards, whenever they fancy, that by so doing, their cause will be subserved; and by some his doctrines are represented as leading legitimately to the most dangerous and absurd doctrines of fatalism. Now if the work were popular in its character, and likely to be read by those who take some interest in metaphysical discussion, it might be safe for its friends to leave it to make its own defence, and stand or fall according to its merits.—But, as this is not the case, it is evident that many will form their judgments of Edwards' work on second hand authority; and if from any thing, either in the character of the work itself, or in the habits of the age, his doctrines are in danger of being misrepresented or perverted, this brings a challenge to some lover of truth and friend of Edwards to stand forth as his advocate. No one could have presented himself, in this character, more able and trustworthy than President Day. His general character for extensive and thorough learning, his calm and patient habits of thinking, and especially his sincere and unprejudiced state of mind eminently fit him for his undertaking, and will secure a favorable reception for his work among all candid inquirers; and if our impressions are correct, those who take pains to read the book with care will not be disappointed. To say the least, Edwards is here dealt with by a friendly hand. Many recent attempts to sketch the portrait of this venerable man have been failures. The modern pencil and brush have so far changed his antique features and vestments, that his old friends have scarcely recognized him. But in this newly finished drawing, Edwards is professedly exhibited in his own robes, and with his own appropriate physiognomy. We cannot say that the lineaments of his countenance are not shaded, here and there, with a few modern improvements, but the great outlines are his, and his friends may embrace him as the object of their long cherished affection.

Some of the characteristics of the "Examination" are these:—First, *its faithfulness*. The Author has spared no labor in possessing himself fully of the meaning of Edwards, and has set it forth in connexion with ample proofs that it is his *true* meaning. He shows himself to be familiar, not only with every part of the treatise on the will, but with all of Edwards' works; and in several instances he has drawn his illustrations and proofs from his other productions. Thus Edwards is made to interpret himself. The first five sections

are occupied in ascertaining the signification which Edwards attached to the terms he employs; and here he finds the great source of mistake and misrepresentation concerning his philosophy, arising chiefly from the *broad*, and, in some instances, the *peculiar* sense in which he used his terms. Partial and superficial readers, not having been aware of this, have honestly, it may be, but unjustly represented him as unintentionally teaching error and even absurdity.

Another characteristic is *the independent and liberal views* which the writer entertains of the subject which he examines. He is evidently, for the substance of his views, an Edwardean—an honest and an ardent one; yet he is not a servile follower of Edwards. Favored with the additional light, which a century has shed upon a subject so continually under discussion, he finds some things to disapprove. He objects to Edwards' classification of the mental powers, and says, "a threefold division of them is needed." He also thinks that the terms "necessity, inability," etc., are not well adapted to moral subjects and relations, and that the sanction of his name to the frequent use of them has given them a general currency, in connexion with such subjects, which is likely to result in serious evil. This is doubtless an infelicity in the work of Edwards.

Dr. Day, as might have been expected, has conducted his examination with fairness and courtesy towards his opponents. He has not even called their names, thus showing, that while he will not shrink from maintaining what he considers to be the truth, he respects the feelings of those who differ from him. He has indeed felt himself called upon, in a few instances, to rebuke with sharpness the reckless manner in which some have dealt with the *Work on the Will*. His work must be regarded, not only as an "Examination," but as a defence of the main positions of Edwards. Dr. Day, therefore, is not uncommitted. He has fairly taken his stand by the side of his great author, evincing that all which has yet been said against the "*Treatise on the Will*," has neither convinced nor awed him. After explaining the meaning of Edwards' terms, he proceeds to rescue his arguments from the misconstructions and perversions which he believes have been put upon them. One view which he takes of the source of these perversions is interesting. He says: "*It is the great object of the Work to show that the dependence of volitions is consistent with accountability.* Many hold to accountability, and thence draw the inference that our volitions are not dependent. Others believe in the dependence of our wills, and, therefore, deny

our accountability. It is Edwards' object to maintain both. He has chosen, however, to treat of these two great points in distinct portions of his work. The subject of independent freedom of will occupies the second part. The consistency of dependence with accountability is largely discussed in the two following parts. Is there not reason to believe that some form their opinions of the whole work, from reading the former portion only? Has not this partial examination suggested doubts and objections, which an attentive perusal of the sequel might have effectually obviated? In the unwarrantable separation of these two parts of the inquiry, is to be found the secret of the perversion of the work by some skeptical philosophers. They make a show of accompanying the author through the first half of his book, but there they leave him, and walk hand in hand with his opponents. They form to themselves a welcome but ruinous combination of the Calvinistic doctrine of dependence with the Arminian tenet that dependent volition is inconsistent with accountability. What infidel ever made a reference to the latter part of Edwards' *Work on the Will*?"

These remarks are worthy of consideration. They may account, in a good degree, for the alleged fact that Edwards' *Treatise on the Will* has become the text book of infidelity.

We will only notice one other singular fact; it is that president Edwards, in considering the supposable ways of evading his reasoning, has mentioned that as the least likely to be resorted to, which, in point of fact, is the very manner which has been most frequently and confidently adopted. "The first evasion which Edwards notices is this, that the *faculty* or *power* of will, or the soul, in the use of that power, determines its own volitions; and that it does it *without any act going before* the act determined. This he considers so full of the most gross absurdity, that he doubts whether he should not wrong the Arminians, in supposing that any of them would make use of it. Absurd as it may seem, this is, perhaps, at the present day, the most popular form of expressing the supposed independence of volition. How often do we hear it asserted, that a man's *power* of willing is the only cause of his willing as he does. Edwards did not anticipate all the transcendental logic, the higher metaphysics of our times. Were he now living he would meet with those who could teach him that he was far from having exhausted the science of mind."

On the whole, we thank Dr. Day for his examination of Edwards on the Will. It is timely, faithful and able. We commend it to the reading and thinking public. If any have not

the time or the patience to read Edwards through, or the ability to understand him, they will find this an important, if not an indispensable aid.

- 12.—*The Doctrine of the Will, applied to Moral Agency and Responsibility.* By Henry P. Tappan. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. pp. 356.

It is less than two years since the first of Professor Tappan's volumes on the Will made its appearance, entitled *A Review of Edwards' "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will."* In our notice of it, [Bib. Repos. July, 1839,] we hailed its appearance as "ominous of good." A spirit of inquiry was abroad, and the time seemed to have arrived when an examination of the doctrines of Edwards, so long revered and extensively embraced, seemed to be called for. The great mass of our theologians and metaphysicians, who stand substantially on the ground of Edwards, were neither fully aware of the strength of their position, nor the difficulties they might be called to encounter; while those who were inclined to dissent from some of these views had perfected no system of doctrines which they were prepared to substitute for these. The uncommitted inquirer was thus left without any recent and thorough investigation of the great and ever-varying arguments on *liberty, necessity, moral responsibility*, etc.

In the result of these discussions, thus far, we have not been disappointed. Several articles have appeared in our own work on topics connected with this general subject, in which the pen of Dr. Woods has largely shared, and the work of President Day, which we have noticed above, has doubtless been called forth by the perceived wakefulness, and, to some extent the unsettled state of the public mind in respect to the cardinal positions which it elucidates and defends. In the mean time Professor Tappan, having awakened attention to the subject by his first volume, has diligently employed his temporary release from professional engagements in the prosecution of his inquiries. His second volume, entitled *The Doctrine of the Will determined by an Appeal to Consciousness*, was noticed in our No. for July, 1840, where we enumerated the leading topics embraced in the whole series. The third and last volume is that announced at the head of this notice.

The *Doctrine of the Will*, as proved and illustrated in the two previous volumes, is here viewed in connexion with *Moral Agency and Responsibility*, and also in connexion with the *Truths and Precepts of the Bible*. The author treats of the

mind under a threefold division, the Reason, the Sensibility, and the Will, and having, as he thinks, refuted the celebrated argument of Edwards against a self-determining will, viz., that of the *infinite series, and contingency as implying no cause*, he finds in the human mind two elements of necessity and one of freedom. The reason and the sensitivity are related to their phenomena, as substance to attribute. The will is related to its phenomena, as cause to effect. All causality is thus resolvable into will; the will being free and self-determined. This view of the will, our author urges in support of the great doctrines of morality and religion. The leading topics of this volume are the necessity and immutability of moral distinctions,—moral agency and responsibility,—extent of responsibility,—conscience,—pantheism,—evil, natural and moral,—the Divine government,—the doctrines of Scripture on these subjects.

We need add nothing to what we have said in former notices of the style and spirit of Prof. Tappan's discussions. Among the chapters of the volume before us, that on the Divine government is particularly fine, and will be attractive to such as adopt the author's philosophical views. The Divine government, he maintains, is constituted of law and power, and is universal, extending to all created things and all created minds. The fulfilment of law is absolute and necessary in respect to all physical phenomena, but is contingent where a power is committed to an intelligent being to obey or disobey. In this case the law is moral, and the subject of it is responsible for his power of obedience; and if he disobey, the wisdom and power of God are sufficient to control the results; so that here the ends of government are as secure and certain as in the physical world. In accordance with these views, the *decrees* are absolute and causative in respect to all physical events. Here the *decree* necessitates the *event*. But in his moral government, though God infallibly secures certain developments of moral character and conduct, yet the certainty of their occurrence is not founded upon *necessity*, but upon a perfect knowledge of all the circumstances of moral action. Between the decree and the working out of the great moral end there lie innumerable volitions of moral agents, and a vast number of these are exercised in violation of the moral law. These are not decreed as God decrees his own acts, and natural events. Thus to decree transgression would make God the author of sin, which our author maintains has its origin solely in the free will of man. These prin-

ciples he applies to the decree of *election* to eternal life, and makes the certainty of its result not a *necessary* but a *moral* certainty, as above explained, but just as infallible as if it were necessary. *Regeneration* is represented as a change of the governing purpose of the mind, in accordance with the above principles. The *Agent* in regeneration is the Holy Spirit, but the subject of his supernatural influences is free and active, and his will is self-determined in all its purposes of good.

As to the correctness of these views, we announce, editorially, no decision. We speak as to wise men, who will read and judge for themselves. We have every disposition to encourage a free and candid examination of the conflicting philosophical systems, defended by Dr. Day and Mr. Tappan in the works we have here noticed, and doubt not that the refutation of error and the establishment of truth will be the result.

- 14.—*Religion and Liberty. A Discourse delivered Dec. 17, 1840; the Day appointed for public Thanksgiving by the Governor of New-York. By Thomas H. Skinner.* New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. pp. 77.

This discourse is worthy of the attractive form in which it appears in the neat little volume before us. The leading topics announced for discussion, as causes of thanksgiving, are "our civil institutions—the existing relations between these and religion—and the care which Providence hath extended to this country, both as to its temporal and spiritual well-being." Assuming that there is, in all respects, a close connection between the civil institutions of a people and their happiness, the author contrasts our own republican government with the monarchies of Europe, and claims for it immense advantages, particularly in the relation existing, in this country, between the civil government and religion. In the course of his discussion, and in several notes appended, he sharply resists the doctrines of the "Oxford Divines" in respect to the authority of the church, and rebukes, with deserved severity, the spirit and sentiments of an article in the former series of the Biblical Repository, January, 1835, entitled "*Law suited to Man.*"

- 15.—*God's Hand in America. By the Rev. George B. Cheever. With an Essay, by the Rev. Dr. Skinner.* New-York: M. W. Dodd. London: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. pp. 168.

The *Essay* by Dr. Skinner is introductory and commendatory, and the remainder of this little volume is composed

principally of the substance of two discourses by Mr. Cheever, delivered, the first on the day of public thanksgiving, and the other on the first Sabbath in the year. It embraces *two parts*, which are divided into ten chapters. It is rich in the variety of its thoughts and suggestions, rendered attractive by a style of expression at once striking and chaste. The current of thought is, from a general view of the grounds of national responsibility and retributive Providence, to a more particular consideration of the opportunities and responsibilities of this country for its own and the world's evangelization. The author's illustrations from foreign sources show that he has not been an idle observer of the condition and tendencies of the institutions of the old world, while his genius makes the events of history and Providence speak in glowing and impressive language to the new.

- 16.—*Sketches of Conspicuous Living Characters of France.*
Translated by R. M. Walsh. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. 1841. pp. 312.

These sketches first appeared in Paris in weekly *livraisons* and were exceedingly popular. They were regarded authentic in respect to their statements of facts, and as impartial in their delineations as could reasonably be expected. The author's name is unknown; he styles himself *homme de rien*. Himself unseen, he has drawn a picture of the leading men of France, who are now upon the stage,—Thiers, Guizot, Lafitte, Soult, Lamartine, Châteaubriand, Berryer, Dupin, etc. Each is sketched with a bold and vigorous hand. It is impossible, of course, at this distance from the originals, to form a confident estimate of the fidelity of this gallery of portraits. The character of the translator, however, is a sufficient guaranty of their general accuracy. Assuming their correctness, they are a most valuable help to the just appreciation of the men, who are exerting such a mighty influence on the destinies of France. The *translation* is admirable.

Additional Notices.

We are obliged to condense our notices of the following books for want of room.

Patchwork. By Capt. Basil Hall, R. N., F. R. S.; in two volumes. Philad. Lea and Blanchard. 1841. pp. 301, 252.

This is a much better book than the title led us to anticipate. It contains an account of the author's rambles in Switzerland and Italy; but his

remarks frequently extended to other countries which he has visited. We have a great variety of information, presented in a very easy, sprightly style. The things described are not new, but we often see them from new and interesting positions.

The Philosophy of Rhetoric. By George Campbell, D. D., Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. New Edition, with the author's last additions and corrections. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1841. pp. 396.

This is a work of undisputed excellence. The treatises on Rhetoric, which have appeared more recently, have not superseded it. Those, who would write well or speak well, should read it and study it.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels. By Albert Barnes. In two volumes. Revised and corrected, with an index, Chronological table, etc. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1841.

Sixteen editions of these notes—2000 copies each—have been sold, a conclusive proof of their value. This edition is a decided improvement; it is both revised and enlarged. Numerous illustrations and wood cuts have been introduced; and a valuable map of Jerusalem, by Catherwood, has been added. The chronological table is the fruit of much labor. It would be superfluous to commend these volumes.

Religion in its Relation to the Present Life. In a series of Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Association of Utica. By A. B. Johnson. Published at their request. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1841. pp. 180.

Contents:—Every department of nature obeys determinate laws; The conduct which results injuriously; The conduct which results beneficially; The art of controlling others; The art of self-control. The book abounds with valuable thoughts and striking illustrations. It may be read with profit by all ages.

The Backslider. By Andrew Fuller, with an Introduction by Rev. John Angell James. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1841. pp. 122.

Fuller was among the first of modern Theologians. One of his best practical treatises was this on *Backsliding*. "It is faithful, searching, tender and discriminating. The author handles his patient with a kind gentleness, yet probes the disease to the bottom, and with vigilant assiduity labors to restore him to sound health."

Popular Exposition of the Gospels; for the use of Families, Bible Classes and Sunday Schools. By John G. Morris and Charles A. Smith. Vol. I. *Matthew, Mark.* Baltimore: Publication Rooms. 1840. pp. 346.

The plan of this book was suggested by several German works, particularly those of Starke and Brandt; who, together with Doddridge, Henry, Scott, Clarke, Rosenmüller, and Olshausen, furnished the principal materials. The authors have endeavored to present a simple explanation of the most difficult passages, without any account of the process by which their opinions have been formed. Their sentiments are evangelical, reflections appropriate, and explanations generally judicious and correct.

Pastoral Addresses. By John Angell James: with an Introduction, by Rev. Wm. Adams. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 213.

These addresses were not intended for publication, but having been useful to his own people, they have been, in compliance with repeated re-

quests, given to the public, and have met with an extensive circulation. Their spirit is truly evangelical, the style simple, and manner affectionate. They cannot fail to be useful. Christians constantly need to have their minds directed to the contemplation of the truths here discussed.

Sacra Privata. The Private Meditations, Devotions and Prayers of the Rt. Rev. T. Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Sodor and Man, with a Preface by J. H. Newman, B. D. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841, pp. 338.

This is a beautiful specimen of typography; indeed it is in the best style of the publishers. The contents are worthy of the dress in which they appear. Bishop Wilson was an eminent Christian. His Meditations and Prayers breathe an excellent spirit.

The Philosophy of History, by Frederick von Schlegel; 2 vols. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841.

The Natural History of Society, in the barbarous and civilized state; by W. Cooke Taylor, Esq. LL.D. 2 vols. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841.

We have not had time to examine these works, we shall, therefore, notice them in our next number.

ARTICLE XIII.

RECENT LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

The Eclectic Review, Jan. 1841, contains a long article on "London University and the Colleges connected with it," from which the following statements are taken. This university commenced its operations in 1838. Several colleges have been allowed by the government to send students to it to complete their course. These are University and King's College, London; Bristol College; Oscot College (Roman Catholic); St. Cuthbert's College (Roman Catholic), Ushaw; Manchester College (formerly York, Unitarian); Homerton College; Highbury College; Spring Hill College, Birmingham. The three last are connected with the Congregationalists. University College takes the lead; it is open to all classes, but chiefly sustained by Dissenters. The number of students is rapidly increasing.

No one can be admitted to the degree of B. A. in London University, "within two years of his matriculation examination;" nor without a certificate of two years study and good conduct at one of the affiliated institutions. The fee for this degree is £10. The examination is conducted by printed papers; but the examiners may put questions on the written answers when they require explanation. The writer in the Eclectic thinks that those who have passed this examination would have no difficulty in obtaining a like degree at Oxford or Cambridge. He observes, however, very correctly, that the quantity demanded in the principal departments is by no means excessive. French and German, animal physiology, vegetable physiology and structural botany are among the prescribed studies.

The University has nothing to do with theology; it has power to give degrees only in arts, law and medicine. Still it has introduced a voluntary examination in the Hebrew of the O. T., the Greek of the N. T., the evidences of Christianity and Scripture history; awarding certificates of proficiency. None but bachelors of arts are admitted to this examination.

Dr. John Pye Smith has entered on the 41st year of his connection with Homerton Seminary. He has recently published the second edition of his *Scripture and Geology*.

Among the more recent publications are *Ancient Christianity*, No. 6., containing a Sketch of the Demonolatry of the Church in the fourth century; *Analysis of the Bible*, with reference to the Social Duty of Man, by R. Montgomery Martin; *The Bible Monopoly inconsistent with Bible Circulation*, a Letter to Lord Bexley, by Dr. Adam Thomson; *Pictorial History of Palestine*, Part xvii.; *Lisco's Parables*, translated by Rev. P. Fairbairn; *Memoir of Dr. Payson*, in Ward's Standard Library; *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, by Daniel Bagot, B. D.; *Historical Sketch of the Protestant Church of France*, by Rev. J. G. Lorimer; *Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible*, Division II.

France.

The Bible—A New Translation, by S. Cahen, is the title of a work in progress at Paris. Vol. X has already appeared, containing a translation of Jeremiah. The *Revue Critique* commends it in the following terms: "Never, perhaps, has the poetry of the sacred volume been rendered with so much force;" "the translator seeks to bring the French as near as possible to the Hebrew." The volume contains the Preface of Abrabanel to Jeremiah, Dahler's Historical Introduction to the same, and some new observations on the Jewish Calendar. A new periodical—*Revue Théologique*—has been commenced, edited by two of the professors at Montauban Theological Seminary. It will undoubtedly be well conducted and useful.

Switzerland.

The School of Theology had its opening sitting at Geneva, Oct. 1, 1840. Seven new students were admitted; the whole No. was 36. Prof. Gausen has just published *Theopneustia*, or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. It is regarded in France and Switzerland as an able vindication of the Orthodox belief.

United States.

Wm Radde, German bookseller in New-York, will soon publish Tholuck's *Hours of Christian Devotion*, both in English and German.—Gould, Newman and Saxton will issue, in a few weeks, a work on the Antiquities of the Christian Church, abridged from Augusti, with compilations from Rheinwald, Gieseler, etc. by Rev. Lyman Coleman. It will comprise a history of our own sacred seasons—fast and thanksgiving—by Rev. J. B. Felt; and a short account of the rites of the Armenian Church by Rev. Mr. Dwight, Miss. at Constantinople.—Dr. Grant, Missionary to Persia, will soon publish his "*Nestorians*" or the *Lost Tribes*—the prominent object of the book is to prove that the Nestorians are the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. The work is looked for with interest.

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ERRATA.

Page 314, line 21, for nothing read "nothing.
 " " " 25, for like " like."

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JULY, 1841.

SECOND SERIES, NO. XI.—WHOLE NO. XLIII.

ARTICLE I.

THE PRIMITIVE STATE OF MANKIND.

*An attempt to prove that the original or most ancient condition
of the human family was CIVILIZED, and not SAVAGE.*

By Philip Lindsay, D. D., President of the University of Nashville, Tennessee.

[Continued from Vol. IV., page 298.]

I HAVE said that it can be proved from REASON, SCRIPTURE, and HISTORY, that the primitive state of the human race was *civilized*. I have shown how reason, prior to any investigation of facts, confirms the position, and how unreasonable is every other hypothesis. I have exhibited the scriptural account of man's creation; and exposed the absurdity of supposing that he could have proceeded from the hand of an infinitely wise, good and powerful Being, mature in his corporeal faculties, and yet destitute of mental furniture, or deficient in wisdom and intellect. Or, in other words, that he should have been formed only a *full-grown infant*; and, in that helpless condition, have been left by his Creator to grope his way in this new world, friendless, ignorant, unprotected—without a guide or instructor to aid in the gradual development of his rational powers, and in the attainment of that knowledge and skill which his situation imperiously demanded from the beginning; and without which he must either soon have perished,

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or remained forever in a degraded and brutish condition. I have shown that Scripture, so far from countenancing any such representation of his original state and character, does directly and most clearly contradict it. I have rapidly sketched his early history, and brought under review the several facts recorded by the pen of inspiration calculated to illustrate this dark period of human society,—extending from the creation to the deluge. I have followed the same safe and infallible guide, from this *second* commencement of our wayward race, to the building of the tower of Babel: and in all this progress through the lapse and the revolutions of nearly eighteen centuries, we have discovered no trace of *savage* life upon the earth.

All the *data* with which we are furnished, and all the analogical reasoning which these data suggest go to the establishment of the proposition, that man existed from the beginning in a state of civilization, with very many, if not all, of the arts and improvements which usually distinguish and adorn such a state; and that he continued in this state down to the period just specified. I have also shown it to be highly probable that, soon after the dispersion of mankind from the fruitful plains of Shinar, they began in many places to degenerate; that, while the arts flourished and extended along the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile—upon the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea—in the intermediate and adjacent countries—and perhaps far into India and the East—they were either totally or nearly lost by the numerous colonies which migrated, under inauspicious circumstances, into more barren, ungenial and inhospitable climes, especially where all future intercourse between the colonies and the parent stock was rendered difficult or impracticable. I have shown how easy it is for men to degenerate into savages;—that this is a very natural process and of frequent occurrence;—that we everywhere behold families and individuals, even in the midst of the most refined society, and within sight of our proudest institutions of science and noblest monuments of art, ignorant, degraded and removed but a single step from the savage of the wilderness; that it requires the constant care and studious discipline of parents and teachers for many years, to train up children to habits of industry, good order and common civility of deportment,—to make them respectable farmers, mechanics and tradesmen; much more to imbue their minds with science and literature, to qualify them for distinction and

eminence in the liberal arts and professions, and for all the various walks and departments of honorable life and elegant pursuit, which are supposed to be worthy of the ambition of the most exalted genius.

Let children grow up without any portion of this culture, and they will be but little the better or wiser for having been born in a land of light and knowledge. In this respect, the son of a philosopher is on a level with the son of a beggar; and, *a priori*, it is just as likely that the child of a Cherokee warrior should become, under the same or similar advantages of education, an ornament to the republic of letters, as it is that the child of the President of the United States should be thus distinguished. *Cæteris paribus*, it is education alone that constitutes the difference between one individual and another. And this same tedious, painful process of tuition and training must be repeated with every generation. Wherever it is relaxed or intermitted, there will appear a corresponding declension or degeneracy. Knowledge cannot be inherited, like property. And none of us will ever be the wiser for the attainments of our ancestors, though we could number in the proud catalogue all the Bacons and Aristotles that have ever lived, unless we pursue a similar laborious course of study and self-cultivation in order to reach the same eminence. All this is sufficiently obvious; though seldom taken into the account by those who speculate on the subject of human improvement.

There is no golden or royal road to science; and yet, some how or other, we are constantly deluding ourselves with the fancy, that, as the world grows older, it must become wiser. That every new generation commences where the former left off, and has nothing to do, but to add to the stock already acquired. In one sense, this is true. It is certainly easier to travel in a beaten path than to discover or strike out a new one. It is easier to master a well-digested system of science than to contrive or invent a different or a better. And when an ardent, gifted, talented, enterprising individual shall have mastered what is known, he may possibly advance into the unknown, and contribute something to the general or common fund of human knowledge. But then he must first go through the drudgery of an apprenticeship. He must labor hard, and labor long, in order to become initiated in the profound mysteries which have exercised the wit and occupied the lives of

those who have gone before him. How few, after all, have ever comprehended the science of a Newton—much less improved or enlarged it! How few, among the thousands of erudite and accomplished scholars of modern times, can be named with Sir William Jones in the field of universal literature! And upon whom has fallen the mantle of the recently departed Davy, and Cuvier, and La Place, and Bowditch?

Now this train of remark will apply to every degree of excellence, in every department of knowledge, and to every art and vocation of common life. It shows at once the difficulty of keeping the world up to the mark (if I may so express it) which it has actually reached, and the facility with which it may recede or decline from it. And were it not for the art of printing (but recently invented), which perpetuates and widely diffuses every novel discovery and improvement; and which has rendered the vast stores of ancient literature and science easily accessible to all; our own age might have witnessed as barbarous a neglect of the philosophers of the last, as those of Babylon and Egypt and Greece were successively doomed to experience.

I have said that it is impossible for men in a savage state ever to advance, by their own unassisted efforts, to civilization and refinement. The history of every savage tribe, from the most remote ages in which savage life has been known to the present moment, bears testimony to the fact. It is now more than 300 years since Columbus discovered our own continent:—but the American savages are, at this day, as distant from civilization as they were when the white man first began to encroach upon their forests, and to exhibit to their view the conveniences and comforts of European art and industry. And, in any case, where they have been tamed, enlightened and civilized, it has been owing to the persevering discipline and culture of the benevolent Christian missionary and teacher, who have generously devoted years to this philanthropic object. In general, too, they have succeeded only with the children of the savage; and that by withdrawing them wholly from their native associates, and by educating them precisely as other children are educated. In all the regions of the old world which are known ever to have been inhabited by barbarous and savage tribes, but which are now civilized and polished, it is easy to show from whence, in what way, and at what period, they severally received the arts and polish of civilized

life; and that, in every instance, they were indebted to *others more improved than themselves* for all their acquisitions. From analogy, we may and must conclude that such will ever be the order of events.

The Mexicans and Peruvians of the new world furnish no exception to the rule. We know very little of their history. We cannot tell whence they derived the few rude arts, which, it is admitted, they possessed when first visited by the Spaniards. It cannot be proved that they had ever been destitute of those arts. The probability is, that these were the remnant which they inherited from their ancestors, who had migrated from the mother country (the original fountain of all the arts), under more favorable auspices, than did those of the neighboring tribes in either North or South America; or, what is more probable, that the latter, in their wanderings, had degenerated and sunk lower in the descending scale than the former. But after all that has been urged in favor of the Mexicans and Peruvians, it can hardly be conceded, that a people, who had not the use of iron in any form among them—who, though possessing the richest mines of gold and silver, knew not how to work them, or to extract the pure metal from the ore, and had no more of these precious commodities than what they chanced to find in a virgin state, and who were conquered by a handful of needy and desperate adventurers—could prefer any just claims to the character of *civilized*.

It has been said by Dr. Robertson and others, that the aborigines of this vast continent must have arrived from a country destitute of the useful and necessary arts, such as the knowledge of working iron, for instance; because these arts can never be lost. Now, in opposition to this whole theory, we have proved from Scripture, that iron was in common use long before the deluge; that Noah and his family must have known and did actually exercise many of the arts confessedly belonging to a civilized state; and that in the countries first settled after the flood, these arts have always flourished; and consequently, that the fact of any people's existing, on the face of the globe, ignorant of these arts, clearly proves that at some period, no matter how remote, they must have lost them. If Noah were really the father of the whole human race, and if any portion of his descendants can be found wholly destitute of those arts of primary necessity which he undoubtedly had, and which he imparted to his immediate posterity; then it follows, that these

necessary arts may have been and must have been utterly lost by such portion of his descendants as are now found without them. It is no matter then whether the American Indians lost them before they reached these shores or long after their arrival hither. The position of the learned historian is untenable. And it cannot fairly enter into the question of the original peopling of this hemisphere.*

III. HISTORY. But how does history confirm our view of the primeval and early state of mankind? Does history accord either with the deductions of reason or the representations of Scripture, as I have exhibited them? Do not the Greek and Roman historians *seem* to convey a different account of the matter? Does not the voice of antiquity proclaim that man was once rude, barbarous and savage? Here, I acknowledge, we are beset with some apparent difficulties in the outset. These, I think, could be easily dissipated, were it not for the prescriptive dominion which the classic authorities have ob-

* Mr. Bancroft, in the third volume of his *History of the United States*, concludes that America was peopled from eastern Asia; that the Mongolian and Americo-Indian races are identical in origin; that the epoch of their divergence or separation was at a period so remote, that the peculiar habits, institutions and culture of the aborigines must be regarded as all their own, or as indigenous. "By this hypothesis (says a writer in the *North American Review*, No. 110) he extricates the question from the embarrassment caused by the ignorance which the aborigines have manifested in the use of iron, milk, etc. known to the Mongol hordes, but which he, of course, supposes were not known, at the time of the migration." When did the Mongols acquire or lose this knowledge? If Noah and his children possessed it, and if both the Mongols and Indians are his descendants, then it must have been *lost*—at least by some of them.

I incline to the opinion, that most of the American tribes are descended from Ham; and that they migrated to this continent, by way of Africa and the Atlantic ocean, soon after the dispersion at Babel. My *notes* on this part of the subject, must wait for *room* and *leave*.*

* We shall be happy to allow Dr. Lindsley both "*room and leave*," within reasonable limits, to bring out the result of his *Notes*, which we have no doubt are valuable, on the subject which he has here introduced. EDITOR.

tained over our philosophy, as well as over our ordinary habits of reasoning and reflective associations. We have been misled both by their facts and their poetry.

Let it be recollected that the aborigines of Greece and Italy were a barbarous—perhaps savage people. (We shall hereafter see how they became civilized.) It was natural, as they advanced in the arts, for them to conclude that their own primitive condition was really the primitive or original condition of mankind. At any rate, their poets, while giving the reins to romantic fancy, and mingling fact with fiction, delighted in painting the scenes and in celebrating the exploits of savage life and savage daring; in tracing the progress of human improvement from the rudest beginnings; and by the witchery of harmonious numbers, imparting beauty and order and life and reality to imagination's wildest figments. They never dreamed of a more ancient or more cultivated model of social existence than their own limited domestic sphere of observation and experience supplied or suggested. These worthy votaries and favorites of Apollo and the Muses, though no conjurors, seem to have been well aware of their high vocation, and to have very liberally availed themselves of the *license* and the *inspiration* accorded to them, by common consent, as professors of the "art divine." Hence, among other "*miracula speciosa*," by the magic spell of their poetic enchantments, they caused their ancestors to spring up, full grown and completely armed, from dragon's teeth or from their mother earth: and thus conferred upon the natives the distinctive and flattering epithet or title of *earth-born*; which was the more grateful to their national vanity, as it excluded or concealed all obligation to a foreign origin or to foreign wisdom.*

The agency of the gods was deemed necessary to restrain and mitigate the furious passions of these presumptuous and

* The Athenians assumed to themselves the appellation *αὐτόχθονες*, as though they had been produced from the same earth which they inhabited: and as the ancients commonly denominated themselves *Γηγενεῖς*, sons of the earth, the Athenians took the name of *Τέττιγες*, grasshoppers. In allusion to this designation, many of them wore golden grasshoppers in their hair, as an ornament of distinction, and a badge of their antiquity; because those insects were thought to have sprang from the ground.

cruel sons of *Terra*; who, in some instances during "the heroic ages," seem to have outwitted and vanquished Jupiter himself. However, in process of time, by the kindly teachings of Bacchus, Mercury, Janus, Vulcan, Apollo, Ceres, Minerva, and the rest of their good-natured and obliging deities, male and female, these vagrant robbers and cut-throats were converted into honest agriculturists, gentle shepherds and clever artisans.

Thus the poets preoccupied the ground: and long before the sober historian began his chronicle of humble life, they had given universal currency and reputation and sanctity to the theogony and mythology which they themselves invented, or fabricated from the popular superstitions and legends of their own country, or from such historical and biographical facts or mythical traditions as they had collected among the polished nations of the East. The machinery and fables and fancies of poetry soon passed for realities; and thus became associated and incorporated with whatever was held as true and sacred in science and religion. When the historian at length appeared, and commenced the record of his country's fame, it was natural for him to look back into ages that were past, and to search for the materials of a regular narrative from the earliest period to his own times. And here he was compelled to have recourse to the prevalent poetic faith of his countrymen, or else to do violence to their prejudices and vanity and superstition, by a bold rejection of their whole system. The latter was not to be expected. Nor did he venture upon the rash experiment. He adopted the vulgar notions which time and poetry had sanctioned and hallowed. He traced their own origin—and gratuitously referred the origin of other nations—up to a period, more or less indefinitely remote, when the arts and manners of civilized life were yet to be acquired. The same causes also led the philosophers, in their speculations, to erect systems upon a similar basis. With most of these, man was assumed to have been at first but a little in advance of the brute with which he associated in a common forest.* Thus all things conspired to render this doctrine plausible, and to give it a passport to universal acceptance. It became a part of the national creed of the Greeks; and, after them, of the Romans.

Still we, now and then, behold the feeble glimmerings of a

* Modern philosophers have commonly started from the same point.

few scattered rays from the sun of truth beaming through the darkening mists of poetic illusion and philosophical refinement. A golden age—a happier state—a brighter, purer, more enlightened period sometimes inspired the Muse's lay, and seemed to point to that Eden of innocence and bliss of which the Bible tells us, and of which some faint traditional remains had escaped the general wreck of historic truth. The gods too, say they, taught the people agriculture and the arts. Was not this merely disguising the fact that they owed all to foreigners? By their own admission; then, they received extraordinary aid and instruction from some quarter; and it matters not, so far as our argument is concerned, whether the divinity interposed to rescue them from ignorance and barbarism, or whether they derived the same favors from wiser mortals, or from those nations which they denominated barbarians. For thus the Greeks, be it remembered, flattered their own vanity, and manifested their contempt for all other nations, however polished or powerful, by this sweeping sentence of degradation, implied in the contemptuous appellation—*barbarians*. All their writers, whether poets, historians or philosophers, liberally employed it on every occasion. And thus also did the Romans, in regard to all other nations except the Greeks;—for to these, they acknowledged themselves debtors exclusively for their own literature, arts, laws and civility. By this preposterous and arrogant procedure, they effectually kept out of view the claims of every other people to greater antiquity and to profounder science than their own. An odious epithet, applied to those whom we fear or hate, or affect to despise, has ever proved the most cogent species of logic which can be addressed to the populace. The Grecian sages, as we shall see, knew better.

But what, after all, do their historians say on this subject? Their conjectures ought to go for nothing: their statements, built on fable and fiction and national prejudice and vanity, must go for nothing. What they themselves saw and heard and examined, and what they learned from authentic sources, we will believe. Thus far their authority deserves our respectful consideration and claims our assent, but no further. Does Herodotus then, the father of profane history, tell us of barbarous nations, of savage tribes and hordes? Yes: and there were many such in his day, as there were in the days of Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Cæsar, Livy and Tacitus; and as there have been ever since. But what says Herodotus respecting Assyria,

Phœnicia and Egypt? He found them, indeed, rapidly losing that proud pre-eminence which had so long distinguished them among the nations of the earth. Still he everywhere beheld enough of magnificence and grandeur to overwhelm him with astonishment; and to render perfectly credible all that was told him of their ancient greatness. He surveyed, as it were, but the ruins of those mighty empires which had flourished through a period of nearly two thousand years, unrivalled in arts and science and letters and power and splendor, and which had already diffused the light and comforts of civilization to many rude and distant nations.

Did Herodotus ascertain that the Babylonians or Egyptians had ever been a wandering, fierce, brutish, hunting race, similar to the savage or half-savage tribes then existing in various parts of Asia, Europe and Africa? He did not. Nor is there a single fragment of *authentic* history in the world, which intimates that those celebrated nations had ever been destitute of the usual arts and intelligence of civilized life. I repeat, that the romance of poetry is not to enter into the account: nor is the metaphysic of philosophy to weigh against fact. In the days of Hesiod and Homer, those empires were in the zenith of their glory. That they had ever been otherwise than polished and enlightened and great and powerful, the Greeks did not know and could not prove. Their poets, philosophers and historians, who, at later periods, travelled far and resided long in the East, appear to have learned but little of their early history.

We have then no historical evidence that man was ever found in a savage state, or in a state at all approaching the savage, in the countries specified. All the evidence of history goes to establish the contrary opinion. As far back as we can trace the history of the Assyrians, Phœnicians and Egyptians, we find them civilized, and that too in a very high degree. Now, what right have we—supposing we could extend our researches no further—to infer that they were ever otherwise than civilized? or that their ancestors had been savages? None at all: unless it could be proved that these were not the most ancient nations in the world; and that the nations from which they sprung had been originally savage. This, it is apprehended, none will attempt to prove. History then confirms the argument grounded on Scripture and Reason.

Should it be objected, that the proof from history is merely negative; that though it establish the fact of civilization in the

countries already mentioned, up to the remotest period to which it reaches, yet that it leaves us in the dark in regard to their earliest condition and character : I answer, that it is clear, direct and positive, so far as it touches on the subject. And this is sufficient for our purpose. If history cannot point us to the time and place *when* and *where* the most ancient inhabitants of the earth were savages, then history utterly fails to countenance the system of those who maintain that the *savage* was the *primeval* state of mankind. If history represent the most ancient people ever known in the world as civilized at the time when its records commence, then does history yield all the support to our system of which it is capable.

It is much to be lamented that all the ancient archives of Nineveh and Babylon and Tyre and Thebes and Memphis have perished. For, that they once possessed very ample histories and annals, we have abundant testimony. Their loss is but poorly supplied by the comparatively modern Greek and Jewish historians, or by the Christian fathers. It is to the Bible chiefly, that we must have recourse for information relative to all that vast period which elapsed anterior to the time at which Herodotus commences his elaborate and interesting history.

Here it may be proper to remark, that after the more learned of the Greeks had ascertained their own origin, and had become convinced of their obligations to Egypt for letters, arts and philosophy, they then indulged in a strain of eulogy and admiration bordering on extravagance whenever they had occasion to speak of their intercourse with that marvellous country. Nor did they hesitate to assign to their recently discovered instructors and benefactors the most remote, as well as the most resplendent antiquity. "For my own part (says Herodotus) I am of opinion, that the Egyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race." *Euterpe*, 15.

But, in the absence of every other source or means of information, let us follow the sure guidance of revelation. Or, if any further aid from revelation be refused us, inasmuch as our appeal has been made to history ; let us recur to Moses and the prophets merely as historians, and allow them to be as trustworthy as other historians, neither more nor less. And less credible, they will not be deemed even by those who deny them the infallibility of plenary inspiration.

Moses informs us, that, about one hundred years after the

deluge, agreeably to the Hebrew chronology, the earth was divided among the descendants of Noah according to their families, tongues and nations.* In this grand division—made, we presume, by Noah, pursuant to the divine command—Shem had the south of Asia; and the Jews, Arabs, Persians, Hindoos, with the inhabitants of farther India and the Asiatic Isles, are numbered among his descendants. Japheth obtained the northern and central parts of Asia, the Isles of the Gentiles or Europe; and, more recently, large portions of America. China, according to Sir William Jones, was originally peopled by a colony of Hindoos, with which their neighbors and conquerors, the Tartars, afterwards intermixed. Japan was very anciently peopled from China, and was subsequently subdued by the Tartars, etc. So that China and Japan are now inhabited by a mixed race descending from Shem and Japheth. To Ham was allotted Africa, together with certain districts of Asia. The mighty empires of Assyria and Egypt, the commercial republics of Sidon, Tyre and Carthage, the Philistines and other nations of Palestine or Canaan were his inheritance and his posterity. From him also are probably descended the American Indians.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis, we have a particular account of “the generations and the sons of Noah,” and of the beginnings of many cities and nations. Thus about one hundred years after the deluge, *Nimrod*, the son of Cush and grandson of Ham, commenced his career in Shinar as a mighty warrior and conqueror. Among other cities of less note, he built or began to build Babylon, afterwards “the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees’ excellency.” *Ashur*, son of Shem and grandson of Noah, built Nineveh, and gave name to the empire of Assyria. Or if, instead of the common

* Whether this division took place before or after the building of Babel is disputed. Bryant says, “that there were two memorable occurrences in ancient history, which the learned have been apt to consider as merely one event. The first was a regular migration of mankind in general by divine appointment: the second was the dispersion of the Cuthites, and their adherents, who had acted in defiance of this ordination;” that the Cuthites under their leader *Nimrod*, refused to emigrate, built Babel, were punished, and scattered abroad into different parts, etc. Hence the fables of the Titans and Giants, etc.

version of Gen. 10: 11, "out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh," we adopt the marginal reading, which is preferred by Bochart and other learned critics, the text will stand thus: "Out of that land he [Nimrod] went forth into Assyria and built Nineveh." This is probably the true reading. It better accords with the context, and with the subsequent fortunes of that remarkable city, and of Ham's posterity generally.* *Ninus*, its reputed founder, and from whom it was named according to oriental tradition, may have been a son of Nimrod, or merely another name for Nimrod himself. But however all this may be, there is no doubt that Nineveh was built at this time, or about one hundred and thirty years after the flood; and that it soon became an exceedingly great, magnificent and renowned metropolis.

Mizraim (i. e. the family of Mezer), son of Ham, peopled Egypt. Throughout Africa and the East, Egypt is to this day called *Mezer*, and the Egyptians *Mezraim*. Another son of Ham, *Canaan*, peopled the land of Canaan, afterwards Palestine, or the promised land—the future home of the Israelites. *Sidon*, son of Canaan, gave name to the city Sidon, and was the father of the Sidonians. *Uz*, grandson of Shem, is supposed to have settled in Cœlo-Syria, and to have been the founder of Damascus. This famous city, by whomsoever built, belongs undoubtedly to the earliest ages: and it has never ceased to act a conspicuous part at every epoch of oriental history, from Abraham's time to the present day.

We thus behold the inhabitants of this new world, going forward with spirit and enterprise to build cities and to form civil communities, as soon as their numbers would permit. And the grandest cities which have ever existed, at least since the deluge, were founded soon after that event. Nay, they actually reached the highest pitch of power and splendor within a very few centuries, some of them, probably, long before the death of Noah. Profane history does not carry us back to the period at which Nineveh and Babylon and fifty other cities were *not* large and splendid. Nor can it tell us *when* or by *whom* they were built; or what were the several steps in their progress to greatness. The Bible informs us only *when* the foundations were laid. But the Bible ever after speaks of them as

* Bryant dissents from Bochart, and very ingeniously defends the common version.

large and magnificent cities. That many of them were so within a very few years cannot be doubted. As soon as there were people enough in the world to build cities, it might be expected that they would build them. And that there might have been a population of hundreds of millions, has been shown by the calculations of sundry eminently learned and judicious writers. Should any persons, however, be inclined to demur or to cavil on this score, they are welcome to all the benefit which the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint version can afford them.* That cities should have been built during the lifetime of a single monarch or patriarch, or by a single generation, need not surprise us. Every body knows the history of Alexandria in Egypt—and of the scores of cities built by the successors of the Macedonian conqueror. St. Petersburg too is a modern instance of a similar kind. And as to American cities—they grow up so rapidly and so abundantly, that no mortal pretends to an acquaintance with their statistics or hardly with their geographical positions.

But the further we ascend towards the commencement of human enterprise, the greater do we find the combination of skill and effort in the production of imposing and colossal works of art. Probably the labor bestowed on the tower of Babel—certainly that bestowed on many a structure in Egypt, say a pyramid, or labyrinth, or temple—would suffice to build a modern city of very respectable dimensions. The truth is, for several centuries after the flood, something of the antediluvian spirit and fashion seems to have prevailed among mankind. Every thing was designed and executed on a grand scale, and in the most durable style. It is immaterial at present to inquire what could have induced men, in those early ages, to unite in the construction of such massive and costly edifices. Whether it was the result of voluntary action on the part of the laborers, or whether it was the effect of despotic power, is of no consequence to the main purpose of our investigation. Were we to admit that the whole was the work of slaves—that all the mighty monuments of Asiatic and African grandeur were the works of slaves—still, this would no more prove a general deficiency in science or the arts, than the existence of slavery in our own *free*, happy and *Christian* country, implies a want of

* See Dr. Hales's *New Analysis of Chronology*; and Dr. Russell's *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*.

knowledge, skill and enterprise in the nation at large. If the ancient despots of the East possessed slaves in sufficient numbers to convert mountains of granite into temples and statues, it would not follow, either that the *master spirits*, who planned and directed such gigantic labors, were destitute of talent and science, or that the slaves themselves were in a state of misery and degradation without a parallel in modern times, even in the most enlightened and most signally favored monarchies and republics.

Conceding all that has been said and written about the wretchedness of the people employed in those extravagant enterprises of ancient vanity and ambition to be strictly true, it will not follow that those people, however wretched they may have been, were any more wretched than certain classes of *human creatures* in other countries—than the peasantry, the serfs, the vassals, the villains, of Christian Europe—to say nothing of the African *anomaly* in Christian America; or of the baser castes throughout India under the gentle protection of their most gracious Christian benefactors. The moral and political condition of the great mass of the (so called) lower orders of the people, under the different European governments, is probably elevated but little above that of the subjects or the slaves of the former lords of Egypt and Assyria.

Multitudes of human beings may be found, all the world over, engaged in pursuits, or doomed to occupations, not a whit more rational or grateful or beneficial, than were the wildest, most extravagant or most onerous ever devised or imposed by the tyranny or superstition of antiquity. Were men, employed in the construction of a pyramid, for instance—with pay or without it, as slaves or as hired servants—likely to have been subjected to greater hardships and privations, or to a more arbitrary treatment, than are the soldiers in the ranks of a modern army? or than the sailors on board a man of war, or before the mast of a merchant ship? or than the operatives in an English cotton factory or upon an American cotton plantation?

We do injustice, therefore, to the ancient Orientals, when, from the assumed misery and servile condition of the lower classes, we infer a corresponding and universal degradation of the human mind; when we argue, that, because the many appear to have been ignorant and depressed, therefore the few, or the whole must have been equally destitute of intelligence, sagacity, wisdom, science and enterprise; that Abraham;

Joseph, Moses and Job were not superior to the vulgar nomad of the desert, or to the murmuring cowardly Hebrew herdsman. We must utterly eschew all our republican logic and prejudices of this sort, while we listen to the truthful voice of universal experience. The great masses of mankind have, at all times, been controlled and directed and fashioned by the wisdom or the cunning or the will of the few. And it is the character of the *few* which invariably fixes the historic character of every age and of every country. The light of science, indeed, may be diffused over the globe, like the light of the sun; while the millions who enjoy the benefits of both are as incapable of appreciating the one as of comprehending the other. The universities of the Nile and the Euphrates—in the former of which were graduated the illustrious Grecian masters, Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus and Plato—may have been surrounded by illiteracy and rudeness, as were the universities of the Ilissus and the Tiber centuries later, and as are those of the Cam and the Isis, of the Hudson and the Potomac, at the present day. No doubt, the Newtons and the Lockes, the Miltons and the Seldens, the Fultons and the Franklins lived and laboured then, as they have done since and are doing still, among a people not quite their peers in intellect or accomplishments. Such extremes and contrasts have always and everywhere prevailed. And they do not affect the question about the civilization of any country, ancient or modern.

Thus, France is a civilized country; and yet there are millions of Frenchmen who do not know the alphabet. But, in thus applying the term *civilized*, we do not stop to discriminate between the courtly Parisian *savant* and the roughest provincial peasant. We pronounce the French nation, a civilized nation, and justly;—as we do the American republic—without excepting the three or four hundred thousand white persons over twenty years of age, who, according to the recent census, cannot write or read. For even these, uncultivated as they are, rise incomparably above the wild Indian and stupid Hottentot. And we mean the same thing when we speak of the civilization of ancient Egypt or Phœnicia. The whole people were civilized, as contrasted with savages; whatever distinctions may have obtained among themselves, or however vast the distance between either classes or individuals.

Again, there are diverse *forms* as well as *degrees* of civilization. Asiatic civilization has assumed a different type from

the European ; and, for centuries past, has ranked much lower in degree. The civilization of China is very unlike that of Germany, and probably much inferior to it. Yet, no person would confound the Chinese with the aborigines of New Holland, any more than he would consign the Germans to the same category with the natives of Congo and Oregon. I resort to this species of illustration to avoid any misapprehension about the precise meaning of the word *civilization*. Of this word, I have attempted no definition. I use it as custom has authorized. I speak of civilized nations and savage tribes, as existing facts, well known and universally understood. If there be any nations or tribes in a transition or doubtful state—so that they would not, by common consent, be assigned to the one or the other of these grand divisions—I leave them out of the account.

I assert then, that the most ancient Egyptians known to history were civilized : as truly so, as were ever the Greeks or the Romans, or as now are the Britons or the Italians. With forms and degrees, I repeat, I have no controversy. Pass what sentence you please upon the remnants and ruins of Egyptian architecture, sculpture and painting ; you will never pronounce them the work of savages. The builders of the stupendous temples at Thebes and Tentyra may possibly suffer somewhat in comparison with the artists who designed and embellished St. Peter's and St. Paul's at Rome and London ; but no man will be hardy enough to insinuate that the former were savages.

But to return, for a moment, to the Scriptural history. Whoever will peruse the Mosaic account of mankind, during the first ages after the flood, will discover no trace of barbarism, and no deficiency in the arts of civilized life. So early as the time of Abraham, we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh, and a civil polity established, apparently of the same general character with that which prevailed in the days of Joseph and Moses, and which probably continued until the Persian conquest. The kingdom abounded in agricultural products, and afforded ample relief to strangers in seasons of famine. Moses represents the sovereign, who reigned at the time of the patriarch's temporary sojourn in that then most fertile and hospitable country, as a powerful and magnificent monarch, surrounded by his princes and officers of state, maintaining a splendid and luxurious court, and exhibiting also

much more magnanimity and moral principle than is usually to be met with in crowned heads among the ancients or the moderns. Several writers, particularly Goguet and Warburton, have contrasted the circumstances of Abraham's journey into Egypt and of his dismissal by Pharaoh, with those of a similar adventure on the part of Isaac with Abimelech, styled king of Gerar,—in which the superiority of an Egyptian monarch over a petty Philistine *sheik* or chief is strikingly manifested.

In the days of Jacob, the caravan of Ishmaelite merchants from Gilead, "with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh," and their ready purchase of Joseph as a slave, sufficiently indicate the nature of the market which Egypt then presented for the rarest commodities, as well as the safe and regular manner in which the over-land foreign commerce was conducted. We read of a captain of Pharaoh's guard, of a chief butler and baker, and other important functionaries—of a distinct priesthood—of a prison, "where the king's prisoners were bound"—of "magicians and wise men"—and of sundry curious facts and incidents, rather casually glanced at than directly stated in the general narrative. "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had," etc.; all evincing much luxury and refinement. And in the cities for the laying up of stores and provisions for the approaching seven years of famine, we see the effects of wise government and of great national opulence. Soon after Joseph's death, we find the power and grandeur of the kingdom very significantly illustrated in the employment of the enslaved Israelites in building treasure cities, and in preparing materials for splendid public edifices. "Indeed (adds Warburton), if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was chosen by God to be the scene of all his wonders, in support of his elect people, for this very reason, that through the celebrity of so famed an empire, the power of the true God might be spread abroad, and strike the observation of the whole habitable world. 'For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.'" Rom. 9: 17.

The description of the Egyptian priesthood by Diodorus Siculus is worthy of notice in this connection. "The whole

country being divided into three parts ; the first belongs to the body of priests, an order in the highest reverence among their countrymen, for their piety to the gods, and their consummate wisdom, acquired by the best education, and the closest application to the improvement of the mind. With their revenues they supply all Egypt with public sacrifices ; they support a number of inferior officers, and maintain their own families : for the Egyptians think it utterly unlawful to make any change in their public worship ; but hold that every thing should be administered by their priests, in the same constant, invariable manner. Nor do they deem it at all fitting that those, to whose cares the public is so much indebted, should want the common necessities of life : for the priests are constantly attached to the person of the king, as his coadjutors, counsellors and instructors in the most weighty matters. For it is not among them as with the Greeks, where one single man or woman exercises the office of the priesthood. Here a body or society is employed in sacrificing and other rites of public worship, who transmit their profession to their children. This order, likewise, is exempt from all charges and imposts, and holds the second honors, under the king, in the public administration." Moses also tells us that the Egyptian priests were a distinct and superior order, and had an established landed revenue ; that when the famine raged so severely that the people were compelled to sell their estates to the crown for bread, the priests still retained theirs unalienated, and were supplied with corn gratuitously from the public stores. "Only the land of the priests bought he not : for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them : wherefore they sold not their lands." Gen. 47: 22. Diodorus gives us the reason of this indulgence, and corroborates the Scriptural history ; or, rather, is himself sustained by this venerable authority—although ignorant, probably, of its existence.

Herodotus says the inhabitants of Heliopolis were deemed in his time the most ingenious of all the Egyptians. The schools of its priesthood were famous for wisdom and learning. And Strabo, even so late as the beginning of the Christian era, speaks of certain stately edifices as still remaining in that ancient city, which, as it was reported, had formerly been occupied by the priests, who cultivated the studies of philosophy and astronomy. This statement is incidentally confirmed by

Moses. When Joseph was created *grand vizier* or prime minister of Egypt, Pharaoh "gave him to wife, Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On" or Heliopolis. All the circumstances of the case plainly show that the king was then disposed to do Joseph the highest honor: and the sound policy of this distinguished alliance is apparent from the passages already cited from the Greek historians. The sudden and extraordinary elevation of a stranger, over the heads of the hereditary administrators of public affairs, might have proved a dangerous experiment. The introduction of Joseph, therefore, into their own priestly order by marriage, was probably the best, if not the only expedient, calculated to allay their envy and prejudices, and to secure their cordial support and co-operation.

It is worthy of remark also, that, throughout this whole period from Abraham to Moses, the Scripture represents Egypt as an entire kingdom under one monarch, and not as distributed into a number of petty independent sovereignties, as most modern historians, from the imperfect traditions detailed by the Greeks, would lead us to believe. That Egypt might, in after times, have been thus temporarily divided among several tyrants or competitors for the throne, or that the powerful nobles or military commanders might, during the reign of a weak prince or the minority of a young one, or at any other favorable crisis, have seized upon the crown and shared its honors among them, is very probable, and will account for the stories found in many writers about the confusions of ancient Egypt. Domestic feuds and animosities may have commenced at or soon after the exodus of the Israelites. At any rate, the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, centuries later, when predicting the desolation of Egypt by the Babylonians, speak of internal commotions and divisions as the principal cause of her deplorable weakness, and of her forty years' endurance of the most dreadful calamities ever inflicted upon a conquered enemy. "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom." Is. 19: 2. "And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years, and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries." Ezek. 29: 12. We must not confound the early with the later history of Egypt.

Nor are we to forget that, however much of error or fiction may have found its way into their historical statements, the more intelligent and travelled Greeks, with one voice, assigned to Egypt both the remotest antiquity and the highest wisdom and learning. Herodotus says that the Egyptians were the wisest of all nations, and that they were never beholden for any thing to the Grecians; but on the contrary, that Greece had borrowed largely from Egypt. All the Hebrew records support the Grecian evidence for the extreme antiquity and pre-eminent wisdom of the Egyptians. Thus, Isaiah, in denouncing the divine judgments against this people: "Surely the princes of Zoan (or Tanis) are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they? Where are thy wise men?" Is. 19: 12.

I transcribe the following paragraph from Warburton, chiefly as furnishing a curious specimen of a kind of reasoning which is always convenient to the system-maker, and in the main abundantly satisfactory to the general reader. "This superior nobility of the priests of On or Heliopolis seems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worshipped; and certainly, from the most early times: for Diodorus tells us that, 'the first gods of Egypt were the sun and moon:' the truth of which, all this laid together remarkably confirms. Now if we suppose, as is very reasonable, that the first established priests in Egypt were those dedicated to the sun at On, we shall not be at a loss to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo says, they were much given to astronomy; and this too we can easily believe: for what more likely than that they should be fond of the study of that system, over which their god presided, not only in his *moral* but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely, in order to exalt this their visible god, by giving him the post of honor, it is certain they taught that the sun was in the centre of its system, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came with the rest of the Egyptian learning into Greece, being carried thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from CEnuphis, a priest of Heliopolis, and, after having given

the most distinguished lustre to his school, it sunk into obscurity, and suffered a total eclipse throughout a long succession of learned and unlearned ages; till these times returned its ancient splendor, and immovably fixed it on the most unerring principles of science."

As to the very accommodating hypothesis or rather conjecture, that the Egyptian professors may have "invented at hazard" the sublime astronomical doctrine, taught in Greece by their accomplished pupil Pythagoras—a doctrine which never obtained currency among the Greeks—which subsequently, and after the lapse of more than twenty centuries, was revived by Copernicus, and finally demonstrated by Newton—the philosophers are heartily welcome to all the capital they can make of it. They must concede, at the least, that the Egyptian sages were shrewd and lucky *guessers*; and that their inventions *at hazard* were not always to be despised. With all becoming deference, however, to great names, and to superior erudition, I should venture to reverse the order; and to assume that their orthodox astronomical faith was grounded upon real science: and that the science preceded the popular superstition, and gave rise to it. *When* or *how* they acquired this wonderful science, which *we* are only just beginning to learn—whether they derived it from Noah, and he from the father and first great teacher of mankind—or whether some gifted Galileo or Newton among themselves was its happy author—it were bootless to speculate. It is much easier to account for its ultimate and total disappearance—even long before the superstition which it generated had, in any degree, relaxed its ghostly dominion over the popular mind. The science itself may never have passed the limits of the sacerdotal colleges and royal observatories where it was studied and cherished; while the superstition was diffused among all ranks and embraced by the whole people.

The science, moreover, may have become obsolete or been lost among its privileged guardians and depositaries prior even to the dissolution of their priestly order. These may have neglected their high vocation as teachers and students—as has often happened in similar corporations since—from indolence, from the absence of all external stimulus or exciting motive, or from luxurious habits of self-indulgence: and thereafter, they may have been content with the results, the tables, rules, formulæ and calculations, already provided by their more diligent and faithful predecessors. They might continue to know

the fact, and to believe the theory of the true solar system; just as multitudes of modern *gownsmen* know and believe, without being able to advance a single step towards the actual demonstration. At any rate, the science must have perished beneath the desolating sweep of the Persian invader, who madly sought to bury, in the ruins of the temple and the palace, the religion, the learning, the arts and the glory of Egypt. The superstition, indeed, survived the rage, the fire and the sword of the ruthless victor. But the light of science was utterly extinguished; and its votaries were silenced forever. The later Greeks had ample opportunities to witness all the revolting absurdities of the Egyptian idolatry; while they could hear only a faint traditionary whisper of that splendid intellectual inheritance which had once adorned, enriched and exalted the Egyptian name above every other in the ancient world.

But, inasmuch as the bigoted Persians destroyed or rather annihilated all the written records, the libraries, books, archives, chronicles, annals—all the scientific apparatus and collections—which had been accumulating undisturbed for two thousand years; we, forsooth, are not to believe that the Egyptians ever possessed either literature or science! And we should, no doubt, be equally incredulous about Egyptian art, were it not for the still living and still speaking witnesses in every part of the land, upon either bank of the mysterious Nile, from the cataracts to the Mediterranean. But for these stubborn monuments, we should very logically conclude, that the present half-human *Copts* are fair specimens of Pharaoh's wise men—the instructors of Moses and Cecrops, of Solon and Pythagoras! And we are the more especially predisposed to favor this mode of reasoning, since it is everywhere gravely asserted, that the East is unchangeable, and has never changed;—that habits, manners, usages, all things remain just as they were a score of centuries ago. So that whatever a galloping traveller or fashionable tourist happens to encounter or to espy, is incontinently jotted down as a veritable *fac simile* of what existed in the days of Abraham or Solomon;—as if invariable uniformity and absolute stability were predicable of regions which have undergone more revolutions, reverses, exterminating wars and plagues of all sorts—political, moral, religious and physical—than any other portions of the globe. It is time that this folly were rebuked, and that its abettors were sent to school.

I have said more of Egypt than my argument strictly demands. To show that Egypt was always civilized, and never otherwise—without claiming for it any extraordinary excellence or superiority—was abundantly sufficient to sustain the proposition which I have essayed to demonstrate.* Incidentally, I have adverted to a few particulars which seem to indicate a very high order and degree of civilization. And much more, tending to the same result, might easily be adduced. Ever since the temporary occupancy of Egypt by the French, under Napoleon, the ruins of her pristine grandeur have been a *study* for the most profoundly learned, sagacious and philosophical antiquarians of Europe. They have not only visited the several remarkable localities, but have patiently, perseveringly and laboriously explored, investigated, deciphered, measured, compared, classified—until they have become familiar with the aspect, features, magnitude, proportions and style of those marvellous creations, which have resisted and survived the convulsions and the Vandalism of a hundred generations; and which

* Bryant indeed maintains, that the Mizraim, with their brethren the sons of Phut, migrated to their place of allotment, the Upper Egypt, a long time before the rebellion at Babel; that they there led a simple, rude, half-savage kind of life for several ages; that they were at length conquered and civilized by their brethren the *Cushites* (the Titanic brood, as he styles them), after they had been driven from Babylonia—etc.—His authorities, Diodorus Siculus among them, do not seem to warrant his hypothesis. But if admitted to be true, it would not invalidate our theory in the slightest degree. It would merely change a little the order of events. It would show that the first settlers in a part of Egypt had greatly degenerated for a season: and that they were afterwards instructed and reclaimed by a colony direct from the fatherland—the original seat and fountain of civilization. Should all our facts and reasoning about Egypt be questioned or rejected, still our main position remains impregnable and unaffected. It can never be demolished, until it be proved that there was a time when civilization was unknown, and nowhere existed; or when all the inhabitants of our globe were savages. The philosophy which traces the civilized up to the savage state, or which deduces the former from the latter, demands this: and nothing less will meet the demand. Otherwise, the whole affair is a mere “*controversia verbi*.”

seem destined to speak of the primeval ages and of the Pharaohs to the latest posterity. But into this tempting and opulent field, we must not venture. The pen and the pencil, however, have nobly accomplished their proper task; and volumes, full of instruction and of the most intensely exciting interest, are now within the reach of every man, who has the curiosity to read one of the most astonishing, as well as edifying passages in the history of our race. Not only do these recent researches fully confirm all the statements of the Hebrew and classical authors; but they add immensely to the previously conceded number and variety of arts and sciences, useful and liberal, which must have been cultivated and practised by the older Egyptians. It is difficult, indeed, to discover wherein they were deficient, or inferior to the modern European, while, in some respects, it is manifest they remain still unrivalled and peerless.

We are now able to comprehend and to appreciate the meaning of the significant scriptural phrase—"the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and the reason why Moses and the Grecian sages frequented their schools; and why, moreover, the latter spent so many years, not merely at one college, but oftentimes at different colleges, according to the objects which they had in view or the sciences to be acquired, before they deemed their education *finished*, or aspired to the honors of graduation. Thus, Lycurgus and Solon, the most eminent lawgivers among the Greeks, appear to have visited Egypt, chiefly to enlarge their acquaintance with the great principles of civil government and jurisprudence. The latter, as Plutarch informs us, received much useful instruction, on various important doctrines of philosophy and politics, from the priests at Sais. Thales and Eudoxus studied mathematics at Memphis. Pythagoras learned astronomy at Heliopolis. Thence he passed successively to the other most renowned seminaries; in which, for twenty-two years, he prosecuted his inquiries, at the feet and under the guidance of the learned Gamaliels of the day, with the most untiring patience, docility, perseverance and enthusiasm. After this pretty thorough novitiate in Egypt, and after travelling into Chaldæa, Persia and Phœnicia in quest of knowledge, he returned to his own native Samos—there to be persecuted by the same fell spirit of ignorance, envy, prejudice and bigotry, which, in a later and Christian age, haunted and embittered the existence of Roger Bacon and Galileo. Finally, he established a school of

his own at Crotona in Italy. And Plato too, the devoted disciple of Socrates during eight happy years, then a student of the Pythagorean philosophy in Magna Græcia, and of various sciences at other distinguished foreign schools, thought it necessary to attend the lectures of the Egyptian professors also, before he opened his own famous Academy at Athens. Verily, the Grecian scholars must have been sorry lads, or they could hardly have contrived to lounge away their entire youth and some ten or twenty years of mature manhood, among a set of dreamy pedagogues, who, agreeably to the vulgar faith, would have disgraced the *old field schools* of our own unparalleled Virginia! We, however, with these and many similar facts on record, should, in our extreme simplicity, be disposed to think it impossible for the most intrepid skepticism to deny to ancient Egypt the palm of pre-eminent wisdom and learning. Of such pupils as Moses and Plato, her universities may have well been proud. And from the works and reputation of the pupil we may still judge of the master.

And if we bear in mind, that even Plato and most of the other Greeks did not visit Egypt until after the Babylonian and Persian invasions, when only the wreck of her former science remained, we shall be able to make some equitable allowance for the fragmentary character of their reports, and for the seeming contradictions and even absurdities which we occasionally find in their writings.

O, quam te dicam bonam
Antehac fuisse, tales cum sint reliquæ?

But this paper must have an end. In preparing it, I have felt the difficulty of selection from the great mass of materials at hand, and especially of compressing within the limits of a readable article a small portion of the most prominent and pertinent facts which abound in ancient authors. These, if judiciously arranged and fairly interpreted, could scarcely fail to dissipate much of the prejudice, error and skepticism which prevail on this subject. I had designed to bring under review the arts and sciences actually known among the earliest postdiluvian nations; and to offer a few brief comments upon their literature, manners, customs, laws, religion and peculiar institutions. I had also marked a number of passages in sundry modern writers, with a view to point out the inconclusiveness of their reasoning, and its inconsistency oftentimes with the very

premises which they themselves admit. How much learned ingenuity, for example, has not been expended in attempts to depreciate or to get rid of the Egyptian claims to any respectable degree of proficiency in astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, metallurgy, physics, anatomy, navigation, geography, architecture, engraving, sculpture, painting, etc., merely because an arbitrary and inexorable theory seemed to demand a vastly longer time for such high attainments than any authentic history could furnish?

I conclude then with the remark, that if the Egyptians, Assyrians and Phœnicians never existed in a savage state; if their immediate progenitors, up to the age of Noah, were, like himself, civilized (and we proved, as we think, on a previous occasion, that man was created a civilized being, and thus continued down to the miraculous dispersion from Babel)—then it follows, that history cannot conduct us back to a period when the whole human race was savage; and consequently, that the philosophic and popular doctrine, that the *savage* was the original or primeval condition of mankind is indefensible;—that it is a mere gratuitous and baseless assumption;—and that the entire fabric, constructed by system-builders upon this foundation, is but a castle in the air, and can never withstand the artillery of reason, Scripture, and history.

As before we traced the stream of civilization, as it issued pure and bright from the primitive fountain in Eden, throughout the antediluvian world, to the fertile plains of Shinar; so now we can retrace it upwards till we arrive at the same point. The course is obvious, simple and direct. The civilization of modern Europe—of the Gauls, Germans, Britons, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Scandinavians, and the rest of the northern barbarians—was derived from the Romans; as theirs had been from the Greeks; and theirs again from the Egyptians and other Orientals. Prior to these latter nations, savage life is unknown to either sacred or profane history.

ARTICLE II.

BAPTISM :—THE INTERPRETATION OF ROM. 6 : 3, 4, AND COL. 2 : 12.

By Rev. Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois.

[Continued from Vol. V., page 48.]

§ 29. *Importance of a correct Interpretation of Rom. 6 : 3, 4, and Col. 2 : 12.*

THE conclusion to which we have arrived by our previous inquiries is this: *Purification* is enjoined by a specific command, but *no particular mode* of purification is enjoined. Of course, any individual may be lawfully purified in the way that he prefers. No result can be more desirable than this, for none tends more directly to harmonize the church. It combines the two fundamental requisites for union, which are, 1, to take from no church any thing which it desires as to its own mode of purification; and 2, to authorize each church to regard the purification of others, though differing from its own, as valid. Who, that loves the harmony of the church, who, that regards the feelings and wishes of Christ, would not rejoice at an issue so auspicious? What can be more desirable than a union without sacrifice of principle, or loss of any valued practice? But this result secures all this; nay, more, it would give to our Baptist brethren, not only the full enjoyment of all they desire without diminution or loss, but add to it the sweet persuasion, that, on this point, all their Christian brethren are also right, and can, in like manner, enjoy the mode which they prefer. Thus all painful barriers to communion will at once be taken away, the middle wall of partition will fall, and all, in Christian love, will be united as one new man.

In proportion then to the desirableness of this event, is the importance of a radical investigation and correct interpretation of Rom. 6 : 3, 4, and Col. 2 : 12; for, next to the word βαπτίζω, these have been, and still are the most serious obstacles to such a result. As I have before stated, our Baptist brethren regard these passages as an inspired exposition of the mode of baptism—as proving, irresistibly, that the rite is designed, not

merely to represent purification from sin, but purification in a way significant of the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, and of the death, burial and resurrection of the believer with him; and although this signification of the rite was not seen by men when it was first established, yet it was fully before the mind of God, and was finally and fully disclosed by the Apostle Paul. In this they are no doubt perfectly sincere, as they are also in the conviction that no mode of purification, devoid of this striking significance, is in accordance with the revealed will of God. Nor are they without authority for interpreting these texts as referring to the mode of the external rite. Indeed, the opinions of the Fathers, whatever they may be worth, so far as I have examined, are entirely with them. This explanation seems to have been adopted at a very early period. But it was most fully developed by Chrysostom; and undoubtedly his authority and eloquence, more than those of any other man, tended to give it currency in the East, whilst the influence of Augustine was equally decisive in the West. Besides, it is strongly sustained by the opinions of many modern critics. Of these, it is enough to mention Luther, Jaspis, Knapp, Rosenmüller, Doddridge and Barnes—none of them Baptists by profession.

Of course we need not wonder that our Baptist brethren feel strong, and express themselves with confidence, and even exultation, in speaking of these passages. Says Mr. Carson (Cox and Carson, p. 234), "I value the evidence of these passages so highly, that I look on them as perfectly decisive. They contain God's own explanation of his own ordinance. And in this, I call upon my unlearned brethren to admire the divine wisdom. They do not understand the original, and the adoption of the words *baptize* and *baptism* can teach them nothing. Translators, by adopting the Greek word, have contrived to hide the meaning from the unlearned. But the evidence of the passages in question cannot be hid, and it is obvious to the most unlearned. The Spirit of God has enabled them to judge for themselves in this matter. Whilst the learned are fighting about βαπτίζω and certain Greek prepositions, let the unlearned turn to Rom. 6: 4, and Col. 2: 12, etc." This may be taken as a fair specimen of the strength of feeling that pervades the whole body; and if so, it is plain that all hopes of union are fallacious, until the true interpretation of these passages is ascertained. Most cordially, therefore, do I

unite with Mr. Carson in inviting, not the unlearned only, but all—learned and unlearned—to turn to Rom. 6 : 3, 4, and Col. 2 : 12.

§ 30. *Points at issue—Principles of reasoning.*

Let us first present in full these remarkable and important passages of the word of God, and then endeavor to ascertain upon what points the interpretation of them turns. They are as follow : *Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν ; Συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.* Rom. 6 : 3, 4. *Συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνεγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐλείφartos αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.* Col. 2 : 12.

Upon these passages two distinct *questions* may be raised.

I. *Is the BAPTISM of the believer here spoken of external ?*

II. *Are the BURIAL and RESURRECTION of the believer here spoken of external ?*

I here assume the following positions or principles, the first of which has been already proved, and the second of which is so obviously true as to need no proof.

1. The philological question, as to the import of βαπτίζω, *neither depends upon the interpretation of this passage, nor is affected by it.* Each stands upon its own ground, and must be decided by its own evidence. And if it were proved that external baptism, burial and resurrection are here referred to, it would only prove, that, under a command to purify, they did in fact purify by immersion. And we must still translate the passage : “ We have been buried with him by *purification* into his death,”—not by “*immersion*” into his death. For we have already shown that, as a religious term, βαπτίζω does not mean to immerse, but solely to purify. In other words, we could prove immersion, &c. only by the word *bury*, and not at all by the word *baptize*.

2. *As the baptism is, so is the burial.* That is, if the baptism is external, so is the burial ; and if internal, so is the burial. We are buried by the baptism spoken of,—*Συνετάφημεν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*, etc. Rom. 6 : 4. And an external baptism cannot produce an internal burial, nor can an internal baptism produce an external burial.

§ 31. *Position to be proved—Sources of evidence.*

We now proceed to consider the two questions above stated. In answering them, three positions have been taken :

1. The baptism into Christ is external, and of course the burial and resurrection.

2. The baptism is external, but the burial and resurrection are internal.

3. The baptism, burial, resurrection, etc. are all internal, and the passage does not refer to the external rite at all, nor derive any of its language from it ; but the language would have been just as it is, if the rite had been administered by sprinkling alone, or even if there had been no external rite.

The third is the position which I intend to maintain ; and it is obviously the direct antagonist of the first,—the usual position of the Baptists, and also of the Fathers and others. The second is an intermediate position, advocated by Wardlaw, Prof. Stuart and others, but, as I have indicated above, inconsistent with itself ; because if the baptism is external so must be the burial and the resurrection. It is on this ground that Prof. Ripley reasons, and I think conclusively, against Prof. Stuart. "This opinion" (that the burial is internal), he says, "seems effectually opposed by the circumstance that the burying is performed by *baptism*, an *external rite*." p. 86. And all, who admit that the external rite is here spoken of, must, it seems to me, be inevitably driven to Prof. Ripley's ground. But, believing as I do that the external right is not meant, and that the external interpretation of this passage is not only false, but injurious to the cause of truth and holiness, I shall proceed to state the evidence which seems to me to overthrow the first position, and to establish the last. My leading arguments may be arranged under the four following heads :

1. Evidence from the logical exigencies of the passages, i. e. from the course of the argument.

2. Evidence from the *usus loquendi*, as to spiritual death, burial, resurrection, &c.

3. Evidence from the congruity of the interpretation with the general system of truth.

4. Evidence from the moral tendencies and effects of each interpretation.

§ 32. *Argument from the logical exigencies of Rom. 6 : 3, 4.*

Let us then consider, 1, the course of the argument, and 2, the

logical exigencies of Rom. 6 : 3, 4. We shall consider Col. 2 : 12 by itself. The argument involves three points :

1. An objection stated in the form of a question, v. 1. "What then ? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound ?" Does not the doctrine of the free forgiveness of the greatest sins, by the abounding grace of God through Christ, lead to this result ? Or, to put it in the form of a positive objection, the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins by free grace tends to relax the power of motives to holiness, and to encourage men to live in sin.

2. A reply, v. 2 : "God forbid. How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein ?" Here Paul speaks in the name of all who are really forgiven, and virtually asserts, that all, who are in fact forgiven, are of course dead to sin, and cannot live any longer therein. Implying, of necessity, that the system itself produces this effect on all who experience its true and genuine influence, and that this is necessary and universal. In brief, the objection is : Does not the system encourage men to sin ? The answer is : No, it makes them dead to sin, so that they cannot live any longer in it.

3. A proof that the fact alleged is true—i. e. that the system does tend to holiness, with immense power, and not to sin. vs. 3-11.

The question now at once arises, What is good and logical proof of such a point, i. e. of the true and natural operation of a moral system on the human mind ? In answering this, we shall perceive at once the logical exigencies of the passage.

Can such proof then be found in external rites, solemn promises, and significant symbols ? Or must we look for it in a clear statement of the internal, natural and inevitable operation of the system as a system on the mind ? As to the first, I need only ask, what system, be it good or bad, is destitute of significant rites and symbols, and of solemn professions and promises ? Papists and Protestants, Arminians, Calvinists, Unitarians, Campbellites, Mormonites—all have them : even the rite of immersion is common to some of the worst with some of the best. But in what case have these things given to any system a regenerating or sanctifying power sufficient to uproot and destroy the desperate depravity of the human heart ? Is it not a well known fact, that the radical effects of all systems depend, not on external rites and solemn promises, but on principles ? These are the internal

and germinating power of every system, and just so far as these are adapted to act on the human mind, so is the system. And as a general fact, those who depend most on promises, professions and external rites, as a means of subduing sin, have the least success.

In order then to make out a sound logical argument, it is necessary that Paul should exhibit the *internal* operation on the mind of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins by faith, and prove that it does in fact cause all who come under its influence to be dead to sin. *This, according to the internal mode of interpretation, he does ; but, according to the external mode he does it not.* The one states the actual and inward effects of the forgiveness of sins through faith. The other merely refers us to the influence of an external rite. That this is so let us now proceed to establish.

The fundamental points in the interpretation are four:

1. *Ἐβαπτίσθημεν* is to be interpreted, *we have been purified or purged*, in the legal or sacrificial sense, to denote the actual purification, or purgation of the conscience from guilt by the Spirit. This is the spiritual baptism of the Holy Ghost, and the first actual influence of the system on the mind of a convicted sinner. Of this state of mind we have the following beautiful description from the pen of Watts:

Sweet was the time when first I felt
The Saviour's pardoning blood,
Applied to cleanse my soul from guilt,
And bring me home to God.

Thus, by this mode of translation, we pass at once, not to an external rite, but to the actual influence of the system on the mind.

2. *Ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστόν* is to be interpreted as indicating no external rite, but an actual union with Christ by this spiritual purgation, or sense of the forgiveness of sins. This consciousness of forgiving love awakens corresponding love, and produces an entire union to Christ and devotedness to him. "Whom not having seen ye love ; and in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." This is a spiritual baptism into Christ, involving a real and vital union to him.

3. As the baptism into Christ is thus internal and spiritual, so are the death, burial and resurrection spoken of as produced

by it ; and these are to be regarded as the genuine and universal effects of the system of forgiveness by faith in Christ.

4. These changes involve a crucifixion to sin, a death to it, a burial as it regards the old man, and a resurrection as it regards the new, analogous to the natural crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection of Christ. Thus the propositions of Paul may be briefly reduced to this : By forgiveness of sins we are truly and vitally united to Christ, and the inevitable effect of this union is to exterminate, radically and entirely, our old sinful character, and to produce a new one, pure and holy like his own. That these propositions, if true, do make a logical argument, none can deny. Thus,

Objection. The system of forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ tends to embolden men in sin.

Reply. It does not ; for all who are truly forgiven are dead to sin, and cannot live in it any longer. This is the natural and necessary consequence of the system.

Proof. All who are forgiven are united by it to Christ, and it is the inevitable consequence of this union to cause death unto sin and life unto God.

Now if the facts alleged are not only true, but obvious and well known, then the argument is not only logical, but one of the highest power. But need I attempt to show that they are so ? Look first at a spiritual baptism. See the convinced sinner, agonized by the scorpion stings of a guilty conscience and fears of coming wrath, and earnestly inquiring, What shall I do ? Next look at him baptized by the Holy Ghost, his conscience purged from guilt by the blood of Christ, his sins forgiven, his soul redeemed—an enemy, an alien, a rebel no more, but a child of God, a son, an heir. In the midst of all his joy, what one thought above all others will of necessity fill and overwhelm his mind ? It is this : *To the death of Christ I owe it all ; —Oh what had eternity been to me had it not been for the death of Christ !* And now what must be—what will be the inevitable course of his soul ? Can he endure the thought of living in sin any longer ? Speak, oh speak, ye who have ever felt the overwhelming, the infinite, the irresistible power of a Saviour's love. Was not its natural, its necessary tendency to produce an entire and vital union of the soul to Christ, and a ceaseless and intense desire to be formed in his perfect image, and under the power of his love to make efforts to exterminate every sin, of which not even the remotest idea had been formed

before ? Such an appeal to every possible principle of gratitude, honor, generosity, love, hope and fear, was never combined in the universe before ; nor is such a combination possible, save to an infinite, incarnate, atoning God. And what do facts say ? Need the oft repeated story of the Moravian brethren, and the poor Greenlanders be told again ? Need the experience of ages past, and of every faithful and successful minister of the present day be rehearsed in proof ? Nay, we all know the fact ; it lies on the very surface of the system, as well as in its lowest depths ; yea, I had almost said, it is its all in all.

What, therefore, the internal interpretation affirms as it regards the natural influence of the system of forgiveness by faith in Christ, is an obvious and well known truth ; and it is true concerning this system alone. The argument, then, is not only perfectly logical, but one of the highest importance and power.

But what shall we say of the external interpretation ? How does, or how can an external rite prove that the system of forgiveness of sins through Christ produces death to sin ? The reply of the Fathers would have been logical if true. They held that Christ gave to the water a purging power ; it was holy water ; there was a mysterious energy to destroy sin and to communicate the Holy Spirit. Hence they urged sinners to come to the baptismal pool, very much as sinners are urged to come to the inquirer's seat, or even to Christ. Alas for the religion of Christ ! for centuries long and dark this was almost the only view of the church ; and let those, who attach such weight to patristic interpretation, weigh well, before they give it much authority, that malignant and damnable system—of which it was an essential part—**BAPTISMAL REGENERATION** ! What tongue can utter the delusion, the spiritual despotism and the misery, which have been poured from that full cup of wrath on a guilty world ! This view, therefore, is not only to be rejected as false, but to be abhorred as unutterably pernicious.

We come then to all that remains to the moral influence of the solemnity of the baptismal promise and rite, as exhibited by Prof. Chase and others ; or, to the argument from its import as stated by Mr. Carson. According to the first view, those who have been duly immersed are supposed to be thus addressed : “ Reflect how solemn your professions and promises in the hour of baptism, and how significant the rite by which your duty was shadowed forth, and your relations to Christ presented to the mind. Did you not solemnly promise, when immersed, to die

unto sin and to live unto God ? And as you sunk into a watery grave, and came forth once more to the vital air, did you not solemnly show forth your duty to die to sin, and rise to a new and holy life, and also the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, by which your salvation was procured ?”

It is painful indeed even to seem to speak severely of what is so sincerely and conscientiously said. But, in fidelity to God and to man, I am constrained to ask: What does all this amount to, unless it be to throw the main and peculiar reforming power of the gospel, upon the influence to be exerted by the solemnities of one external rite ? And is it come to this ? Is this all the answer that even an apostle can give to an objection against the gospel, so deep, so fundamental ? Are solemn promises and the moral power of one rite, the vital and essential elements of the reforming power of the gospel ? God forbid that I should deny or diminish their usefulness in their place. But this is not their place. We all know—universal experience has taught us—that promises, however solemn, and rites however significant, have no such reforming power. And universal observation has shown that those, who are baptized by the particular mode of immersion, are not by it made better Christians than others. On this point let Prof. Chase himself speak. “To you,” he says, “I have intrusted the vindicating of my wisdom and goodness in the institution of baptism, by exemplifying in your lives *its holy tendency*. Vain are all other vindications without this.” Sermon on the Design of Baptism, p. 28. But he says, p. 26, “Christians living in error on this subject, and attached, as men naturally are, to what has been handed down from their fathers, have marked us ; and the men of the world have marked us. They have observed our lives. And have we never heard the keen reproach : What do ye more than others ? Ah ! my brethren, if it were only a slander, we could bear it. But when he himself—our Lord and Master—into whose death we have been baptized, casts on us the grieved and piercing look, which he cast on Peter when he had denied him, and asks : What do ye more than others ? we can only go out and weep bitterly.” Will my honored brother allow me to suggest, that, if he will place infinitely less dependence on the power of that external rite, in which he *differs* from other Christians, and infinitely more dependence on those great truths of the system, which he has in common with other Christians, and on which its *reforming power* is entirely based,

he will have reached the true and only secret of irresistibly moving moral appeals? Till then, unless all the laws of the human mind shall be changed, he will labor in vain to secure, by the aid of any external rite, the end which he so sincerely and ardently desires.

But Mr. Carson and others will say: That is not our view. We hold that Paul uses the symbolical import of baptism, to prove that believers are in fact dead to sin. To this I reply: It does not help the case; for an external rite, in such a course of argument, cannot prove any such thing. How can the operation of any system on the mind be proved, except by looking directly at the mind itself, and considering the effect of the system on it? To test the argument, let us suppose an objector, and see what Mr. Carson on his ground can reply.

Obj. I distrust this system of freely forgiving the greatest sins through faith in Christ. It tends to encourage men to live in sin.

Mr. C. Not at all. Those who live under it are of course dead to sin.

Obj. Pray how do you prove that?

Mr. C. Are you indeed so ignorant as not to know? Why it is clearly proved by the import of the baptismal rite.

Obj. Pray explain the nature of the proof?

Mr. C. It exhibits those baptized in a figure, as dead with Christ, and thus proves that they are so. See p. 231.

Obj. But how can an external exhibition of this sort prove that Christians are dead to sin?

Mr. C. Thus. This is not an accidental similitude, but a divinely appointed emblem; and, therefore, what it indicates God affirms, and, therefore, it must be true. See pp. 231, 232.

Obj. So then it amounts to this; it is so, because God declares it to be so by this rite?

Mr. C. Yes, this is its force.

Obj. Well then, if it were a case of mere authority and not of argument, it would be in point. But as a means of removing my difficulties by argument, it is not in point. For I am looking at a system of forgiveness of sins; and I affirm that it appears to me as if it would encourage, and not check sin. And you undertook to reason with me, and yet you explain nothing, and only silence me by mere authority. Can you not reason with me, and show from the system itself, and from the laws of the mind, that it does not so tend? Lay aside, I beseech you,

your external symbols, and look at the things themselves. Just show me the necessary operation of the system on the mind of a forgiven sinner.

What can Mr. Carson do but comply with his request? And this brings him at once to the true and internal mode of interpretation—to lay aside all external rites, and to bend all his energies to prove, by an appeal to the mind under the operation of the system, that it has a reforming, and not a demoralizing power. And this, as I have already shown, is precisely what Paul does, without the least allusion to an external rite.

The obvious fact is, that all allusion to an external rite is here out of place. It destroys the train of reasoning, perplexes and confuses the mind, and causes a deep and painful feeling of the entire absence of logical proof. Hence we need not wonder, that logical minds have felt this. Mr. Barnes says openly that there is no *reasoning* here, but mere popular appeal; and truly, according to the external mode of interpretation, there is none. But is this the place for popular appeal? If ever an objection deserved a thorough and logical reply, this is the one. Moreover, up to this point we have had reasoning, cogent and condensed. Why suppose a break in the chain here? Above all other places, this ought to be strictly logical, and unanswerably strong; and so indeed it is. There is no break; there is no flaw; there is no relying on popular appeal; there is no magnifying of the power of promises, professions and external rites. But there is a close logical and unanswerable argument, from the necessary operation of the gospel on the human mind. But this will become still more evident, when we proceed to consider the requisitions of the *usus loquendi*, as to spiritual crucifixion, death, burial, etc.

§. 33. *Argument from the usus loquendi as to spiritual death, burial, etc.*

We have great reason for gratitude, that the mode of speech, used in these disputed passages, is not limited to them, but exists in numerous other places, where it can be the subject of no fair dispute. The *usus loquendi* in question is not accidental, without rules, and obscure, but based on principles clear, certain and consistent. It is found chiefly in the writings of Paul, but it clearly occurs in those of Peter. Its principles are these:

1. The spiritual crucifixion, towards which the forgiveness of sins tends, as already shown, is a work involving great and intense pain, and to induce a man to summon all his resolu-

tion and energy to do it thoroughly, powerful motives are needed.

2. Such is the nature of man, that the most powerful motives, by which he can be influenced, must be derived from the following sources—(1,) affecting examples of fortitude in suffering—(2,) infinite blessings received through a suffering friend—(3,) the deep interest of that friend in our suffering for him. The loss of fortitude to endure suffering for the general good, and a love of indolence and ease are the universal characteristics of our depraved nature, and are the hardest of all to be overcome. But if the idea can be fully thrown into the mind and kept daily before it, that our highest benefactor himself *suffered with infinite fortitude*, and not only so, but that he thus suffered *for us*, and not only so, that he infinitely and ardently desires *to form the same traits in us*, and rejoices to see us, from love to him, crucify the spirit of indolence, indulgence and ease, and learn to rejoice in a life of fortitude and suffering for the good of others, like his own, then motives are concentrated, and accumulated, the power of which no man can resist.

3. It is the design of this mode of speech to combine all these varied motives in one condensed appeal. The mode adopted is this. Christ and the believer are represented as mutually interested in each other, and both as *suffering* for and with the other. The part in each, that suffers, is called by the same name—the flesh. But in the one case, it is external and material—the body of Christ. In the other, it is internal and spiritual—the body of sin, the old man. As each is spoken of as having a body, so each body is represented as composed of members; in the one case, external and material as before, in the other case, internal and spiritual, i. e. various and deep-rooted habits of sin to eradicate, by a process as painful as to cut off a right hand or foot, or to pluck out a right eye. Thus we have the body of sin, and its members, the old man and his members, which are the same as the flesh, with its affections and lusts.

All these then are spoken of as to be crucified, eradicated and destroyed; but as the work is excessively painful, and flesh and blood shrink from its thorough execution, the example of Christ, as enduring intense pain in his flesh, i. e. his body and members, in the agonies of crucifixion for us, is presented as an example for us to imitate, in our moral crucifixion for him. And we are adjured, in view of such an example, such love for us, and such deep present interest in us, to arm ourselves with the

same resolute purpose to suffer for him, in crucifying and destroying the flesh. This entire train of thought is fully set forth in 1 Pet. 4: 1: "Forasmuch then as Christ hath *suffered for us in the flesh*, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind (i. e. summon all your energy to suffer for him in the flesh); *for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin.*" In other words, he who hath crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts thereof, hath ceased from sin. Only the internal sense is here possible; for crucifying the flesh, in this sense, does destroy sin; bodily suffering does not. The final result is then stated: "that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh (i. e. in the body, or in this world), to the lusts of man, but to the will of God." Here then we have the work to be done—to crucify the flesh, and the example of Christ in suffering, the fact that it was for us that he suffered, and his earnest desire that we should indicate the same fortitude in suffering for him, in order to become holy, and live in this world for God, and not for man. Thus the appeal is thorough and complete. And how great its power! Christian, are you relaxing your efforts to subdue sin? Do you say, It is too painful, I cannot endure it? But Oh, think again. Did Christ, your Saviour, suffer so much that you may be forgiven, and be restored to holiness, and does he earnestly desire it? has he fixed his heart upon it? is he deeply grieved at your negligence and sloth? Will you not then arouse yourself at once? Think of the fortitude and firmness with which he armed himself when he suffered for you; and arm yourself with the same mind to suffer for him, in becoming holy, which he manifested in suffering that you might become holy.

This mode of speech is carried out in other parts of Scripture, in great minuteness of detail, but always on this principle, that the sufferings of Christ are supposed to be fully before the mind, as an object of daily meditation and imitation, and that, whatever took place naturally in connection with the sufferings of Christ, has something to correspond with it spiritually, in its connexion with the sufferings of believers. Thus:

CHRIST.

1. Christ suffered naturally.
2. Christ in his flesh, i. e. body natural.

THE BELIEVER.

1. The believer suffers spiritually.
2. The believer in his flesh, i. e. body of sin.

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| 3. The members of Christ's body were crucified. | 3. The members of the body of sin are to be crucified. |
| 4. Christ's body died entirely. All natural life was totally extinct. | 4. The body of sin, the old man, the flesh, is to be entirely destroyed. |
| 5. Christ's natural death was for sin. | 5. The believer's spiritual death is to sin. |
| 6. Christ was buried naturally, and became invisible in the grave. | 6. The believer is to be buried spiritually and to become invisible in his old character. |
| 7. Christ rose naturally, and appeared in new external glory. | 7. The believer is to rise spiritually and appear in a new, holy, glorious, spiritual character. |
| 8. It was the mighty natural power of God that raised Christ. | 8. It is the mighty power of God <i>through faith</i> that raises the believer. |
| 9. Christ after his resurrection sat down in heavenly places, bodily. | 9. Believers sit down <i>by faith</i> in heavenly places, after their resurrection. |
| 10. Christ dies naturally no more; death hath no more dominion over him. | 10. Believers die in sin no more; death spiritual hath no more dominion over them. |

This process is sometimes stated antithetically, and in separate parts, but it is also expressed in abbreviated forms of speech formed by compounding the word denoting the action with *σύν*, e. g. *συνπάσχω, συσταυρόω, συναποθνήσκω, συζωοποιέω, συνεργίζω, συγκαθίζω*, etc.; in all which cases is implied, I do or suffer that spiritually which Christ did or suffered naturally. So believers are said to suffer, be crucified, die, be buried, be restored to life, be raised, sit in heavenly places, and live forever *with Christ*, i. e. spiritually, as in his case naturally.

The reason of this is to be found in two facts.

1. Christ suffered, died, etc. naturally, in order to secure, not only forgiveness, but also these very spiritual changes in us, and it is the power of his example and love which in fact produces them. As Christ, therefore, had all these things in view, when he suffered, and as his sufferings rendered them sure, the spiritual sufferings of believers are looked on as virtually included in

the natural sufferings of Christ: their death *to sin* in his *for* it—their spiritual burial, resurrection and eternal life, in his natural burial, resurrection and eternal life. For surely one series did involve and render certain the other; and so when one came to pass actually, the other did virtually.

2. The ardent love to Christ, which ever glowed in the breast of Paul, led him to devise this mode of speech, as the best adapted to express his unutterable affection for his Saviour, his all-absorbing admiration of his character, and his infinite and intense desire to be in all things one with him. Hence, as the sufferings of his own adored Lord and Saviour passed every hour before his mind, an intense desire arose, as it were, to make them his own, that is, to identify himself with him, in absolute and perfect sympathy, and, especially, to admire and adore and imitate his character in that humiliation, and those sufferings which he underwent for us. But before he could thus perfectly sympathize with Christ, he must of course renounce and crucify entirely all former ambitions, selfish and worldly modes of feeling; for he could not perfectly sympathize with such suffering love, till he was perfectly like him. Hence, the least remains of sin he regarded as excluding him from a perfect experimental and sympathetic knowledge of the character of Christ; and, by self-crucifixion, to reach this point of a perfect experimental sympathy in the absolute perfection of a suffering Saviour, was the summit of all his desires. Hear him as he exclaims: "I count all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, my Lord, that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death." And again: "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." And again: "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."—The various forms of this mode of speech, in all its range, are not the mere offspring of a luxuriant poetic imagination. Nor are they merely the intellectual play of a fancy, that delights to trace analogies, and amuse with alliterations. They are the sacred, elevated spiritual language of unalterable love, the full power and beauty of which no eye can see, or heart feel, that has never felt the emotions from which it sprang. Without them, it may seem like a mere heartless play of the imagination; with them, it will at once be recognized as the spontaneous,

irresistible gushing forth of the emotions of a heart, every impulse of which is towards Christ, every desire of which is to be like him in all things, and one with him in joys and sorrows, in life and death. And sad was that day for the primitive church, when her heart ceased to beat responsive to that of Paul, and darkness fell upon the deep spiritual import of his sacred words. Then, in a fatal hour, the mystery of iniquity began to work; and soon, regeneration, by an external form, and mystic, hidden influences, usurped the place of the real crucifixion of the body of sin.

To illustrate these principles, by quotations in detail, would exceed my limits. I shall only refer to the following passages of Scripture, on which they are based, and which, in order to see the whole truth on the subject, ought to be carefully examined.

In Eph. 1: 19—23, and 2: 1—7, natural death, resurrection, etc. in Christ are viewed analogically with death and sin, resurrection from sin, etc. in believers; and the power of God, raising Christians by faith, is compared to his natural power in raising Christ, and said to be analogical to it; and the idea that believers are restored to life, rise and sit down spiritually in heaven, as Christ did naturally, and that these changes in him involved theirs, is expressed by *συνεζωοποιήσας συνήγειρε, συνεκάθισε*. In Phil. 3: 10—21, Paul desires to know fully, and in a spiritual sense,—that which corresponds by analogy to these natural changes in Christ,—1, sufferings; 2, death; 3, resurrection; 4, experience of divine power; and he shows how he aimed at the spiritual perfection, involved in a perfect similitude to the natural events—(i. e. a perfect moral crucifixion, death and resurrection)—though he had not yet attained, and was not yet perfect. There is not the least allusion to his own *natural resurrection* here. That would take place of course, and without any effort on his part, and the law of analogy totally forbids such an interpretation. In Col. 2: 20, and 3: 1—4, we have 1, *death* to the world with Christ; 2, a *resurrection* with Christ, and a sympathy with the things where Christ is, producing an internal and hidden life in him. Both of these changes in the believer are internal and spiritual, and in Christ external.

See also Gal. 6: 14, 1 Pet. 4: 1, 2, Gal. 2: 19, 20, Col. 3: 5—14, Gal. 5: 24. To these add Rom. 6: 1—13 and Col. 2: 11—13. Some of these have been referred to before;

and the last two contain the passages in dispute; but I refer to them now in order to present the Scripture evidence in a single group. One thing more deserves our notice in this place. Two spiritual states are sometimes used as analogical to the death of Christ,—one *death in sin*, as in Eph. 2: 1—7, and Col. 2: 11—13, the other *death to sin* by moral crucifixion, as in Rom. 6: 1—13 and Phil. 3: 10—21. But in no case is the fundamental law of the analogy disregarded, i. e. that the states or changes in believers are spiritual and internal, those of Christ natural and external. In the sense of death in sin, moreover, they are never said to be dead *with Christ*; for, to secure such a death in them, he did not aim; but their death in sin is merely spoken of as calling for the exercise of the mighty power of God to raise them up, just as Christ's natural death demanded almighty natural power in order to raise him up.

The inferences which I draw from this exhibition of the *usus loquendi* are these:

1. The general law of analogy demands the internal sense throughout the whole of Rom. 6: 1—13 and Col. 2: 11—13. Look at the preceding columns of parallel analogies. Of these all but 6 and 7 are undeniably internal and spiritual on one side, and external and natural on the other. By what law can 8 out of 10, in a connected series, be internal and spiritual, and the other two external and physical?

2. Of these two, one—resurrection—is clearly proved, in the analogous passages, to be used in a spiritual sense. See Eph. 2: 5, 6, and Col. 3: 1. Does not the *usus loquendi* then demand that sense here?

3. The resurrection in Col. 2: 11—13 is proved, by internal evidence, to be spiritual; for it is *by faith*. Compare this now with precisely the same idea in Eph. 1: 18—20, and 2: 4—6, Phil. 3: 10, 11, Col. 1: 3; and who can doubt? So in keeping believers, God exercises his mighty power *through faith*, 1 Pet. 1: 5: Ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ ᾠονοουμένων διὰ πίστεως, εἰς σωτηρίαν. So in Col. συνεγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ denotes: “ye were raised with him, by that faith, through which the power of God exerts itself.” Of course, if the resurrection is spiritual, so is the burial.

4. In the phrase, θάνατον αὐτοῦ, in Rom. 6: 3, the law of analogy requires αὐτοῦ to be regarded as the genitive of similitude, i. e. a death like his, or analogical to it. This use of the

genitive is exceedingly common; as in Jude 11, the way of Cain, the error of Balaam and the gainsaying of Core mean a way, error and gainsaying, like that of Cain, Balaam and Core. So in Luke 11: 29, the sign of Jonas, the prophet, is a sign like that of Jonas the prophet; for in fact it was the burial of Christ three days and nights. But to put it beyond all doubt, in v. 5 it is expressed in full—*τῷ ὁμοιωματι τοῦ θάνατον αὐτοῦ*—"the likeness of his death," i. e. a spiritual death, like his natural death.

5. Finally, the *usus loquendi*, as it regards both spiritual baptism, and spiritual crucifixion and death, authorizes and requires us thus to interpret Rom. 6: 3, 4, and Col. 2: 12.

Know ye not that so many of us, as have been purified into Christ, i. e. truly united to Christ by the forgiveness of sins, have been, by the forgiveness of sins, subjected to a spiritual death, like his natural death? Therefore as he was naturally buried, so are we spiritually buried by that forgiveness of sins, which subjected us to a spiritual death. That, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Rom. 6: 3, 4. As he was buried naturally, so were ye spiritually buried in the forgiveness of your sins, in which ye also rose spiritually as he did naturally, by that faith through which is exerted the power of that God, who raised him from the dead. Col. 2: 12. From the whole context, nothing can be more certain than the spiritual sense of this passage. We have, in v. 11, internal circumcision, and putting off the body of the flesh; in v. 12, a resurrection by faith; in v. 13, an internal death in sin and an internal restoration to life. Who then can have the least ground for calling the burial an external burial? So Rom. 6: 6. Paul expressly states that all that he has said of the death of the believer is to be understood of the death of the old man, and the destruction of the body of sin. But of course the burial and resurrection are as the death.

§ 34. *Argument from the congruity of the interpretation with the general system of truth.*

The system of truth is but one. Hence all truth is consistent with itself; and the more we investigate its minute relations, the more are we impressed with a conviction of its universal harmony. It is this perception of congruity in ten thousand minute particulars, which produces what we call a sense or feeling of verisimilitude. And as the operations of the mind are of-

ten so rapid as to elude analysis, it gives rise to what may be called a presentiment of truth, even before investigation. Nor is this to be despised. In any mind familiar with the great outlines of truth, such rapid perceptions of the agreement or disagreement of a given view with those great outlines have a real and logical basis, as investigation seldom fails to show. But when investigation has taken place, they can be stated and exhibited in their true relations. Some of the incongruities of the external system of interpretation with the existing system of truth, I shall proceed to state.

1. It is incongruous to take so much notice of one external institution, and to say nothing of the rest.

2. It is incongruous, if only one is taken, to notice one which is less adapted to exert a great moral influence, and not to notice one more adapted.

3. It is incongruous for Paul to make so much of any external rite and especially of this.

4. It is still more incongruous for Jesus Christ to do the same.

5. It is incongruous to establish one institution to commemorate the death of Christ, and then intrude on its province by another, established for a different end.

As has been stated, the external interpretation rests the reforming power of the gospel, in a great degree, on the influence of professions and promises connected with an external rite, or, on its influence in presenting truth to the mind. And are there no other institutions that have the same external power? Are there no solemn vows around the Lord's table, and no intensely affecting truths as to the death of Christ, inculcated by it? Does the Sabbath declare nothing of a heavenly rest, nor bid man to die to the world? Has the ministry and the preached word no reforming power? Why say so much of the "holy tendency" of immersion and omit all these?

But if any one of these was to be selected, why choose that one which occurs but once in the life of a believer, and omit the oft-recurring influence of the Lord's supper, and the solemn promises, renewed with increasing fervency, from year to year, till death closes the scene? Why say so much of the weaker, and yet wholly omit the stronger moral power? Is there indeed in this one rite a secret mystic influence, as the fathers thought, operating with immense power, breaking down and destroying all sin, actual and original, at one blow? If not, and if it stands solely on the ground of moral influence, in im-

pressing truth by symbols on the mind, then the selection of this and the omission of the Lord's supper are truly incongruous.

But if we could expect such an effort to magnify an external rite from any one, we should least of all expect it from Paul, who regarded it, in comparison with the gospel, as of so little weight that he thanked God that he baptized none of the Corinthians, but Crispus and Gaius and the household of Stephanus, and affirmed that God sent him not to baptize but to preach the gospel, and who gloried in nothing save in the cross of Christ. Is it possible that this same Paul has, in another place, attempted to refute a fundamental objection to this same gospel, by magnifying the influence of this same external rite? What! at one time ascribe to it in some way such prodigious power to eradicate sin, and then thank God that he did not administer it, and declare that he was not sent to do it!

Turn now to Christ, and hear him (Matt. 12: 7) rebuke the rigid construers of external observances by the reproof: "If ye had known what that meaneth, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." Again, when Peter desired a more complete washing than the rest of the disciples (John 13: 10) hear him declare that, to indicate complete purification, a washing of the feet is enough. And can we believe that this same Jesus inspired his beloved Paul to declare that purification cannot be acceptably signified in more than one way, and that one immersion of the whole body?

Finally, the Lord's supper was established to show forth the Lord's atoning death until he should come. Baptism indicates the actual purgation of the heart and conscience from sin, when the atonement is applied by the Holy Spirit. One indicates how redemption was procured; the other how it is applied. One commemorates atonement by Christ; the other regeneration by the Holy Spirit. But the external interpretation makes baptism a commemoration of three things—1, the natural death and resurrection of Christ; 2, the spiritual death and resurrection of the believer, and 3, the natural resurrection of the believer. Carson, p. 232. This is incongruous indeed. It is a manifest intrusion into the province of the Lord's supper, and that without the least reason; and it nearly loses in ideas of death and resurrection, all reference to purity. In truth, it seems to immerse and almost to bury out of sight the main idea of the rite, and to bring vividly before the mind the fundamental ideas of another rite; so much so, that, in reading Prof.

Chase's sermon on the design of baptism, one can hardly avoid feeling that it is even more a discourse on the design of the Lord's supper than a discourse on the design of that rite, which was peculiarly ordained to show forth the work of the Holy Ghost. Moreover, so far as it relates to purity, it is not the direct figure of the reality, but only the figure of a figure of the reality. *Purification* is the reality. But immersion, the Baptists all affirm, is the figure of *death*. But death is only a figure of the spiritual destruction of the old man, in which purification actually consists. But of purification it is no figure.

Such then are the inconsistencies and incongruities, which attend all efforts to force an external sense on the baptism and burial spoken of in these passages. But assign to them the internal and spiritual sense, and all is consistent and clear. For it rests the reforming power of the gospel on no external rite, and intrudes on none. Nor does it at all disagree with the known character and feelings of Christ or of Paul, but perfectly agrees with both; for it directs us at once to the internal power of a spiritual purgation of the soul by the Holy Ghost to unite to Christ, and thus to destroy the body of sin. And it presents distinctly and fully to the mind that in which Paul was wont most to glory—the cross of Christ—and the energy of the gospel as the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth.

§ 35. *Argument from the moral tendencies and effects of each mode of interpretation.*

The principles of this argument are plain. They are these. All truth, in its permanent influences, tends to holiness; all error, to sin. Therefore, if we can show, *a priori*, a tendency to sin in any view, or prove by an appeal to facts that it has resulted in sin, we are authorized to draw the conclusion that the view is false. Nevertheless, in this mode of reasoning great care is needed not to confound mere accidental sequences with real and genuine effects. To guard against this, note the following facts:

1. Self-crucifixion is of all things most painful. From all suffering men naturally shrink; but much more from the internal pain and humiliation attendant on subduing sin, than from any other. Hence to spare the old man, pilgrimages, fastings, flagellations, bodily sufferings of all kinds and even death itself are willingly endured.

2. Hence in all ages a universal propensity to avoid the real

and internal crucifixion of the old man, by a reliance on external forms of mysterious operation, or on an authorized ministry, or a primitive church, or solemn ceremonies, rather than on the simple and sure crucifixion of the flesh with the affections and lusts thereof.

3. The most powerful system, by which the devil ever corrupted and destroyed the gospel of Christ, even the great mystery of iniquity, has its foundation on a skilful use of this tendency of the human heart. It is a system expressly designed to exclude spiritual crucifixion, that is, to exclude real holiness, and to replace it by a religion of ceremonies and forms.

4. The external interpretation tends naturally to that very view, for its obvious sense is to make external baptism the great destroyer of sin, and the great defence of the church against it.

5. By the fathers, and even by Augustine, it was practically so regarded. He did not indeed exclude the Holy Spirit, but regarded the water, when consecrated, as involving, in some mysterious way, his presence; and though he threw out cautions against the grosser forms of baptismal regeneration, yet the practical influence of his urgent appeals to sinners to come to the baptismal pool, and wash away all their sins, or bury the old man, etc. etc., could not possibly have but one result. Baptism became practically the great thing; and on it, eternal life or eternal death seemed to hang. And in all this mournful process, the external interpretation of these texts is almost the great moving power of the whole. It is not wise to give to any one cause exclusive power in forming the papal system, but I hesitate not to say, that no one cause did more than *baptismal regeneration*; and no one cause did more to develop and mature that doctrine, than the external interpretation of these texts. Of this fact, pages of proof are at hand, and, if any one desires, can easily be produced. But to those who have examined enough to judge, no proof, I think, can be needed.

6. No modern corrections or limitations of the patristic interpretation of these passages have been able to neutralize, or destroy the injurious tendency of the external view; nor can it be done, so long as the great fact remains, that in an argument designed unanswerably to prove the sanctifying power of the gospel, an external rite comes where the internal energy of truth and the Holy Spirit ought to come. The external rite, if admitted at all with such a view, wrests and distorts the great

outlines of the whole picture. It is not the glorious gospel that fills the mind, as held by all real Christians, but the peculiar solemnity, fitness and significance of the form of immersion, or else the solemn promises made when immersed. And on a mind averse to self-crucifixion, and tending to self-complacency and censoriousness, what must be the moral effect of such appeals as these: "Yes, my brethren, we have been truly baptized. We have been *immersed*, and now the world looks to us for a proof of its sanctifying power?" Let it be granted that these things are not always said in pride, but often in deep and humble sincerity. But what art can extract the venom they are adapted to infuse, or prevent the inevitable tendency to magnify certain forms, and to freeze the heart of Christian love to all who are without the range of those forms? In multitudes of noble spirits, I rejoice to record it, the last effect is not produced. But it is to be ascribed to other and powerful counteracting causes, whilst, where no such counteracting causes exist, the venom rages unchecked; and we are not obscurely told that it is at least uncertain whether a person unimmersed can ever enter the kingdom of God, and immersion, as of old, practically usurps the place of regeneration. Among the evangelical Baptists this, indeed, is not true; other causes prevent. But there have long been others who equal or even exceed them in their zeal for immersion, and the Mormonites are now to be added to the list. If there is a real sanctifying power in this view, why are such multitudes of men, in all parts of our land, so zealous for it, who yet give no signs of crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts thereof? The fact cannot be denied. Why is it so? Is it not because it presents, *as a cross to be taken up, a mere external rite*, and promises, in some way, by the mysterious operation of a form, to enable them to escape the self-crucifixion they so much dread? And can holy men—men of prayer—sustain that very mode of interpretation on which it all rests, and not, whether they will or no, confirm such men in their views? Let all who are truly holy cut loose from this view, and soon the unholy will sink it by their own moral gravitation, and it will disappear.

On the other hand, the internal interpretation directs the attention of Christians directly to the interior, central and fundamental work of self-crucifixion, under the influence of forgiving love, and declares that true and real forgiveness of sins always indicates itself, by the destruction of the flesh with the affections

and lusts thereof, and it stimulates and aids Christians, in the highest degree, by example and gratitude and sympathy between the believer and Christ.

It is no small loss then to the Christian world, not only to lose the whole power of these passages for good, but even to have them perverted for evil, or else so obscured in the smoke of controversy, that they produce almost no effect, except to awaken in the mind an anxiety to know whether they do mean immersion or not. Let them be redeemed from all perversion and controversy, and let them utter, in clear tones, the full heart of Paul, and they will arouse the whole church to the earnest pursuit of eminent holiness as with a trumpet call.

§ 36. *Objection from authority considered.*

The influence of authority, with many minds, is great; and I should not be surprised if some should try to urge the *argumentum ad verecundiam*, in view of opinions so numerous and respectable against this result.

To this with all deference I would make the following reply:

1. In a radical discussion of the question, *Are the majority right?* an appeal to names is totally illogical. This is manifestly a case of the kind.

2. In some cases, numbers are a presumptive argument of error, and not of truth; i. e. in the case of old errors long established, and never thoroughly reinvestigated.

3. That this is a case of the kind, one striking proof will clearly show, that in every argument for the external sense, which I have found after extended search, has rested entirely on an obvious, yet fundamental *petitio principii*. I refer to the fact that in every case it has been assumed, without proof or even an effort at proof, that the baptism spoken of is external,—just as if there were no such idea, in the word of God, as internal baptism, or as if it were of no importance, and, therefore, it is always *a priori* probable that whenever the word is used, the external rite is meant,—so probable that it may always be assumed without proof. Look now at the works of Prof. Chase, Mr. Carson and Prof. Ripley, so often alluded to, and you find not even an effort to prove, philologically, that the baptism is external. It is always assumed. And yet, as all know, this is a fundamental point in the whole discussion.

What then are the facts as they present themselves in the New Testament? They are these:

1. There is a baptism, infinitely more important than the external baptism, and of which the external baptism is but a sign.

2. In the spiritual baptism, a believer is actually purged from sin and guilt by the Holy Ghost. In the external, the forgiveness of sins is openly announced, on the assumption that he has repented and believes, as he professes.

3. The person baptized is regarded as calling on the name of the Lord for forgiveness, and the baptizer as announcing his forgiveness in the name of the Lord. Acts 22 : 16.

4. In the case of internal baptism, there is no such external use of the name of God, but a real forgiveness resulting in actual union to Christ. Hence,

5. The form—*βαπτίζεσθαι εἰς ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*—is adapted to express the external baptism ; *βαπτίζεσθαι εἰς Χριστόν*, to express the internal baptism, that actually unites to Christ.

6. To this view, all facts accord. For in every instance where *ὄνομα* is used, there is internal evidence in the passage to prove that external baptism is meant. Matt. 28 : 19, Acts 2 : 38, Acts 8 : 16, Acts 10 : 48, Acts 19 : 5, Acts 22 : 16, 1 Cor. 1 : 13, 15.

But in every case where *ὄνομα* is omitted, and *εἰς* precedes *Χριστόν* or *σῶμα*, denoting the spiritual body of Christ, there is internal evidence that external baptism is not meant, and that internal is meant. Rom. 6 : 3, 1 Cor. 12 : 13, Gal. 3 : 27. In case of the first two, we have exhibited the evidence of the internal sense in the preceding argument, and in § 11. In Gal. 3 : 27, the sense of *putting on Christ* is fixed by Rom. 13 : 14, as denoting, not an external profession of religion, but a real assumption of a holy character, like that of Christ. See also Eph. 4 : 24 and Col. 3 : 10, 12, for a perfect demonstration of this sense. Besides, it is utterly unworthy of Paul to say : “ As many of you, as have been externally baptized into Christ, have made a profession of religion,” but entirely worthy of him to say : “ As many, as have been baptized into Christ spiritually, have really been by it changed into his image ;” and this is true of all who have been spiritually baptized, but of all who have been externally baptized it is not true ; yet Paul affirms it of all ; *ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς Χριστόν*.

In 1 Cor. 10 : 2, *εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο* denotes neither Christian baptism nor external baptism ; but a throwing back the name of the antitype upon the type, from a regard to similar effects. Believers, by spiritual baptism are delivered from

Satan and united to Christ. The children of Israel were delivered from Pharaoh, and really united to Moses, as a leader and saviour, by the cloud and the sea. There was here *no external profession, but a real union to Moses* as a leader, effected by a separation and deliverance from Pharaoh. In all this, Moses was a type of Christ, and, therefore, the name of the antitype is thrown back upon this transaction, and it is called a baptism into Moses, but not into the name of Moses. On the same principle, i. e., regard to effects, spiritual baptism is called the antitype of the salvation of Noah and his family in the ark. For as one actually saved Noah in the ark, so the other actually saves believers in Christ.

If these facts are so, where is the *a priori* improbability that internal baptism is meant in Rom. 6: 3, which all advocates of the external sense have assumed? The fact is that the improbability, from the very form of language, is altogether against external baptism; and all, who assume it, not only do so without proof, but without the possibility of proof, and against clear proof to the contrary.

No more striking instance can be given of the influence of a technical and external use of a word, without any reference to its spiritual signification, to turn away the mind from the true sense of the word of God. For in Eph. 4: 5, 6, as well as in Rom. 6: 3 and 1 Cor. 12: 13 and Gal. 3: 27, the same cause has entirely hid the true and spiritual sense, and put an external rite where the whole context demands the work of the Holy Spirit. One Lord,—even Jesus Christ who made atonement,—one faith, or glorious system of truth to be believed, and one regeneration,—the glorious result of the application of that truth by the Holy Spirit! How incongruous to place an external rite into such relations, and, especially, so to exalt external baptism, and to say nothing of the Lord's supper!

Through the same external, formal habit of mind, the beautiful and spiritual sense of Eph. 5: 26 has been lost, though the washing is expressly declared to be by the word of God—*ἐν ῥήματι*; and the spiritual sense of *ῥῆμα* is overlooked, though God has expressly used it as a symbol of truth. I will sprinkle *clean water* on you, and ye shall be clean.

So also the spiritual sense of Titus 3: 5 is drowned beneath the flood of external baptismal regeneration, though the language is exactly adapted to express the beginning and progress of spiritual life, or regeneration and sanctification—*λουιζόν*

παλιγγενεσίας denoting the first, and *ἀνακαινώσις πνεύματος ἁγίου* the progressive sanctification, caused by abundant effusions of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, not only is it true that external baptism is not meant in Rom. 6: 3, 4 and Col. 2: 12, but it is also true that there is no reason to think that any part of the language is taken from that rite. For,

1. Even had there been no external rite, but internal baptism only, the force of the analogy would have called for the use of burial in both of these passages. In speaking of the spiritual crucifixion, death and resurrection of the believer, how could Paul help inserting burial?

2. The real origin of the language is obvious. *Christ was buried in fact*, as well as crucified, and the same series of events, that furnished to Paul all the rest of his ideas, would naturally furnish this.

3. The genius and habits of Paul's mind demand this origin; for it was not external baptism that was daily before his mind, but the death, burial and resurrection of Christ.

4. The supposed connection or similitude between the word *βαπτίζω* and burial does not exist; for *βαπτίζω* means to purify, and, therefore, would not suggest the idea of burial. Such, then, is the proof of the position originally stated, that the *baptism, burial, resurrection*, etc., spoken of in Rom. 6: 3, 4 and Col. 2: 12 are all *internal*, and that the passage does not refer to the external rite at all, nor derive any of its language from it; but that the language would have been just as it is, if the rite had been administered by sprinkling alone, or even if there had been no external rite whatever.

§ 37. *Apostolic practice considered.*

After what has been said, but few words are needed on this point. It is plain,

1. That to us it is of very little consequence, what their practice was; for the command was only to purify, and God attaches no importance to any one mode more than another.

2. It is not possible decisively to prove the mode used by the apostles; for if going to rivers, going down to the water and up from it, etc., create a presumption in favor of immersion, so does the baptism of three thousand on the day of Pentecost, in a city where water was scarce, and of the jailer in a prison, create a presumption in favor of sprinkling.

And if a possibility of immersion can be shown in the latter

cases, so can a possibility of sprinkling or pouring be shown in the former.

3. The command being to purify, and the facts being as stated, the decided probability is that both modes were used, and Christian liberty everywhere enjoyed.

4. A tendency to formalism led to a misinterpretation of Paul in Rom. 6: 3, 4 and Col. 2: 12; and this gave the ascendancy to immersion, which increased, as before stated, till it became general, though it was not insisted on as absolutely essential on philological grounds.

5. Various causes, even in the Roman Catholic church, at length produced a relaxation of this excessive rigor of practice. And most Protestants, at the Reformation, took the same ground. But,

6. A mistake in philology, after the Reformation, introduced a practice stricter and more severe than even that of the Fathers, and which reprobates Christian liberty on this subject, as a corruption of the word of God; because various causes induced even the Roman Catholic church to relax a little of the excessive strictness of antiquity. I know that all that comes from the Roman Catholic church is *a priori* suspicious. But bad as that church is, no one can deny that there is some truth there. The view I have advanced I hold, not on her authority, but on its own merits. And I will not reject or deny *a truth*, even if it is found in a corrupt church.

§ 38. *Final Result.*

It appears, then, that the whole subject turns on three points: 1; the import of βαπτίζω; 2, the significance of the rite; 3, early practice. On each, the argument in favor of immersion rests on a *petitio principii*. 1. It is assumed as improbable that βαπτίζω can mean *purify*, without respect to mode, if it also means, in other cases, *immerse*. The falsehood of this assumption has been shown, the existence of an opposite probability proved, and the meaning *purify* clearly established by facts. 2. The improbability of *internal* baptism in Rom. 6: 3, 4 and Col. 2: 12, has been assumed, and external baptism has also been assumed without proof. It has been shown that the external sense, and not the internal sense, is improbable, and that against the external sense there is decisive proof. It has also been assumed that the practice of the Fathers and others is proof of their philology, and that, therefore, they must have re-

garded the command to baptize as a command to immerse. The falsehood of this assumption has also been clearly shown. The result of the whole is, that as to the *mode of purification* we may enjoy Christian liberty; and that immeasurable evils attend the operation of those principles, by which many are now endeavoring to bring the church upon exclusive ground. There is no objection to immersion, *merely as one mode of purification*, to all who desire it. But to immersion as the *divinely ordained and only mode*, there are objections, deep and radical. We cannot produce unity by sanctioning a false principle; our Baptist brethren can, by coming to the ground of Christian liberty. The conclusion, then, to which I would kindly, humbly, affectionately, yet decidedly come is this: "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

The argument is now closed. I intend only to add a few words of a practical kind, as it relates to the translation of the Bible, the unity of the church, and Christian communion.

ARTICLE III.

THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS AS AN INTELLECTUAL DISCIPLINE.

By E. D. Sanborn, Prof. of the Latin Lang. and Lit., Dartmouth College, N. H.

"He who calls departed ages back again into being," says Niebuhr, "enjoys a bliss like that of creating;" and, we may add, he, who carefully studies the records and memorials of past ages, enjoys the pleasure of a new existence. The sphere of his intellectual vision is enlarged, and the objects of delightful contemplation indefinitely multiplied. Such study is not only pleasant but useful. It awakens serious thought, checks presumption, chastens the imagination and rectifies the judgment. Without a knowledge of the past, we cannot act discreetly for the present, nor fully appreciate our privileges and obligations. Whoever, therefore, sincerely questions the past, becomes more prudent; and, whoever gives earnest heed to its responses, becomes a wiser and a better man. The Creator has implanted in the soul an instinctive reverence for antiquity. The "everlasting hills" derive not a little of their sublimity from their

age. Truth is more venerable because it is permanent and unchangeable. Every tie, that binds us to former ages, is sacred; and every memorial, which time has spared, serves as a landmark to guide us or warn us in our pilgrimage to eternity.

If it were possible for thoughts, emotions and principles to be imaged upon the canvass, like the features of a natural landscape, and some divine artist had power to present to us a moral panorama of past ages, from the beginning of time to the present hour, with what eagerness should we all rush to the exhibition, to gaze upon this most instructive, most enchanting, unequalled representation of human life! How many thrilling associations would cluster round that period when the soul of man first waked to conscious activity! With what intense interest should we watch the subsequent conflict of reason with passion, and its final triumph over a depraved nature, as it gave birth to civilization, government and laws! With what delight should we scan all the operations of intellect, and scrutinize every new development of mind, as the light of science and literature gradually broke forth upon a world of darkness! With what admiration should we gaze upon the venerable features of antiquity, as generation after generation passed in review before us, with all their thoughts, emotions and feelings, as fixed and changeless as eternity! With what reverence should we view those illustrious teachers of mankind, who have left the impress of their own characters upon the race, and the memorial of whose greatness is engraven, in living characters, upon the soul of man!

Such a view of the past, however, is not absolutely essential to a competent knowledge of its history. We need not call up the sleeping dead to question them; for they have already bequeathed to us the results of their experience. In the records of the past, the thinking spirit still lives, still speaks. Whatever is truly valuable in the creations of intellect or art, "men will not willingly let die." Of the world's benefactors and teachers, we may now say as the philosophic Tacitus said of his admired Agricola, "*Quidquid amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in eternitate temporum, fama rerum.*" Through the instrumentality of written language, time and space are virtually annihilated. Nations living remote from each other are intimately associated, and the very ends of the earth are united. Through the same medium, early and recent ages meet, and, mingling their intellec-

tual treasures, leave them as a rich legacy to coming generations. Thus the productions of gifted minds are not left to perish, neglected and forgotten; but embalmed in the literature of their age they escape "decay's effacing fingers," and live for ages after the animated dust of their authors has "returned to the dust as it was." In the lore that has come down to us from other days, the student can still commune with the spirits of the illustrious dead. The philosophers, the orators, the historians and poets of antiquity still speak to us in the very words which they chose for the dress of their undying thoughts. "Shining through the darkness of ages, they still remain stars of changeless and unequalled brilliancy." Their works have served to enrich and embellish the intellects of those, who, in later times, have created the literature of their respective countries. All the civilized nations of the earth have drank from the same common fountain. Many of the most polished modern languages are but channels, through which, from the same exhaustless reservoir, flow streams of knowledge, fertilizing and enriching the world of thought and feeling. The imagination of the poet, the eloquence of the orator, the understanding of the historian and the critical acumen of the philosopher have all been trained and matured by these same great teachers. The principles of their philosophy, poetry and oratory originated in the nature of man, and are as permanent and universal as the essential attributes of humanity. Hence they are adapted to all nations and all ages. They have been so freely adopted by subsequent writers, and so fully incorporated in their works, that their origin is almost forgotten, and they are regarded as the common property of the literati. The golden coin has been so often exchanged that its superscription is effaced, and the fortunate possessor now enjoys the reward of the original miner.

Thus the treasury of modern science and literature is replenished by the spoils of ages; and our philosophers and poets are wearing laurels, plucked from the brows of ancient sages and bards. Every generation adds something to the world's intellectual treasures. The literature of our own age, therefore, possesses elements as ancient as the origin of human civilization. There is not a civilized nation of past times, to which our scholars are not indebted. They laid the foundations upon which we are building. They enriched the soil from which the human mind now derives its nutriment. They originated

many of the arts and much of the literature, which are reflecting honor upon our institutions. Yet our nation, like a pigmy perched upon a giant's shoulders, enjoying a purer air, a clearer vision and a more extended prospect, affects to despise the honored dead, and boasts of its own success in literature, in arts and in arms.

The languages to which modern nations are most deeply indebted are thus beautifully characterized by Coleridge: "Greek—the shrine of the genius of the old world, as universal as our race; as individual as ourselves; of infinite flexibility; of indefatigable strength; with the complication and distinctness of nature herself; with words like pictures; with words like the gossamer film of summer, at once the variety and picturesqueness of Homer; the gloom and intensity of Æschylus; not compressed to the closest by Thucydides, nor fathomed to the bottom by Plato; not sounding with all its thunders nor lit up with all its ardors under the Promethean torch of Demosthenes: and Latin—the voice of empire and of war, of law and of state, rigid in its construction, reluctantly yielding to the flowery yoke of Horace, although opening glimpses of Greek-like splendor in the occasional inspirations of Lucretius, proved to the utmost by Cicero and by him found wanting, yet majestic in its barrenness, impressive in its conciseness, the true language of history, uniform in its air, whether touched by the stern and haughty Sallust, by the open and discursive Livy, or by the reserved and thoughtful Tacitus."

But it is not my object to eulogize the ancient languages. They have outlived the ravages of time and barbarism. Like the native diamond, they have acquired a higher polish by incessant use, and, in some instances, have received new lustre from the very blows that were dealt to mar their beauty. Omitting, therefore, the intrinsic excellence of these languages, as instruments of thought, and the rich materials of poetry, history and philosophy which they contain, let us contemplate the influence of a diligent and judicious study of them upon the development of the youthful mind.

The classics have probably been injured as much by indiscreet friends as by open enemies. When it is gravely announced that the classics are the storehouse of all knowledge, that every modern author only repeats, for the thousandth time, what was better said by the ancients, and that they are the only efficient helps to a liberal education, the common sense of the intelligent

reader revolts at such groundless assertions. We do not affirm, therefore, that the ancients possessed all wisdom—only that they were wise; nor that a knowledge of the classics is absolutely essential to a good education—only that it is highly important; nor that classical study should alone or chiefly occupy the student's attention—but that it ought to hold a prominent place in every system of education which claims to be *liberal*. The design of all intellectual training is to develop and strengthen the native faculties of the mind. It does not aim at mere acquisition, but at origination. Its design is, not so much to learn what others have thought wisely, as to think wisely ourselves; not so much to accumulate as to originate thoughts. It is rather learning *how* to think, than *what* to think; providing intellectual strength and skill, rather than intellectual stores. The great object of the young student, therefore, is to expand and invigorate the mind, to promote a harmonious development of all its powers; to improve the memory, control the attention, give accuracy and discrimination to the judgment, refinement and elegance to the taste, and to impart to all these faculties such a manly vigor and compactness, as will enable him to grapple successfully with the most difficult and abstruse questions of philosophy, and, at the same time, appreciate and enjoy the most splendid creations of imagination. But, some one may ask, Do you pretend that the classics can accomplish this great work alone? Most certainly not. A mere classical scholar is by no means a thoroughly educated man. A complete education contemplates other objects besides intellectual culture. Man needs physical and moral as well as mental training. He has a will to be regulated, passions to be governed, appetites to be checked, and affections to be cultivated. The influence of classical study in these respects, it is not our object now to discuss. We wish to show its utility as *an intellectual discipline*; and, be it remembered, while we maintain the importance and excellence of such discipline, we do not exclude other sciences or deny their utility. We would not recommend the exclusive application of the mind to any department of knowledge. It is only the combined influence of different studies which can make the finished scholar, the able reasoner and deep thinker. While we make these concessions in favor of other sciences, we may safely assert that the study of the languages is the best discipline for the tyro, and one of the most valuable helps to the mature scholar. The mathematics

and metaphysics are suited to a more advanced stage of education, and are peculiarly adapted to develop the reasoning powers, though less efficient in the cultivation of a correct taste, a chastened imagination and a tenacious memory.

A great part of the work of education is preparatory. The foundation must be laid broad and deep before a stable superstructure can be reared. How often have we been told that the mind, like the body, requires exercise in order to its complete development? Who does not know, that without that exercise, the mind must forever remain infantile and weak? It should be the first object of the teacher, therefore, to promote intellectual activity. It is in vain to crowd the young mind with facts and theories; the understanding must be enlarged before it can contain; the judgment must be matured before it can decide; the memory must be strengthened before it can retain; the taste must be cultivated before it can distinguish. Knowledge cannot be poured into the mind, like water into a cask—as the ancient sophists taught—without regard to capacity. As well might you teach the infant to walk, by presenting to his eye the process upon a canvass, as teach the young pupil to think, by the bare presentation of facts. In both cases, the child must exercise his own powers; and that he may properly exercise his mind, he must be furnished with appropriate subjects of contemplation. The proper stimulus must be applied, and a right direction given to his thoughts. If the material be such as to employ all the powers of the mind at once, time will be saved, and great advantage secured. The mind is enlarged by expansion and not by accretion. The true index of its greatness is its power to originate and execute, not a mere capacity to contain. We should not aim to make the mind a mere reservoir of other men's thoughts, but a living fountain, sending forth its own refreshing streams. A student may acquire the elements of universal science, and, by mere dint of memory, make his head a storehouse of facts, and yet be a mere sciolist. If he has made no effort to classify these facts, to investigate the causes and effects of events, to reason from premises, to draw conclusions from arguments—in a word, if he has taken no care “to preserve that delicate balance of all the powers, which constitutes the truly philosophic mind,” he has no claim to the title of *scholar*, much less to that of a *genius*. We cannot justly predicate intelligence of such a man any more than we can of an encyclopedia. They both contain the

thoughts of others, and will communicate them when consulted.

If the business of education has been properly stated, it follows that that course of study, which most effectually secures the object of all mental training, is the best. Let us now examine more particularly the claims of the classics to our attention. Let us notice their influence upon the individual faculties of the mind, the memory, the attention, judgment, imagination, taste and reasoning powers.

1. *In the acquisition of the words and grammatical forms of a new language, the memory is essentially improved.* This is perhaps one of the least important results of this discipline. The memory is more easily trained than any other faculty of the mind. Almost any exercise will be profitable to the memory of the child; still, in the process of a regular education, economy of time and mental advantage should determine our choice of means. If we take into view the collateral benefits which result from classical study as a discipline for the memory, its influence in creating mental capacity and stimulating to mental effort, by invigorating the mind, and, at the same time, furnishing the richest materials of thought, it may be questioned whether we can select a better exercise for the young student. No scholar will deny the great importance of a tenacious memory, if the other powers of the mind are properly matured. It is commonly believed that a good memory is not the usual concomitant of a great intellect; and, that it is the prerogative of true genius to invent, not to retain. The notion is equally prevalent, that close application and accurate scholarship are incompatible with superior mental endowments. Because genius is sometimes eccentric, and, either from indolence or perversity, neglects that culture which is essential to the growth of common minds, every unfledged witling, forsooth, possessed of the requisite indolence and aversion to study, presumes to play the genius by aping his follies. Every reflecting mind will acknowledge that accuracy of memory is essential to correct judgment; for, in order to discriminate between things that differ, a man must readily call to mind all the circumstances that constitute that difference; else he will decide preposterously. We cannot arrive at safe and equitable conclusions respecting disputed points unless we can retain and weigh the evidence advanced upon both sides. Hence a good memory is absolutely indispensable to the judge, the advocate and public speakers of

every description. Cicero, in speaking of the value of a good memory to the orator, says: *Quid dicam de thesauro rerum omnium, memoria? quæ nisi custos inventis cogitatisque rebus et verbis adhibeatur, intelligimus, omnia, etiamsi præclarissima fuerint in oratore, peritura.**

In the ordinary process of education, the memory frequently receives undue attention, and is cultivated at the expense of higher intellectual powers. "Young learners," says Dr. Jahn, "are accustomed to do violence to the faculty of memory, when they earnestly strive to learn every thing *by rote*, or, at least, to retain it in the memory. By efforts of this nature, which are overstrained, they fatigue the memory, deprive it of its natural vigor, and debilitate it; whence it comes, that they remember what they obtain in this manner with the greatest difficulty, and, of course, easily forget it. The memory loves freedom, and is refreshed, nourished and strengthened by it." Hence, in educating the young mind, the memory should not be unduly tasked, but only trained to a spontaneous, healthy activity, in co-operation with the other mental powers. In the discipline we propose, there is little danger of giving a disproportionate employment to the memory. If the languages are properly taught and studied, the pupil must *think* and *reason* and *decide* as well as remember.

2. *The study of the languages enables the student to command the attention at will, to fix it, for any length of time, upon a single point, and to form those habits of patient investigation and nice discrimination, which are essential to intellectual eminence.* This is the most difficult and painful part of the whole business of education. Indeed, it is difficult for the best trained minds to gain a perfect control of the attention, so as to command it at will and concentrate it for a longer or shorter period, upon a given subject. This habit is by no means the gift of nature. The mind naturally loves ease or amusement, better than toil and solid improvement. It is disinclined to patient thought. It loves to indulge its own idle reveries, to sport with its own spontaneous musings, to brood over the creations of its own imagination, and to follow its own vagaries to the ends of the earth. "Every man who has instructed others," says Dr. Johnson, "can tell how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to stimulate sluggish indifference, and

* De Oratore, Liber 1: 5.

to rectify absurd misapprehensions." "In order to grapple successfully with the difficulties of science, the mind should be brought to the task, in a collected and unruffled state. No half-subdued gust of passion should start up, no melancholy train of thought should pour in its muddy current, no sudden start of skittish fancy or engrossing remembrance of darling diversion, no dreams of romance should come in to ruffle the smooth surface. The whole soul should be only a mirror of thought, whose every image should be well defined and without distortion."

Such a perfect control of the emotions, passions and thoughts can only be acquired by the truly philosophic mind, and that by intense application and rigid discipline. Still, trial, effort and practice may do much, even for the feeblest intellect. Confined attention is always irksome to the undisciplined mind, and it readily welcomes any amusing day-dream, which may help to expel unwelcome thoughts. This subject is so happily illustrated by Dr. Beecher in his "Plea for Colleges," that I cannot forbear quoting his remarks. "Human indolence abhors this habit [of confined attention] as nature does a vacuum; and the mind can be brought to it only by the power of habitual training. It is this aversion to close attention, which produces in the early stages of college life, so many partial insurrections against the languages and mathematics; and such profound and eloquent dissertations upon the inutility of the one, and the folly of plodding through the sterile regions of the other; and such warm-hearted eulogies of the literature and various knowledge, which glitter on the surface, and for the acquisition of which the eye and the ear and the memory may suffice; with little taxation of thought and mental power, in which the inspirations of genius are idolized and hard study stigmatized; in which, instead of putting in requisition the whole energy of the soul to turn the key of knowledge, the young gentleman may skip through college with kid gloves and rattan, worship Bacchus and Venus, and cultivate the graces before the glass and before the ladies; and take his diploma, with all his college honors blushing thick upon his vacant head;—a system of education that might suffice to qualify men to govern monkeys, but never to form and govern mind."

Now it is found, by long experience, that the study of the languages is an excellent remedy for languid attention and intermittent application. It is impossible to advance a single

step without careful attention. The interpretation of language requires thought, reflection and reasoning. In the more difficult passages it requires undivided attention and intense application. The student must not only have a clear idea of the separate meaning of the words, but also of the thought presented to the reader by their combination. He must not only be familiar with the general meaning of each word, but he must know its particular meaning in the passage he is examining. He must form a just conception of the import of each sentence, and of its relation to the context. The precise thing indicated by every word and every sentence must be presented to the mental eye, and the exact shade of thought which lay in the author's mind, must be exhibited under new forms, and in new relations, so as not to lose one of its original characteristics. This requires a careful attention to all the circumstances of the writer's situation,—the time, the place and the cause of his writing. The author's peculiar mental and physical constitution, his mode of life and habits of thinking should also be investigated. Sometimes an author cannot be fully understood and appreciated without an intimate knowledge of the geographical, commercial and political condition, domestic manners, mental habits, private and public life of the people to which he belonged. So that frequently the whole field of ancient lore must be explored, and the whole world of antiquities be laid under contribution to illustrate a single author.

The connection of each word, thought and paragraph, with every other portion of the work, must be carefully scrutinized, lest in translating we make the writer contradict himself. The nature of the subject discussed, and the logical sequence of the arguments must also be noticed, so that our interpretation may not be incongruous or irrelevant. This process requires a vigorous exercise of the powers of invention and comprehension. Thus the mind is kept in a constant state of healthy activity and pleasurable excitement. Its natural appetency for new truths and new relations is abundantly gratified. The pleasure of acquisition beguiles the tediousness of severe study, and the habit of patient investigation and critical analysis is formed without the consciousness of fatigue. "The power of making nice distinctions, and of separating things, which, to the ignorant and inexperienced, appear alike," says Prof. Stuart, "is one of the most important powers ever acquired and exercised by the human mind. I must believe that linguistic study, di-

rected as it ought to be, viz. to acquire a knowledge of *things* that are designated by the words of a foreign language, is one of the most important means of improving and strengthening the faculty of nice discernment, that is within the reach of a young man." The same author acknowledges himself more indebted to this discipline than to all his other studies. *The judgment* is also called into active exercise, during the whole process of interpretation, in unravelling and recomposing every sentence and paragraph, but more especially in analyzing an entire work. The same faculty may be judiciously exercised in comparing synonyms, in determining their exact shades of difference, and in deciding why a particular word is used in a given place instead of another. In reading different authors, their peculiarities may be noticed, their excellencies or defects compared, and their merits determined. In this way, even the young student may create for himself a standard of merit, and form some notion of a higher and philosophical criticism. When he has once learned to think with precision, and to discriminate with accuracy, he will easily command right words and forcible expression for the vehicle of his thoughts. The classical student, if he have clear ideas and definite notions of what he wishes to communicate, cannot want for words. His familiarity with the best models will generally secure him from inaccuracies in the use of language and offences against taste.

3. *The study of the classics tends to refine, chasten and exalt the imagination.* Perhaps there is no one of the native powers of the mind, which usually exerts so important an influence upon our happiness or misery in this life, as the imagination. If properly trained and directed, it may become the source of the most exquisite pleasure; if neglected and abused, of the most excruciating torment. In those departments of literature which are the peculiar province of the imagination, the ancients stand unrivalled. In their poetry and oratory, the student is introduced to the most splendid creations of genius. It is the prevailing opinion of some of our best critics, that the infancy of society is most favorable to poetic excellence. Every thing then is new. All the impressions of the bard are fresh and vivid. The current of his thoughts gushes out warm from nature's living fount. As men advance in society, they become less susceptible to those lively emotions, excited by an ardent imagination. They deal more in general ideas and cold ab-

stractions. The reasoning powers become more acute, the imagination more tame. The experimental sciences, which require time for maturity, advance with the improvement of society, while poetry remains stationary or retrogrades. "As civilization advances," says Macaulay, "poetry almost necessarily declines. In proportion as men know more and think more, they look less at individuals, and more at classes. They therefore make better theories, and worse poems. They give us vague phrases instead of images, and personified qualities instead of men. They may be better able to analyze human nature than their predecessors. But analysis is not the business of the poet. His office is to portray, not to dissect." "The Greeks," says Menzel, "translated beautiful nature; the middle ages translated faith; we translate our science into poetry."

If this theory be true, the student can kindle the true poetic enthusiasm in his own bosom, only by stealing a coal from the altar of the ancient muses. A thorough acquaintance with ancient poetry will undoubtedly give him a just notion of the office of the imagination in literature, and reveal to him the secret process by which this "shaping spirit" creates the magic wonders of its power. It is not enough that the scholar views and admires these unequalled productions of genius; he must become familiar with them and feel their influence. It is not sufficient to notice and treasure up the beautiful conceits and striking expressions of an author; but he must strive to reproduce in himself the inspiration of the bard and the enthusiasm of the orator. He must, for the time, forget self, and, in imagination at least, exchange places with the author, live in the very midst of the stirring scenes that called forth the orator's pathos, or kindled the poet's fire, breathe in his spirit, be moved by the same impulses of feeling that actuated him, be touched by his sorrow, be melted by his tears, catch his fire, feel the same emotions of sublimity, and enjoy the same beauties that elevated or ravished his soul, soar with him in imagination, and train the whole intellectual being to like modes of thought. In this way he may acquire sufficient strength and nerve to wield the giant armor of men of other days.

By this process alone, can the student become an adept in classic lore. Some *practical men* may cry out: "Enthusiasm! extravagance!" Admit that it is enthusiasm. Great attainments were never made in any branch of literature, science or art, without some degree of professional enthusiasm. This dé-

votion of eminent scholars and artists to their favorite pursuits is the very secret of their success. The geologist is in raptures at the discovery of some antediluvian reptile or more recent petrification. The philosophic antiquarian gazes with mingled awe and reverence at the remains of ancient art,—those magnificent ruins and marvellous columns that stand upon the soil beneath which countless generations sleep,

Flinging their shadows from on high,
Like dials which the wizard time
Hath raised to count his ages by.

The physician boasts of his splendid illustrations of morbid anatomy, and of his beautiful specimens of diseased bones ; and no one objects to this devotion to a particular department of study, this professional enthusiasm. On the contrary, every intelligent man commends it as the very key that unlocks the temple of science.

4. *The taste is refined and matured by this same discipline.* By constant association with refined society the individual is himself refined. The mind, in like manner, is moulded by the objects it contemplates. By long familiarity with these finished models of composition, the principles of philosophic criticism are gradually acquired, and a cultivated taste is unconsciously formed, so that, in writing, the student instinctively adopts what is beautiful in sentiment and faultless in expression, and rejects what is vulgar and anomalous. Though he may forget every word and every thought he has ever learned from ancient authors, his time will not have been lost. There still remains in the soul "an intellectual residuum," a kind of mental precipitate, which, though differing from all the elements that were originally thrown into the intellectual crucible, still contains their very essence, and is superior to them all. The student's taste is *classical*. And can we use a more expressive epithet ? Can there be higher praise ? After long acquaintance with classic excellencies, he has an intuitive perception of the beauties of a literary production. He does not need to recur to the standard he once used. He has risen from the condition of a learner to that of judge, and his nice perception of the beauties of a finished composition has become a part of his mental constitution. The man, who has been thus educated, can scarcely become so degraded as to lose entirely his taste for the beautiful, the poetic and the sublime in literature. Nor is this disci-

pline, which thus forms the taste and polishes the mind, a mere unrequited toil, destitute of pleasure or profit. There is a pleasure in mere intellectual activity. We are so constituted, that without exertion *we cannot enjoy*. Knowledge is the proper aliment of the soul, and the highest mental enjoyment results from the uninterrupted pursuit, and the constant acquisition of new truths. A philosopher once said: "If the gods would grant me all knowledge, I would not thank them for the boon; but if they would grant me the everlasting pursuit of it, I would render them everlasting thanks." When the student commences a course of classical study, he does not enter upon a barren desert, with only here and there an oasis to gladden his heart, but a land of hill and dale, whose eminences are clothed with perpetual sunlight, and in whose bosom sleep the treasures of a world.

5. *Classical study is eminently useful in strengthening the reasoning powers.* The art of reasoning is one of the most complicated and difficult of all arts. It can be acquired only by long and laborious training. Perfection in this art would require all knowledge. The noblest productions of human reason have resulted from the combined influence of all liberal studies. The higher mathematics furnish an excellent discipline for minds that have already been partially matured by an appropriate early education. But as mathematical reasoning alone admits of absolute certainty, and all moral reasoning is based upon probabilities, classical study is found to be an excellent co-worker with the mathematics and metaphysics, in preparing men for the diversified employments of life. In most of our daily avocations, we reason from probable evidence. The difficulty of this process is increased by the ambiguity of human language. In the business of translating from a foreign tongue, the mind is constantly employed in weighing evidence, and balancing probabilities. It is made familiar with the very process of reasoning which we need to employ in the intercourse of life. "The mind," says Dugald Stewart, "in following any train of reasoning beyond the circle of the mathematical sciences, must necessarily carry on, along with the logical deduction expressed in words, another logical process, of a far nicer and more difficult nature,—that of fixing, with a rapidity which escapes our memory, the precise sense of every word which is ambiguous, by the relation in which it stands to the general scope of the argument."

Now this is precisely the student's occupation who is translating a foreign language. He is incessantly employed in determining the meaning of words from the connection in which they stand, constantly weighing evidence and drawing conclusions, if he does not use a translation; for, in that case, he is only exercising his memory. Each word has various significations. He must carefully examine the sentence, and then fix upon the appropriate definition. In this way he is for years training the mind to the most accurate discrimination in comparing words, and adjusting nice shades of meaning. Thus he learns to practise the most delicate and difficult part of the art of reasoning. In what other way could one become so intimately acquainted with the right use of language, which is the great instrument of all ratiocination? Without a minute knowledge of definitions, and of the nice shades of meaning which result from the subject discussed, and the connection of the argument, no person can speak with precision, or reason with force and perspicuity. Many eminent teachers have been so fully convinced of the utility of classical studies, in invigorating and maturing the mental powers, that they give it as their opinion, that, if two students of equal capacity be put upon a course of study, for six years—the one pursuing English studies wholly, and the other devoting one-third of the time to the languages—at the end of the course the classical student, by his superior discipline, will have acquired a better English education, aside from his knowledge of the languages, than the other. An eminent French philosopher supposes if two boys were put to study—the one upon the classics and the other upon the sciences—and, “on leaving the first class,” the classical scholar should, by some accident, lose every word he had learned, but retain his intellectual powers in the same state of maturity as before the loss, that this scholar, beginning his acquisitions anew, would, at the close of his course, be better educated and better prepared for the business of life than the other, who had devoted the whole time to other pursuits. This may be an extravagant opinion, yet by no means so extravagant as many would suppose. It is undoubtedly true that the time which many students think absolutely wasted upon the classics, is the very seed-time of life. It is the apprenticeship of mind; the time when they are acquiring strength and skill for greater effort; the time when they are preparing their weapons for future intellectual warfare.

A distinguished philosopher remarks: "The real way to gain time in education is to *lose* it; that is, to give it up to the natural development of the faculties: not to be in haste to construct the edifice of knowledge, but first to prepare the materials and lay deep the foundations. The time that is yielded to the mind for unfolding itself though slowly is not lost; but to derange its natural progress, by forcing on it premature instruction, is to lose not only the time spent, but much of the time to come. Give your pupil memory, attention, judgment, taste; and believe, whatever his vocation in life may be, he will make more rapid and certain proficiency, than if you had loaded him with knowledge, which you cannot answer for his bringing to any result, and which his organs, weak and variable, and his unconfirmed faculties, are as yet little able to bear."

In this connection it may not be improper to notice some of the current objections against the classics. The common objection against their practical utility has already, I trust, been answered by showing that the study of them develops and matures the young mind. Whatever expands the soul, induces reflection, furnishes food for thought, subdues sense and exalts reason, is eminently *practical*.

Aside from their influence in forming the mind, their utility might be advocated as the medium of communicating valuable information that cannot be conveniently learned from other sources. In learning the language of a nation, the student becomes acquainted with their mental habits, their progress in philosophy and morals, their history, chronology, private character and public institutions. A mere vocabulary of the words used by a people will show their progress in science, philosophy and the arts, and a careful analysis of their peculiar modes of expression, the structure of their language and the characteristics of their style, will prove a very valuable help to the study of intellectual philosophy. Words and thoughts are so intimately associated, that the study of language is, in one sense, the study of mind; and *comparative philology* may justly be styled *the comparative anatomy of mind*. It is a common remark of students: "I wish to study what I can use in the business of life." Now what can be more useful, especially to one whose business it is to persuade and to convince, than to be thoroughly versed in the philosophy of mind and its operations; to be well acquainted with all the springs of human action? If a scholar will study only what will be available as an intellectual fund in

after life, he must confine himself chiefly to the elementary branches of an English education, particularly to arithmetic and book-keeping. But if he would entertain large and liberal views, his course of study must be equally extended and liberal.

From young men who contemplate the legal profession, we frequently hear such sentiments as this: 'I wish to give my attention to such authors as will furnish me with practical knowledge, polish my style, give me a command of language and prepare me for a public speaker.' I reply, that there is no exercise that will so effectually prepare you for your contemplated duties, as the study you object to. Do you expect to spend your life in the use of language, to gain your subsistence by its use, and yet object to the study of it? But, says the objector, I do not intend to speak Latin or Greek. Very well: but if you can acquire a better knowledge of your own tongue, a more polished style and a more ready command of words, by the discipline of interpretation, is not this the very end you aim at? What, think you, gave birth to the clear, precise and logical reasonings of Cudworth, the profound thoughts and copious diction of Barrow and Howe, the transcendent, matchless eloquence of Taylor and Milton? Did they acquire their unrivalled distinction as scholars by studying English literature? Most certainly not; for they had none or almost none to study. These were the men who made English literature. Their minds were trained almost wholly by classical study.

But, says the objector, did not Shakspeare contribute as largely to the formation of English literature as any you have named? "He," as Ben Johnson said, "had small Latin and less Greek." True, Shakspeare possessed superior native endowments, and could accomplish without a thorough education more than others can with it. He was an exception to all general rules. Besides, if his case shows that classical studies are useless, it shows that all systematic education is useless. If all that is requisite to make a great man be to turn him loose upon the world, in his youth, and leave him dependent on his own exertions, it is a wonder the world is not full of Shakspeares and Franklins; for certainly a multitude of young men are thus left to their own efforts, and under circumstances far more favorable to improvement than those of Shakspeare or Franklin. Six thousand years have produced but one Shakspeare, while they have produced thousands of good rea-

soners and deep thinkers ; and this is quite as much as most young men may aspire to. Indeed, if all our youth were left to their own resources, it is probable that multitudes would imitate Prince Hal or Falstaff, where one would conceive the idea of such a character, and write down the conception for the instruction and amusement of others.

“Many men,” says Mr. Cheever, “think no employments practical, but those that are immediately mechanical ; or those that minister to our bodily necessities ; or those that afford knowledge whose application is immediate and evident. To such men, God himself cannot appear, as the Creator of the universe, as an architect of practical wisdom ; for he has covered the earth with objects, and the sky and the clouds with tints, whose surpassing beauty is their only utility ; but whose beauty is eminently useful, because man who beholds it, is immortal ; because it wakes the soul to moral contemplation, excites the imagination, softens the sensibilities of the heart, and throws round every thing in man’s temporal habitation the sweet light of poetry reflected from the habitations of angels, telling him both of his mortality and immortality, giving him symbols of both, and holding with him a perpetual conversation of the glory, wisdom and goodness of God.

‘To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts, that do often lie too deep for tears.’

“To such men the employment of Milton, while writing *Paradise Lost*, would have seemed less practical than that of the shoemaker at his next door ; nor would it alter their views to represent that all the shoes the man could possibly make in a whole life time, would be worn out in a very few years, while the divine poem would be a glorious banquet and a powerful discipline to all good men and great minds for ages. Whatever in any degree disciplines the mind for effort, is practical, though for every thing else it be utterly useless.”

No man can appreciate the value of mental discipline till he has felt its influence ; and if he is unacquainted with any science or department of study, this very fact precludes the possibility of his forming a correct estimate of its utility. The only way to judge of what is practical is *to be practical* ; and the only way to arrive at a just estimate of the real utility of any branch of science, is *to study it and master it*. The true standard, by which we ought to estimate the benefit of intel-

lectual training, is the capacity it creates for doing good. Some students, whose love of ease creates in them an aversion to all laborious exercise either of mind or body, seek a substitute for the prescribed course of collegiate study in extended reading. They admire the ready and flippant student, who, having a smattering of all knowledge, astonishes the uninitiated. They diligently inquire the cause of his marvellous fluency and ready wit, and find that he is a general scholar, a lover of miscellany. Hence they resolve to be readers, and scout the languages and mathematics, which so cramp the intellect, stifle the buddings of genius, and make a man a mere prosing pedant. They plunge at once into an ocean of miscellany, and seize upon this novel, that new poem, and the other review or pamphlet, studiously avoiding the good old standard works of English literature, because, forsooth, they require study, and are almost as difficult to be understood as Latin. After carefully pursuing this labor-saving process of education four years, the student graduates, a mere superficial sciolist, with a small capital of fancy articles, to please the sentimental and romantic, and without the means of increasing it. It would be better to spend four years in the catacombs of Egypt, deciphering hieroglyphics, than devote the same time exclusively to miscellaneous reading. The student would come out of his den better prepared for the business of life, with more strength of intellect for grappling with difficult subjects, than if he had spent his time in the mere dissipation of unthinking superficial reading. I do not object to such reading, in its proper place; but it should be resorted to as a relief from severer studies. All intellectual eminence is the result of patient thought. Mere reading without study or reflection will no more expand the young mind, than listening to sweet music. Either occupation would beguile the tedious hours of an unemployed mind. Hard study, patient, protracted study, discriminating study is absolutely essential to success in literary and scientific pursuits. Miscellaneous reading does not furnish the necessary discipline. The young man, who vainly imagines that such pursuits will qualify him for "the stern realities of life," and resolves to devote no more time to those studies, whose practical utility is not apparent to his feeble mind, than barely to escape public disgrace, by that very resolve dooms himself to eternal mediocrity, if not to inferiority. Before such a person reads polite literature to polish his mind, it may be well for him to get some mind to

polish. Reading, to be profitable, must be something more than a mere "beggarly day-dreaming." "Read," says Bacon, "not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." It might be added, many are not to be read at all; for it can scarcely be doubted that an indiscriminate gormandizing of popular literature only enfeebles the intellect, and begets a sickly sentimentalism. In regard to the alleged immoral tendency of the study of classic mythology, I can only say I have never felt it nor discovered it in others. It is, however, gravely maintained that ancient authors foster a bloodthirsty spirit, and taint the soul by their licentiousness. It is also maintained, by some reformers, that jails and penitentiaries are mere incentives to crime; yet I cannot learn that those who live in the vicinity of such institutions are uncommonly vicious, nor have I ever known a man to be prompted to steal or rob, by visiting or passing by a prison. Neither have I known a student to become a heathen, or even *heathenish* by studying the classics. I would ask every schemer in education to visit our colleges, and inquire who are the greatest heathens there. I am confident they are not the best classical scholars. I would say to such reformers as Agricola did to his troops: "question your own eyes." Who are the idle, the disorderly and vicious in our literary institutions? Is it they who are most devoted to classical pursuits? No: for they have no time to be dissipated. It is a rare thing to find one, who seeks to excel as a classical scholar, dissipated or immoral. The disturbers of college, the corrupters of the young are generally those who neglect such studies, who have not sufficient elevation of soul to appreciate them, and who find a more congenial employment in reading the corrupting novels and poetry of the age. An extended discussion of this point does not properly belong to my subject, and I leave it. I conclude in the language of Dr. Dana: "If there is a spirit abroad in our land which is corrupting our literature, which would exchange its solid strength for a feeble and meretricious splendor, which regards its surface more than its depth, let us resist it. In an age of too much glitter and ostentation, let us aim at nothing better or higher than solid knowledge, genuine wisdom, unostentatious goodness and substantial usefulness. In an age of ceaseless revolution, let us remember that to *innovate* is not always to reform; and *that old truth is somewhat preferable to new error.*"

ARTICLE IV.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND:—GAUSSEN
ON DIVINE INSPIRATION.

By an American in Paris.

*Théopneustie, ou Pleine Inspiration des Saintes Ecritures : par
L. Gaussen.**Theopneustia, or the Plenary Inspiration of the Sacred Scrip-
tures : by L. Gaussen : pp 477, 8vo. (Published by Delay,
No. 62 Rue Basse-du-Rempart, Paris.)*

THE three great races, which possess the greatest degree of civilization, and the greatest amount of moral and political influence in the world, are the English, or rather the Anglo-Saxon, the Germanic, and the French or Gallic. The first of these, including the branch which inhabits the United States and the colonies of Great Britain, probably exceeds forty-four millions of people; the second, forty-two millions; and the third, including portions of Switzerland and Belgium and the colonies of France, thirty-eight millions.

These races, though enjoying a civilization which may be said to be nearly equal, possess characteristics which strikingly distinguish them one from another. The first two, however, approximate much more nearly to each other—having in fact a common origin—than does either of them and the third. An inquiry into the origin of these differences in character—so perceptible, and yet not easy to portray—would be in the highest degree interesting; but it is wholly foreign to the object which we have in view in writing this article.

The Anglo-Saxon mind may be described as being eminently practical, clear in its conceptions, patient in its investigations and pursuits; the Germanic, more patient, more speculative, and more ardent. While the Gallic is more ardent still than that of the dwellers beyond the Rhine, more perspicacious, but greatly wanting in coolness, in patience, in application. We speak only of the most general characteristics of these races

In literature the French are inferior to the English or Anglo-Saxon race in soundness of view, in clearness of argumentation, and in what may be called the love of the True. They are very inferior to the Germans in profound erudition ; and utterly abhor their love of speculation. They love that which is witty, brilliant, striking. But they have not the patience which is necessary to arrive at that which is profound.

What we have just said is characteristic of the national mind and its operations. No people have more genius, and yet no great nation has produced fewer of the grandest discoveries in science, or achieved fewer of the greatest processes of art. And as to literature, while they have displayed great genius, and a most vivid imagination, the overwhelming mass of their writers are frivolous, superficial and immature. This is unquestionably the character of their writers in general.

And yet, although the national character of the French may be designated as light, unstable, and fonder of show than of solidity, nothing is more certain than that when moulded by influences sufficiently powerful to control it, it undergoes the most remarkable transformations. In the pursuit of military glory, what toilsome campaigns have the French not made, what sanguinary battles have they not fought ! In pursuit of science, too, they have furnished some of the finest examples of indomitable perseverance.

But under no influence does the French mind seem to undergo so great a change as it does under that of religion. When made to feel the "powers of the world to come," and the motives which Christianity brings to bear upon the human heart, it seems to lose in a great measure those traits which we have described as being national. Calmness, sobriety, seriousness take the place of excessive excitability, frivolity and levity. Under this transforming influence, the French mind becomes remarkably adapted to the clear perception of the truth as revealed in the Bible, and the happy expression of it in spoken or written discourse. It is on this account that France has furnished many of the very ablest expounders of the Christian faith that the world has ever known, as well as many of its noblest advocates and most intrepid martyrs.

Rome, for ages, found in the Gallican church, her most distinguished defenders, and her brightest ornaments. Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Fléchier and Fénelon are names than which none greater appear in her calendar of great men.

Their fame is coextensive with the literary and religious world. From the bosom of the Gallican church, too, even down to the present times, have gone forth the best missionaries whom Rome has ever employed to propagate her doctrines and extend her dominion.

And even the Protestants, persecuted as they have been, and trodden under the feet of their enemies, almost to annihilation, have furnished many able champions of the truth as it is in Jesus, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries. Notwithstanding that access to the colleges of France was denied to their young men, and they were compelled to depend upon what instruction the schools of their own despised sect afforded, or seek for better in the academies and universities of Switzerland, Germany and Holland, not a few of them rose to distinction, and compelled the admiration, in some cases, of even their enemies.

Let us for a moment speak of a few of them. And first of all, though not exactly first in the order of time, was Calvin—clarum et venerabile nomen,—who, whether he treated of the doctrines of Christianity, or expounded its sacred oracles, has not been surpassed in clearness of conception, in strength of argument, or in felicity of diction. He was one of those few great men whose names seem to be destined to descend to the remotest ages of futurity. His numerous and able productions are too well known to need a notice from us. His distinguished coadjutors in the glorious Reformation at Geneva, as well as in the adjoining Pays de Vaud, were Farel—the bold, ardent, powerful preacher, Viret—the amiable, the polished, the ingenious writer, as well as eloquent speaker, and Peter Olivetan, who first translated the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek originals. Theodore Beza, the friend of Calvin, his junior far in years and his inferior in natural gifts, was his successor in the chair of Theology at Geneva. He was the first President or Principal of the Academy; and his numerous writings attest the maturity of his mind, and the great extent of his erudition.

Whilst the above named great men labored, with others, who were either Frenchmen, or of French origin, and several of them had been banished from France, to introduce and establish the Reformation in French Switzerland, there were a few men, eminent in zeal and talent, who still continued, amidst the greatest obstacles, to promote it in France itself. Among these may be mentioned *Lafevre*, who deserves to be called the Fa-

ther of the Reformation in that country, and who was the author of valuable commentaries on the Scriptures; *Morlorat*, author of Commentaries on Isaiah and the New Testament; and others less distinguished.

In the 17th century, and the beginning of the 18th, there were not a few distinguished Protestant writers in France, among whom we may indicate as the most celebrated, *Philip de Mornay*, Count de Plessis, or, as he is commonly called, Du Plessis-Mornay, a layman of rank, and the very able author of treatises on the Church, on the Truth of the Christian Religion, on the Eucharist, History of the Papacy, &c.; *Peter Dumoulin*, author of a treatise on the Keys of the Church, History of the Monks, and other excellent works; *David Blondel*, whose works were numerous, treating of the Eucharist, the Primacy of the Church, the offices of Bishops and Presbyters, the Sibyls, a Defence of the Reformed Religion, in opposition to Richelieu, etc., etc.; *Du Bosc*, whose writings are excellent; *Claude*, whose sermons, essays and controversial writings are well known; *Samuel Bochart*, who wrote much on Sacred Geography, the Natural History of the Bible, and other subjects, besides many sermons (an interesting Memoir of this distinguished scholar has lately been written by the Rev. Mr. Paumier of Rouen); *Charles Drelincourt*, author of Consolations against the Fear of Death, besides works on many other subjects, together with three volumes of Sermons (two of his sons were also ministers of the Gospel and authors); *Stephen Gaussen*, ancestor of the author of the work which stands at the head of this article, and the author of a work on the Art of Preaching; *Le Sueur*, author of a work on Ecclesiastical History. To these names we may add those of *Amyrault*, *Girard des Bergeries*, *De Croi*, *Daillé*, *La Faye*, *Gaulart*, *Mestrezat*, *Demarets*, etc., and in later times those of the *Rabants* (Paul St. Etienne). During the same period, there lived in Geneva, either the whole or a portion of their lives, the *Turretins*, *Benedict*, *Francis* and *John Alphonsus*, all of them distinguished authors, and one of them, *Francis*, well known among us for his System of Theology and other writings; the *Spanheims*, *Ezekiel* and *Frederick the Younger*, well known for their numerous writings, as was their distinguished father *Frederick Spanheim the Elder*, who was some time a Professor of Theology at Geneva; *John Diodati*, who, though born in Lucca, was long a professor at Geneva, and is well known for his

translation of the Bible into the Italian, his translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent into French; *Benedict Pictet*, author of a work on Christian Theology, in 3 vols. 4to, Christian Morality, in 8 vols. 12mo., and other works; *John Le Clerc*, author of a translation of the Bible and many other productions, and who spent most of his life in Holland.

During the 18th century, and especially the latter part of it, France produced no theologians of the Protestant school, who possessed any considerable merit. Nor is this fact wonderful. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 had left the Protestants of that country without the slightest protection from law. Persecution raged until it finally rid the country of almost every vestige of a Protestant church. It is an absolute fact that for a considerable period, in the early part of that century, there was but one ordained Protestant minister (M. Roger, in Dauphiny) in all France. It is true that there were some French Protestant ministers in Germany, in Holland, and in America. The most celebrated of those who lived in the early part of that century was *Saurin*, who spent the greater part of his life in Holland, and preached his well known discourses in the Walloon church at the Hague. And as to Geneva, it had submitted to the reign, first, of a dead formalism, then of a cold Pelagianism, and finally of a worldly Socinianism. We know not that any men of great distinction flourished there after the death of Benedict Pictet—which occurred, we believe, in 1724—until the end of the 18th century. Some men of God, however, there were, in the ministry of that city and canton,

faithful found
Among the faithless, faithful only they.

We come now to more recent days, and shall take some notice of the most distinguished men whom God has raised up as advocates of the Protestant cause in both France and French Switzerland, since the beginning of the present century.

It was only in 1802—as we have stated in another place*—that the Protestant church received an acknowledged and legalized existence in France, by the Organic Articles which the Government enacted during the Consulate of Napoleon. From

* See Article X. in No. VIII. (new series) of the American Biblical Repository, on *Religious Liberty in France*.

the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 until the year 1802—that is, during a period of 117 years—the existence of the Protestants as a sect was not acknowledged in that country. Since 1802 they have been, by law, placed on the same footing with the Roman Catholics, and the churches of both are acknowledged as the established churches of the land, and receive equal protection and support. The consequence is that the Protestant church, for nearly forty years, has been steadily and gradually gaining strength. The present number of its pastors, supported by the Government—that is, of those who are in the Established churches,—is 640 ; and, including those who are not connected with the Established churches, the entire number of Protestant ministers in France—not including those who are English or American, and who preach not to French but English congregations—does not exceed seven hundred and fifty. As the Protestants have now advantages of education equal to those of the Roman Catholics, it might be expected that there would be found already some men among them of distinguished talents and attainments, who are beginning to make themselves known to the world, and who prove themselves not unworthy children of a church which produced, in bygone days, a Calvin, a Claude, a Du Plessis-Mornay, a Dumoulin, and others of scarcely inferior fame. It has been even so. France possesses already a number of Protestants, in the ministry and among the laity—most of whom are young men, or in the prime of life—who are men of fine talents and most respectable attainments, and who are making themselves known by their respective and most respectable writings.

Among these, and of what is termed the Evangelical or Orthodox Party (we hate the word *Party*, but cannot at this moment think of one which better expresses our idea), we may name, without disparaging others, among the pastors or ministers, the Rev. Dr. *Grand Pierre*, Director of the Missionary Institute at Paris, and author of several volumes of excellent sermons ; *Audebez*, who is pastor of a chapel in the same city, and author of a volume of valuable Discourses, which we have noticed in a preceding number of this work ;* *Juillerat-Chasseur*, one of the pastors in the Oratoire and Ste. Marie, who has published some Discourses, as well as some poems ; *Fred-*

* See the IVth number (new series) of the American Biblical Repository.

erick Monod (also a pastor in the same churches), who has published several discourses, and is the excellent editor of the valuable religious periodical called the *Archives du Christianisme* (Mr. Monod, we may here add, has three brothers in the ministry, one of whom is the Rev. *Adolphus Monod*, now a professor in the Protestant Theological Seminary at Montauban, and author of several eloquent sermons as well as some controversial pamphlets; another is Mr. *William Monod*, formerly pastor of a church at St. Quentin, and now editor of a literary journal at Geneva; and *Horace Monod*, the youngest, who is pastor of a church in Marseilles, and the translator of Professor Hodge's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans); *Paumier*, pastor of a church at Rouen, and author of a Memoir of Bochart; *De Félice*, now Professor at Montauban, and author of several valuable essays and sermons, and well known in the United States as the interesting French correspondent of the New-York Observer: at the same Theological Seminary at Montauban are Professors *Jalaguier* and *Encêtre*, both of whom have published, we believe, some valuable discourses, and they are also editors of a new and valuable periodical, called the *Revue Théologique*, which is published once in two months; *Roussel*, who is author of several popular tracts, *Scènes Evangeliques*, and other valuable and interesting books for children and youth, and is, withal, editor of the political and moral journal called *L'Espérance*; *Frossard*, pastor of a church at Nismes, and author of several interesting books and discourses; *A. Blanc*, who has published a number of good things; and *Bonifas-Guizot*, of Grenoble, who has also published several sermons, etc. We might increase this list by the names of quite a number more, who have published sermons delivered on important occasions.

The anti-evangelical party, as it is termed, or that portion of the Protestant clergy of France which is considered as rejecting, or lightly esteeming, some of the most important doctrines of the Christian system, as held by the great Reformers, have not so many authors among them, though they cannot be charged with a want of talent. *Athanasius Coquerel*, one of the pastors of the churches of the Oratoire and Ste. Marie at Paris, is considered the Coryphæus of their party. He is author of several volumes, on various subjects, which have had an extensive sale among the Protestants; *Martin Paschoud*, one of M. Coquerel's colleagues, has also published some things; *Fontaïnès*,

pastor at Nismes, who has published several Discourses and other works, and has edited, we believe, one or two periodicals; *Mattier*, member of the Royal Council of Instruction, and author of an Ecclesiastical History, etc. To these we might add the names of several others, who have published more or less, and who are considered as appertaining to the same theological school or party.

We ought to add also the names of some laymen among the Protestants of France who are known as authors. Among these are Messrs. *H. Lutteroth*—editor of the *Semeur*, a very excellent literary and moral Review, which is published once a week, and which has existed nearly, if not quite, ten years, and been the means of doing much good, *Count Agénor de Gasparin*—an excellent young nobleman who has written in defence of religious liberty, and from whom not a little is expected in future, and *Guizot*, who is, however, a man of letters and a statesman rather than a religious author.

Nor are there wanting *ladies* who have contributed the influence of their pens to advance the cause of Christ. Among them we may name Mademoiselle de Chabaud-Latour, who has written and translated many things, and conducted a valuable periodical for youth; Madame Julius Mallet; Madame Bonifas-Guizot; and the late Madame Guizot, wife of the distinguished statesman mentioned above;—all these ladies have published more or less.

Nor should we omit to say that there are some French ministers of the gospel in adjoining countries who have attained some celebrity in France; and some of whom are known among us by their writings. They are such men as *Bonnet* at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, who has published several interesting volumes of discourses; *Secretan*, at the Hague, who has published some excellent sermons; and *Boucher*, at Brussels, who has published a number of tracts and sermons, and has translated Nevins' Thoughts on Popery, and some things from the English into French.

We have spoken, in what we have said of the period which has elapsed since 1802, only of living authors. But there have lived some excellent Protestant ministers in France, during this period, who have entered into their rest, but whose writings remain to do good. They are such men as the late devoted *Pyt*, *F. A. Gonthier*, and above all, the distinguished and venerable *Stapfer*, whose death, last year, was felt to be so great a loss by the churches of France.

It will be seen, from what we have now stated, that the Protestants of France, of our times, have not been wanting in authors. It is true, indeed, that hitherto, those who have published the results of their studies have confined themselves too much to sermons, essays, and small works. With the exception of some ten or a dozen persons, they have not attempted any thing beyond single discourses or small volumes. This has been owing to the fact that most of these authors are comparatively young, and all are overwhelmed with pastoral duties, which demand almost every moment of their time. Surrounded as they are by numerous antagonists—not to say enemies—they have need of all their vigilance to protect their little flocks, and of much study, in order to interest the masses of the indifferent population in the midst of which they are endeavoring to plant the truth. Greater things, in the way of authorship, may unquestionably be expected of them in the time to come.

In French Switzerland the Protestants have published much more than their brethren in France have done during the last quarter of a century. Already they have authors who may almost be termed veterans in the use of the pen. There is the Rev. Dr. Malan in Geneva who has published many volumes, although he is not yet what might be called an old man. The publications of Dr. Malan, in the shape of tracts, sermons, controversial essays, and extended theological dissertations are numerous, and would make, if collected, some eight or ten volumes octavo. He began to wield the pen in his youth, and has not ceased until now, to assert and vindicate the truth in all possible ways; sometimes in song, but oftener in prose; sometimes in the witty and *tranchant* style of the popular pamphleteer; at another in the graver tone of the scholar.

Next to Dr. Malan, among the orthodox, we may mention him whose name we have placed at the head of this article, the Rev. Professor Gaussen, who was formerly pastor of the church of Satigny, a parish at a short distance from the city of Geneva, and within the limits of the canton, but now, and for eight or nine years past, professor in the new theological school in that city. Professor Gaussen has published many things, in the shape of controversial pamphlets, sermons for edification, and considerable volumes. Among the latter may be placed his excellent Lectures on Daniel, as well as the work under our present notice. All of his writings are characterized by that brilliant eloquence which distinguishes his discourses when delivered from the pulpit.

Of the same theological school is the Rev. Dr. *Merle d'Aubigné*, who, in addition to several smaller works, has published the first two volumes of his invaluable History of the Reformation. The remaining volumes are impatiently expected by the Protestant Christian public of France and Switzerland, and also by that of other countries. The volumes of this most interesting work which have appeared, have already been translated into English and published in London.

We increase the list by adding the name of the Rev. Mr. *Bost*, who has written a number of excellent works, one of which is a history of the Moravians, and has translated from the German into French the history of the Church written by the late Dr. Blumhardt, the Director or President of the Missionary Institute at Basle. Mr. Bost is a poet, and the author also of some very sweet music, as well as a writer of prose.

Of the same theological opinions, as it relates to all fundamental points, are Messrs. *Guers* and *Empeytaz*, who are pastors in a chapel of dissenters in Geneva, and who have published several useful and esteemed works, none of which are of any great extent.

Professor *Pilet-Joly*, also of the new Theological Seminary, has published some good things; as has also *M. Galland*, lately a professor in the same institution, but who is now pastor of a church in Switzerland.

Out of Geneva there are several evangelical and excellent writers who ought to be mentioned, such as *Vinet*, Professor in the University, or Academy as it is called, of Lausanne. Mr. Vinet has written many valuable works,—sermons, essays, &c. He is perhaps the most truly philosophical of all the French divines of the present day. We speak of him as being French in the same sense in which we have used this word in other parts of this article, viz. as denoting all who are of the French people, whether living in France, Switzerland or Belgium. Mr. Vinet now holds the important post of Professor in the Theological Department of the University of the city of Lausanne, and exercises a great and good influence over the students who come under his instruction. He has lately written a capital essay on the question of the union of Church and State. This essay is now in press, and will make a considerable volume. Mr. Vinet is against the union of Church and State, and has lately resigned the pastoral charge which he held in connexion with the state. He still remains professor.

We may add also the names of *Burnier, Vulliemin, Bauty, Henri Olivier, Gauthey, Vermeil*, and *A. Rochat*, who reside, most of them at least, in the Canton de Vaud, and who have all written more or less, and some of them very considerably; and whose writings, we may add, are held in esteem. *M. Fred. de Rougemont*, a layman of distinguished talents and learning, of Neuchâtel, we believe, is also the author of several valuable publications. And we must not fail to add that some Swiss ladies have ably employed the pen for the advancement of truth, and especially for the instruction of the youth, among whom are Mademoiselles *Herminie Chavannes* and *Julie Miéville*.

Among the evangelical authors in Geneva whom death has removed within the last few years, were *Cellerier, Sen.*, *Moulinié*, and the young and lamented Professor *Steiger*.

Of the anti-evangelical school or party in Geneva, the most distinguished writers are *Cellerier, Jr.*, *Bouvier*, and *Chenevière*, who have published a number of works which are more or less relished by those who hold their opinions. But the anti-evangelical school of Geneva, like that of France, cannot boast of having produced many distinguished writers. The system which it holds, which is a mongrel theology, compounded of old Socinianism and modern German neology, has not vitality and zeal enough in it to make *Frenchmen* do much in the way of writing to promote it. To them, doctrines which require either the patience of German criticism to detect, or the profoundness of German metaphysics to elucidate (if we may so abuse the term), can never prove acceptable.

One thing is very striking in French theological writings; it is the simplicity of conception, the clearness of style, and the directness of statement which almost universally prevail in them. The theology of the evangelical French authors, whether of the past or the present days, is eminently *biblical*. Unlike the Germans, in this and so many other respects, the well-ascertained declaration of God is every thing with them. On this account we value the theological writings of the French far more than we do those which have appeared beyond the Rhine. Less learned, less metaphysical than the Germans, the French theologians, somehow or other, more readily perceive, and more firmly lay hold of the true meaning of the Scriptures than they do. With all their levity, the French, as a people, have a deal of good sense. And as we have before stated, when their minds have been brought under the hallowing influences of the Gos-

pel, and baptized as it were by the Holy Ghost, no men become more able and convincing expounders of the sacred oracles. In proof of this we might cite Calvin, who as a commentator has never been surpassed in his attempts to give the *true meaning* of the inspired writers. The same remark might be made respecting several others of their older writers, as well as of not a few of their modern ones.

In the notice of French theological writers which we have just taken, we have said nothing of those of the Roman Catholic church during the same period. It fell not within the scope of our plan to do so. At another time we may, however, take up that subject, and indicate who have been the most important theological authors of that church in France during the last three centuries. At present, we must pass to the notice which we propose to give, in the remaining portion of this article, of the work which stands at its head. Of its distinguished author, we have already said a few words. We will only add, at present, that Professor Gaussen is a native of Geneva, of a wealthy and most respectable family, and that, after having preached the Gospel with eloquence and zeal, for several years, at Satigny, he was deprived of his pastoral charge by the Consistory of Geneva, for having dared to preach doctrines, and employ measures, for propagating the truth, which the venerable company of pastors of the city and canton did not relish. This tyrannical act led to a discussion which was eminently promotive of the truth, we believe, and which displayed the piety and talent of M. Gaussen to the greatest advantage. It was this affair, more than any other one thing, which led to the formation of the Evangelical Society of Geneva in 1831, and of the contemporaneous establishment of the new theological school of that city, and which owes its existence to that society. M. Gaussen was chosen Professor of Didactic Theology in that seminary at its very commencement. And as he possesses a sufficient fortune himself, his services are, and have ever been, wholly gratuitous. We will only add that he has borne much of the "reproach of Christ," and has borne it well. We pass now to the consideration of his book.

The subject of this book is the *Plenary Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures*—a subject confessedly of the first importance at all times, but especially so at this moment at Geneva, as well as in some other portions of the Christian world, where the multiform errors of German neology are striving to estab-

lish themselves, or are strenuously resisting the efforts which are making to dislodge them. The following extract from the Preface of Professor Gaussen's work will at once explain the title which he has chosen, and the importance, in his view, of the subject.

At the first glance at this book and its title, two prejudices, equally erroneous, may arise in some minds, which I desire to dissipate.

The Greek term, *Theopneustia*, although borrowed from St. Paul, and long employed on the other side of the Rhine, being but little employed in our language, more than one reader, without doubt, will say of the subject herein treated, that it is too scientific to be popular, and too little popular to be important. I fear not, however, to declare that if any thing could have given me both the desire and the courage to undertake it, it is the double persuasion of its vital importance and its simplicity.

I do not think that, next to the divine nature of Christianity, any question can be presented to us more essential to the life of our faith than this: "The Bible, is it from God? Is it wholly from God? Or is it true, (as some have pretended,) that it contains sentences which are purely human, narratives which are not exact, instances of vulgar ignorance, and reasonings which are inconclusive; in a word, some books, or some portions of a book, foreign to the interests of faith, subject to the natural carelessness of the writer, and tainted by error?" Question decisive, fundamental, vital! It is the first which you have to make when you open the Scriptures; and it is with it that your religion ought to commence.

If it be true, in your opinion, that every thing in the Bible is not important, does not concern the faith, and has no reference to Jesus Christ,—and if it be true, in your opinion, on the other hand, that there is nothing inspired in this book but that which, in your opinion, is important to the interests of faith, and has reference to Jesus Christ, then your Bible is a book wholly different from that of the Fathers, of the Reformers, and of the saints of all ages. It is fallible; theirs was perfect. It has chapters, or portions of chapters, it has sentences or expressions, which are to be retrenched from the number of the chapters, sentences or expressions which are from God. Theirs was "all inspired of God;" "all profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The same passage, therefore, may, when contemplated by you, be as widely different from what it was, as contemplated then, as the earth is distant from the heavens.

We may have opened, for example, at the 45th Psalm, or at the Song of Songs. Whilst you have seen there nothing but what is in the greatest degree human in its character,—a long nuptial song, or the love-conversations of a daughter of Sharon and a young husband,—they have read there the glories of the church, the bonds of the love of God, the deep things of Jesus Christ; in a word, that which is most divine in the things of heaven; and if they could not read them there, they knew that they were there, and they searched for them there.

We may have taken up an epistle of St. Paul. Whilst one of us will attribute such and such a saying which he has not comprehended, or which has shocked his carnal sense, to the Jewish prejudices of the writer, to sentiments wholly appertaining to the vulgar, to circumstances altogether human, the other will there explore, filled with veneration, the thoughts of the Spirit ; he will believe them to be perfect, even before having comprehended them ; and he will attribute to his own want of apprehension, and his own ignorance, their apparent insignificance, or their obscurity.

Thus whilst in the Bible of the one every thing has its end, its place, its beauty, its use, as in a tree there are branches and leaves, vessels and fibres, epidermis and bark ; the Bible of the other is a tree which has leaves and branches, fibres and bark which God has not made.

But still further : not only, according to your answer, we shall have two Bibles, but it will not be possible to know what yours is. It is only human and fallible, you say, in a certain measure. But that measure,—who shall define it ? If it be true that man, in having placed in it his sad impress, has left there his spots, who will determine the depth of that impress, or the number of those spots ? It has a part which is human, you say ; but that part—what are its limits, and who will fix them for me ? No one. Each one must define them for himself, according to his own judgment ; that is, the portion of the Scriptures which is fallible will be greater in our estimation, in proportion as we are less under the influence of a divine illumination ; that is to say, again, that man will deprive himself of the words that are divine in proportion as he has need of them, as we see idolaters make to themselves deities so much the more impure as they themselves are further removed from the living and holy God ! So then, each one will reduce the inspired Scriptures to different dimensions, and making for himself, from the Bible thus expurgated, an infallible rule or guide, he will say to it “ Guide me henceforth, for thou art my guide ! ” as the makers of graven images, of whom Isaiah speaks, “ who make to themselves a god, and say to it : Save me henceforth, for thou art my God ! ” Is. 44, 17.

But this is not all ; there is something more grave still. According to your answer, it is not only the Bible that is changed ; it is you yourself ! Yes, even in the presence of the passages which you have most admired, you will have neither the attitude nor the heart of a believer ! How can that be, after you have made them appear, as you have the rest of the Scriptures, before the tribunal of your judgment, to be there declared, by you, divine or not divine, or half-divine ? What can be, for your soul, the authority of a word which is not infallible for you but in virtue of you ? Must it not have presented itself at your bar by the side of other words of the same book which you have convicted of being human in whole or in part ? Will your mind, then, sincerely take before it the humble and submissive attitude of a disciple, after having held that of a judge ? That is impossible. The obedience which you will render it may be that of acquiescence, never that of faith : of approbation, never that of adoration ! You will believe in the divinity of the passage, you will say ; but it is not in God that you will believe ; it is in yourself ! That word pleases you, but it does not govern you ; its authority over

you is admitted, but it does not reign over you ; it is before you as a lamp, but it is not in you as an unction from on high, a principle of light, a fountain of life ! I do not believe that any Pope, even the most enamored with his priesthood, could with confidence utter his prayers before a dead person whom he himself, from the abundance of his plenary authority, had placed in the rank of demi-gods, by canonizing him. How then can a reader of the Bible, who has himself just canonized a sentence of the Scriptures, (however much he may be enamored with his own wisdom) be in respect to such a passage, in the disposition of a believer ? Will his understanding descend from its pontifical chair, to abase itself before that word, which, were it not for it, would remain human, or at least doubtful ? We do not study to the bottom the sense of a passage, when we have pronounced it legitimate, only in virtue of a sense already discovered. We but half submit to any authority which we can reject, and which we have placed in doubt. We adore but imperfectly that which we have degraded.

Moreover,—and let us beware of it,—the entire divinity of such or such a word of the Scriptures being dependent, in your eyes, not from the fact that it is found in the oracles of God, but from its presenting to your wisdom and your spirituality, certain characters of spirituality and of wisdom, the opinion which you form cannot always be so exempt from hesitation that you should retain in relation to it none of the doubts with which you commenced. Your faith will, therefore, necessarily partake of your doubts, and it will be itself imperfect, undecided and conditional ! Like opinion, like faith ; and like faith, like life ! But faith is not there ; the life of God's elect is not there !

But that which will better demonstrate the importance of the question which is about to occupy us is the fact, that, if one of the two systems to which it may give existence has, as we have said, all its roots steeped in doubt, it brings forth inevitably as fruit, a new incredulity. Why is it that we see so many thousands of men open the Bible, morning and evening, without ever perceiving the doctrines which it teaches with the greatest clearness ? Whence comes it that they can thus walk in error, for so many years, with the sun as it were in their hands ? Yes ; but preoccupied by false notions on the subject of inspiration, and believing that there exists still in the Sacred Scriptures some admixture of error, but desirous, however, to be able to find some sentences which are in their opinion reasonable, in order to be able to believe them divine, they study, even without being conscious of it, to give to them a meaning which agrees with their own wisdom. And thus it is, that they only put themselves in a state of incapacity for recognizing what is God's meaning, but what they represent to themselves as despicable. They strive, for example, when reading the epistles of St. Paul, to find in them the doctrine of man's justification by the law, his native innocence, his inclination to what is good, the moral omnipotence of his will, the merit of his works. But then, what happens ? Alas ! After they have attributed, by violence, some such thoughts to the sacred writer, they find a language so badly conceived for the supposed end, terms so badly chosen for that which they wish to say, and reasonings so inconclusive, that they lose, in despite of themselves, whatever of respect they may still have preserved for the letter of the Sacred Scrip-

tures, and bury themselves in Rationalism. It is thus that having commenced in incredulity, they have gained, as the fruit, another incredulity; darkness in recompense for darkness; and they have fulfilled that dreadful word of Christ: "From him who has not shall be taken away even that which he thinketh that he has."

Such is then the fundamental importance of the great question which is about to occupy our attention. According to the answer which you have made to it, has the arm of the word of the Lord been weakened for you; the sword of the Spirit has been blunted; it has lost its temper and its incisive power. How could it from thenceforth penetrate even to the "joints and the marrow?" How could it be powerful against your lusts, your doubts, the world and Satan? How could it give you light, strength, victory, peace? No! It might indeed be that through the pure grace of God, and notwithstanding the unhappy state of the soul, one divine word might suddenly arrest it; then Zaccheus descends from the sycamore; Matthew quits the custom-house; the paralytic takes up his bed and walks; the dead arises. That may happen without doubt. But it remains not the less true, that the disposition of mind which judges the Scriptures, and doubts, in advance, of their universal inspiration, is one of the greatest obstacles which we can oppose to their action. "The word preached," says Paul (Heb. 4: 2), "did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in those who heard it;" whilst the most abundant benedictions of the same Scriptures have always been the inheritance of those souls which have received it, "not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth) as the word of God, which effectually worketh in those who believe." 1 Thess. 2: 13.

We see, then, that this question is one of immense gravity for the life of our faith; and we are right in saying that between the two answers which may be made to it, there is the same abyss which separated the two Israelites who had seen Jesus Christ in the flesh, and who had equally recognized him as a prophet. But whilst one of them, considering his carpenter's dress, his mean food, his hands rendered hard by labor, and his rustic suite, believed him to be still liable to error and to sin, as an ordinary prophet; the other recognized in him the Emmanuel, the Lamb of God, the Lord our Righteousness, the Holy One of Israel, the King of kings, the Lord of lords." Preface, pp. 1—7.

This extract, though long, will be received with interest by our readers. It gives a very clear and just idea of the importance of the subject, and the necessity of having correct and well established views of it.

In the first chapter of the work, Professor Gaussen gives us some account of the word *θεοπνευστία*:

It is, the name of that mysterious power which the Holy Spirit exercised upon the writers of the Old and New Testaments, to cause them to compose them such as the Church of God has received them from their hands. "All Scripture," says an apostle, "is *θεόπνευστος*,"—inspired of God.

He then proceeds to tell us in what this Theopneustia—this Inspiration of God—consists :

Theopneustia is not a system, it is a fact. Like all the other events in the history of Redemption, this fact, attested by the Holy Scriptures, is one of the dogmas of our faith. Nevertheless it is necessary to say, and it is necessary to understand, that this miraculous operation of the Holy Spirit had not the sacred writers for its object, who were but instruments, and who must soon pass away. But it had for its object the Sacred Books themselves, which were destined to reveal, from age to age, to the church the counsels of God, and which must endure forever.

The power which was exercised over these men of God, and which they did not themselves feel but in very different measures, has not been defined to us. Nothing authorizes us to explain it. The Scripture never presents to us the mode or the measure of it as an object of study. It only speaks incidentally of these things, and which do not concern our piety. That which it (the Scripture) proposes to our faith, is solely the inspiration of its words, the divine nature of the books which the writers have written. It has established, in this respect, no difference between them. Their words, it tells us, are *Theopneustic*—inspired of God ; their books are of God, whether they recite the mysteries of a past more ancient than the creation, or those of a future more distant than the return of the Son of Man, or the eternal councils of the Most High, or the secrets of the human heart, or the deep things of God : whether they recount their own emotions, or relate their recollections, or repeat contemporaneous narratives, or copy genealogies, or make extracts from uninspired documents,—their writings are inspired ; their recitals are directed from on high : it is always God who speaks, who recites, commands or reveals by their mouth, and who, to do this, employs, in different measures, their personality. For “the Spirit of the Lord was upon them,” it is written, “and this word was upon their tongue.” And if it is always the word of man, because it is always men who utter it, it is also the word of God, because it is God who watches over them, who employs them, who guides them. They give us their narrations, their doctrines, or their commandments, “not with the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but with the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth ;” and thus it is that God himself is not only the guaranty of all these facts, but he is also the author of all these commandments, and the revealer of these truths. Still more ; he has caused them to be given to his church in the order, and in the measure, and in the terms which he has judged to be most suitable for his heavenly design.

If then we should be asked how this work of inspiration was accomplished in the men of God, we would reply that we do not know, that we need not know ; and that it is in the same ignorance, and with altogether a similar faith, we receive the doctrine of regeneration, or that of sanctification of a soul by the Holy Spirit. We believe that the Spirit enlightens the soul, purifies it, elevates it, fills it with consolation, melts it : we recognize all these effects ; we know and adore their Cause ; but we must be content to be forever ignorant of the means by which they are accomplished. Let it also be so with the doctrine of Theopneustia.

If we were asked, again, to say at least what the men of God experienced in their organs, in their will, or in their intelligence, whilst they were tracing the pages of the sacred volume, we should answer that the power or influence of inspiration was not felt to the same degree by each of them, and that their experiences were not uniform; but we would add that the knowledge of such a fact hardly concerns the interests of our faith, because it (our faith) is concerned in the book, and not the author. It is the book which is inspired, and which is wholly inspired. This assurance ought to satisfy us. pp. 2-5.

Our readers will by this time have obtained a pretty good idea of Professor Gausson's view of the nature of Inspiration. It will have been perceived that he holds the doctrine of a minute and entire inspiration; an inspiration which relates to the very words and style of the writers of the Bible, as well as to the facts, the doctrines, etc., which their writings contain.

According to our author there are three classes of persons, who, without disavowing the divinity of the Scriptures, and without pretending to decline their authority, nevertheless believe that they are allowed to reject this doctrine. One class is composed of those who deny the *existence* of this action of the Holy Spirit; the second class, its *universality*; and the third, its *plenitude*.

The first, as Schleiermacher,* De Wette, and many other German theologians,† reject all miraculous inspiration, and are willing to attribute to the sacred writers only what Cicero allowed to the poets—*afflatum spiritus divini*—"a divine action of nature, an interior power similar to the other vital forces of nature.

The second, as Michaelis,‡ and as formerly Theodore of Mopsuestia, whilst they admit the existence of a divine inspiration, are willing to acknowledge it only in a portion of the sacred books;—in the first and the fourth of the four Gospels, for example, in a portion of the Epistles, in a portion of the writings of Moses, in a part of Isaiah, a part of Daniel. These portions of the Scriptures are from God; the others are from man.

The third, as Twisten in Germany, and as several theologians in England,§ extend, it is true, to all the parts of the Bible, the notion of a divine inspiration,—but *not equally to all*. Inspiration, according to them, may be universal, but unequal, often imperfect, accompanied with innocent errors, and carried, according to the nature of the passages, to very different measures, of which they constitute themselves more or less the judges. pp. 6, 7.

* Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*. Band. 1. p. 115.

† De Wette: *Lehrbuch Anmerk.* Twisten: *Vorlesungen über Die Dogmatik*, Bd. 1. p. 424, etc.

‡ Michaelis, *Introd. to the N. T.*

§ Dr. John Pye Smith, Daniel Wilson (now Bishop of Calcutta), Dick, &c.

Professor Gaussen rejects utterly, and with good reason, as we think, the distinctions which some English authors—and Dr. Dick among them, if we remember rightly—have made in the nature and degree of inspiration, calling one the inspiration of *superintendence*, another that of *elevation*, a third that of *direction*, and a fourth, that of *suggestion*. These distinctions are wholly fanciful. Such, too, is the distinction which Twes-ten makes when he says that “inspiration extends, without contradiction, even to the words, but only when their choice, or their employment, is connected with the interior religious life; for it is necessary,” he adds, “to make a distinction between the Old and the New Testaments, between the law and the gospel, between the history and the prophecy, between the narrations and the doctrines, between the apostles and the helpers of the apostles.”

Our object is, (says Professor Gaussen, in another place) in this book—in opposition to all these three systems,—to prove the existence, the universality, and the plenitude of divine inspiration. In other terms, our object is to establish the truth, by the Word of God,—that the Scriptures are from God—that the Scriptures are, in all their parts, from God—and that the Scriptures, in all their parts, are entirely from God. p. 9.

Such are the doctrines which our author holds on this important subject, and which he undertakes to establish *from the Scriptures themselves*.

In maintaining, however, that the Scriptures are wholly from God, Professor Gaussen is far from thinking that the agency of man was nothing. In one sense, all the words of the Bible are from God; in another sense they are from man. Pascal might have dictated one of his Provincial Letters to an artisan of Clermont, and another to the abbess of Port Royal. Would the former have been less the production of Pascal than the latter? The great Newton might have dictated to a child at Cambridge the fortieth, and to a servant the forty-first proposition in his immortal *Principia*; whilst he might have dictated other pages to Barrow or Whiston. Should we have possessed, if he had done so, discoveries which are less Newtonian? Or the entire work, would it have been less his own? It might be a curious question to ascertain what might have been the emotions of these various amanuenses of the great philosopher. Thechild and the servant may have had not one just conception of any thing which they wrote, as the language was Latin;

whilst the learned Barrow and Whiston might have been carried away with rapture by the genius of their friend, as the young eagles on the wings of their parent, into the regions of boundless space. Yet there might have been lines which not even Barrow and Whiston fully comprehended. But what of it? This has nothing to do with the truth of the immortal work. Every one, who can, will say: "I will read the book for myself; its preface, its title, its first line, its last line,—all its theorems, whether easy or difficult, comprehended or not comprehended, are of the same author, and that is enough for me." Such is the fact in relation to Theopneustia.

God, intending to cause his elect to know, from an eternal book, the principles of the divine philosophy, dictated its pages, during sixteen hundred years, to priests, to kings, to warriors, to shepherds, to tax-gatherers, to fishermen, to scribes, to tent-makers. And yet the first line, the middle line, the last line, the whole and every part of this book are from the same eternal Source, the same infinite Mind. Whoever were the writers, and whatever their relative intelligence, they all wrote with the same faithful and guided hand, under the dictation of the same Master, with whom a thousand years are as one day. Such is the origin of the Bible. It is the word of Moses, the word of Amos, the word of John, the word of Paul; but the thoughts are of God, and it is the Word of God. It is wrong, therefore, to say that some passages or some verses are of man, and others of God. No: all the passages and all the verses, without exception, are of man; and all the passages and all the verses, without exception, are of God; whether he speaks directly in his own name, or employs the personality of the sacred writer. Inspiration is like efficacious grace. Under both influences—which are only operations of the same Spirit—man is, in different aspects, considered as wholly active and wholly passive. God does all, and man does all. In both it may be truly said: It is God who worketh in man to *will and to do*. Thus we see in the Scriptures, the same operations ascribed alternately to God and to man; God converts, and it is man who converts himself; God circumcises the heart, God gives a new heart, and it is man who is commanded to circumcise his heart, and to make to himself a new heart. "Not only because we ought to employ the means to obtain such an effect," says President Edwards, "but because the effect itself is our act

as well as our duty: *God producing all, and we doing all.*”*

Such is, then, the word of God. It is God speaking in man, God speaking by man, God speaking as man, God speaking for man!—This is what Professor Gaussen affirms; this is what he undertakes to prove.

It is possible to conceive that a religion might be divine, without the books in which it is taught being miraculously or really inspired. If such were the case in relation to Christianity, we should then have this astonishing fact to account for, that God devised the whole plan of salvation, announced it from time to time, during four thousand years, by his holy prophets, sent his Son at length to die on the cross for our sins, and sent forth his apostles to preach the story of redemption; and yet permitted them, as well as the Old Testament authors, to trust only to their own unaided powers, in committing the history of the Saviour's words and deeds, together with the revelations which were made to them, to writing, for the benefit and for the guidance of the Church in faith and practice, in all future time! This is altogether incredible. And why resort to such a theory? What help does it give? Is there more difficulty in believing that the authors of the Scriptures were inspired in writing them, than that they were inspired or divinely illumined in receiving the communications which these Scriptures record? If the writers of the sacred oracles were not inspired, they were liable to make the greatest mistakes, and to be plunged into the greatest uncertainties. We could not give their writings a greater authority than we do to those of St. Bernard, St. Augustine, Calvin, or Luther. We all know how many and what serious errors appear on the pages of these great men. And yet the apostles and other writers of the sacred Scriptures must have been exposed to fall into greater, if they were not guided by the unerring inspiration of God. For they had not, as the great men we have just named, a divine standard by which to measure their writings, neither had they the terminology of the science of religion already made for their use. To what errors, then, were they not exposed;—errors in the choice of facts; errors in their appreciation, errors in their exposition; errors in the conception of the

* Edwards' Remarks against the Arminians.

relations between the facts and the doctrines; errors even in the expression of these doctrines; errors of omission; errors of language; errors of exaggeration; errors from the prejudices of their nation, or of a party; errors in their precognition of the future as well as in their judgment of the past! But thanks be to God, it is not so with the sacred volume. It contains no error; it is wholly inspired of God. Its authors wrote as they were moved of God; they employed, not the words which man's wisdom teaches, but such as the Holy Ghost taught them. So that what they have written is the Word of God, and is pure "as silver refined by the fire;" and the whole and every part, every line, every word, is worthy of our respect and of our deepest study.

The definition, which Professor Gausson gives of Theopneustia, is that it is *that inexplicable power which the Holy Spirit exercised in former times, on the Authors of the Sacred Scriptures, to guide them, even in the employment of the words which they used, and to preserve them from all error, and also from all omission.* In establishing the truth of the proposition, or rather of the propositions contained in this definition, the author relies upon the Scriptures themselves. In this, we think, he pursues the only truly satisfactory course. The inspiration of the Scriptures, in our opinion, can in no other way be conclusively demonstrated. To argue this question *a priori*,—to attempt to demonstrate the necessity of this miracle for the security of our faith, would be to argue it feebly, though it might enable us to say many fine things. To argue it from their beauty, their wisdom, their prophetic character, or from all the other traits of divinity which they reveal, would be to employ sound reasoning, without doubt, but such as is contestable, or at least has been, and constantly is, contested. It is to the Scriptures alone that we can go to determine this grand question. It is true that course, as Professor Gausson justly remarks, will not satisfy the disciples of Porphyry, of Voltaire, of Jean Jacques Rousseau. But they are not, in reality, the persons addressed in a discussion of the inspiration of the Scriptures. It is only they who already believe the Scriptures to be true, who are in a state to be made to believe in their inspiration, and to pursue the train of argument proper to lead to thorough conviction on this point. As to those who do not believe the Scriptures to be true, they are to be dealt with in another manner. The arguments and facts, proper to establish

the claim of the Bible to contain a Revelation from God, are to be employed for this purpose. And when once a man has been brought to recognize them as valid, it is then for him to learn from the Bible what it is; and when it says that it is inspired, it is for it to say *how* it is inspired, and to what degree.

To listen to some modern writers, we should be led to believe that the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures is one of the most difficult and uncertain of all the dogmas of Christianity. But no doctrine, it seems to us, is more simple, or more clear, for minds which are, in humility and docility, submissive to the testimony of the Scriptures. The question may indeed be difficult for those who, like the Jewish Talmudists and Rabbis of the middle age, imagine various sorts of inspiration, and who make learned distinctions on the subject, which are not only unknown to the Scriptures themselves, but also to the Church during the first eight centuries.*

In the prosecution of his work, Professor Gaussen first takes up and discusses the difficulties and objections which the doctrine which he maintains encounters; this he does at great length in the 2d Chapter of his book. Next, he treats of the evasions of this doctrine, which are held by some who yet profess to believe the Scriptures to be inspired: this he also does at great length in the 3d Chapter. In the 4th Chapter, he discusses the use of Sacred Criticism in its relations with Inspiration. The 5th Chapter treats the subject in a didactic manner, and discusses it under several very important aspects. Having thus cleared the ground, the Professor then gives us, in the 6th Chapter, the Scriptural proofs of the truth of the doctrine. And finally, he gives in the 7th and last Chapter, some summary views of the subject, and appropriate exhortations, addressed to all who may read his work, and which are well calculated to inspire them with a higher estimation of the Sacred Oracles, and consequently with a deeper sense of the importance of a most careful and unintermitted study of them.

We will devote the remaining portion of this article to a

* See on this subject the learned dissertation of Dr. Rudelbach, in which the author establishes, by history, the sound doctrines on Inspiration which Professor Gaussen endeavors to establish by the Scriptures.—*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche, von Rudelbach und Guericke*, 1840.

very cursory notice of the work of our author, in the order which he has pursued, and which we have just indicated.

Having set forth the importance, as well as the nature, of the true doctrine of Inspiration, in the 1st Chapter, Professor Gaussen proceeds, as we have said, to examine in the 2d the objections which have been made to it. These objections are derived from various sources: *The Individuality of the Authors, profoundly imprinted on their books; Translations; Employment of the version of the Septuagint; Variations; Errors of reasoning, or of doctrine; Errors in the narratives, contradictions in the facts; Errors which oppose the philosophy of Nature; the Avowals of St. Paul.* All of these important points are discussed in a most masterly and most satisfactory manner. About thirty pages are devoted to answering the objections which are derived from the impression of the characters of their authors which the several sacred books bear. But we can only take one or two paragraphs as a specimen of the replies which our author makes to them.

Moreover that which most clearly shows the error of the objection to which we reply, is the extreme inconsistency which one finds in the way in which it is employed. In fact, to disprove the full inspiration of certain portions of the Scriptures, men have alleged the individuality with which they are stamped; and yet they admit that other portions of the sacred books, where this character equally occurs, must have been given directly from God, even in their lesser details. Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the author of the Apocalypse have impressed their style, their traits, their manner, in a word, their mark on their prophecies, as well as Luke, Mark, John, Paul and Peter have impressed theirs on their histories, or on their letters. The objection is, therefore, not valid; if it proves any thing, it proves too much.

Again, that which strikes us in this objection, and in the system of *intermittent* inspiration, with which it is associated, is its triple character of complication, of temerity and of puerility. Of complication: for it supposes that the divine action, in dictating the Scriptures, becomes interrupted or enfeebled, as often as the degree of difficulty of the passage, or the degree of its importance diminishes; and it is thus that God is made successively to advance or retire, in the mind of the sacred writer, in the course of even one chapter, or of even one passage! Of temerity: for, mistaking the majesty of the Scriptures, men dare to suppose that they have importance, and demand a wisdom more than human, only in certain parts. Of puerility: for they fear, they tell us, to attribute to God useless miracles: as if the Holy Spirit, after having, as they avow, dictated word for word one part of the Scriptures, must have found less trouble in illumining the sacred writer, then leaving him to write alone, or in having a superintendence over him. pp. 34, 35.

As to the objection against the plenary inspiration of the original Scriptures, which has been drawn from the fact that the translations which are made from them are not inspired, Professor Gaussen rightly considers it as unworthy of the name of an objection. Yet he shows most conclusively how important it is that the Scriptures in the Hebrew and Greek originals should be inspired, and consequently free from error, even though almost the entire Christian world must of necessity use translations made by uninspired men.

From the remarks of our author on the objection which is made against the complete inspiration of the Scriptures, from the manner in which the writers of the New Testament have quoted from the Septuagint, we give one paragraph, which annihilates this objection, in the most summary and conclusive manner possible.

If some modern prophet were sent from God to the churches which speak our language, how do you think that such a man would quote the Scriptures? In French, without doubt; but according to what version? Those of Ostervald and Martin being the most extensively used, it is probable that he would make his citations in the terms of one or the other, as often as their translations might seem to him to be sufficiently exact. But also, notwithstanding our practice and his, he would take great care to leave both of these versions, and translate after his own way, as often as it might appear to him that the meaning of the original was not sufficiently well rendered in them. Sometimes, even, he would do more. To make us better comprehend in what sense he might have the intention to apply such or such a scripture, he would paraphrase the alleged passage, and then he would follow, in citing it, neither the letter of the original text, nor that of the translations. It is precisely thus that the writers of the New Testament have done in relation to the Septuagint. p. 60.

In the 4th section of this chapter, the author treats the question of the variations which are found in the original text of the Scriptures; and although it does not touch the question of the plenary and verbal inspiration of the original text to allege that there are variations in early manuscripts and versions, yet Professor Gaussen devotes nearly forty pages to this subject, and gives a summary of the remarkable results to which long-continued and most extensive and faithful investigations on the part of Mill, Griesbach, Rossi, Kennicott, Bengel, Scholz and others have led.

In the 5th section he treats the objection against the inspiration of the Scriptures, which some have founded on the appa-

rent instances of bad reasoning, inapplicable quotations, popular superstitions, prejudices, and other weaknesses which they allege to be found in the Scriptures. The answer which our author makes to all this is of a very general nature, and is perhaps as good as could be given to such vague accusations, without going into a minute examination of all such instances,—which would require a volume.

Under section 6th of this chapter, the author devotes thirty pages to the consideration of the alleged *Errors in the Narratives*, and *Contradictions in the Facts* of the sacred Scriptures. Not only did Socinus, Castellion, and others of the same school, in the XVIth century, maintain the existence of such errors, and contradictions, but, what is more astonishing, some very distinguished men of our own times—such as Dr. John Pye Smith, Daniel Wilson (now Bishop of Calcutta), and Twisten of Berlin—have admitted the same thing. Professor Gausson replies with great ability to the positions taken by these authors, and maintains that no such errors or contradictions exist in the Scriptures, when rightly translated. He goes into a minute examination of a large number of the most important instances of errors and contradictions which have been alleged, and certainly maintains with success the ground which he holds on this point. Our limits will not suffer us to follow him in the examination which he makes of these cases. They are such as the apparent contradictions which exist in the different accounts given by the evangelists respecting the resurrection of the Saviour; the blind men of Jericho; the death of Judas Iscariot; various dates mentioned in the historical books of the Old Testament; the genealogies of Jesus Christ; the enrolment of the people mentioned in Luke 2: 1, 2; the contradictions which are found in 1 Cor. 15: 44, and Job 19: 26; the temptation of the Saviour as recorded by Matthew and Luke, &c. &c. All these alleged difficulties are treated in a most satisfactory manner, and it is conclusively demonstrated that they constitute no valid ground of objection to the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the sacred volume.

In the same section, the author discusses the *Errors in the Sacred Scriptures, which, it is alleged, contradict the Laws of Nature*. This he does at length, and with much ability. Indeed this section is the most masterly view of this subject which we have ever seen. We have only one objection to make to it, and that relates to what the author says

respecting the miracle of the sun and the moon standing still at the command of Joshua. It was scarcely worth while to undertake to demonstrate mathematically how the earth might be made to cease revolving on its axis without causing "the belligerent armies," as the neological Professor Chenevière asserts, "and every thing which is on the surface of the soil, to be swept away like chaff by the tempest." The objection is too silly to merit a moment's notice. For, could not the same Almighty hand which caused the earth and the moon instantaneously to stop, also hold every thing, animate and inanimate, in its proper place on their surface, and that in so perfect a manner that not the slightest derangement should occur?

After having shown that, from the nature of the case, the language of the Scriptures in relation to the phenomena of Nature, must be accommodated to that which mankind in all ages have commonly used; and after having shown how inconvenient and incomprehensible sometimes, even to the genius of a Newton, the Bible must have been if it had always spoken of the operations of Nature, not as science has even yet ascertained them, but as they really are, the author proceeds to lay down his first position in relation to this subject, which is, *that there is not one physical error in the Word of God*. This point he discusses with singular felicity. From this part of his work we are tempted to give an extract of considerable length, which will well reward the reader for a careful perusal. After having, in the course of several pages, indicated the errors of both ancient and modern philosophers, on several points in Physics and Astronomy, as well as some of the ridiculous decisions of some of the Roman Pontiffs, such as Pope Zachariah, and the Holy Office (by which Galileo was condemned), he proceeds:

But now open the Bible; study its fifty sacred authors, from that admirable Moses who held the pen in the wilderness, four hundred years before the war of Troy, to that fisherman, son of Zebedee, who wrote fifteen hundred years later at Ephesus and in Patmos, under the reign of Domitian;—open the Bible, and see if you will find there any thing like this. No; none of those mistakes which the science of each succeeding age discovers in the books of the preceding; above all, none of those absurdities which modern astronomy indicates, in such great numbers, in the writings of the ancients,—in their sacred codes, in their philosophies, and even in the finest pages of the Fathers of the Church,—not one of these errors is to be found in any of our sacred books. Nothing there will ever contradict that which, after so many ages, the

investigations of the learned world have been able to reveal to us on the state of our globe, or on that of the heavens. Peruse, with care, our Scriptures from one end to the other, to find there such spots. And whilst you apply yourselves to this examination, remember that it is a book which speaks of every thing, which describes nature, which recounts its grandeur, which relates the story of its creation, which tells us of the formation of the heavens, of the light, of the water, of the atmosphere, of the mountains, of the animals and of the plants. It is a book which teaches us the first revolutions of the world, and which also foretells its last; it recounts them in the circumstantial language of history, it extols them in the sublimest strains of poetry, and it chants them in the charms of glowing song. It is a book which is full of oriental rapture, elevation, variety and boldness. It is a book which speaks of the heavenly and invisible world; whilst it also speaks of the earth and things visible. It is a book which nearly fifty writers, of every degree of cultivation, of every state, of every condition, and living through the course of fifteen hundred years, have concurred to make. It is a book which was written in the centre of Asia, in the sands of Arabia, and the deserts of Judah, in the courts of the temple of the Jews, in the rustic schools of the prophets of Bethel and of Jericho, in the sumptuous palaces of Babylon, and on the idolatrous banks of Chebar; and finally, in the centre of the western civilization, in the midst of the Jews and of their ignorance, in the midst of polytheism and its idols, as also in the bosom of pantheism and of its sad philosophy. It is a book whose first writer had been forty years a pupil of the magicians of Egypt, in whose opinion the sun, the stars and the elements were endowed with intelligence, reacted on the elements, and governed the world by a perpetual effluvium. It is a book whose first writer preceded, by more than nine hundred years, the most ancient philosophers of ancient Greece and Asia, the Thaleses and the Pythagorases, the Zaleucuses, the Xenophons and the Confuciuses. It is a book which carries its narrations even to the plains of the invisible world, even to the hierarchies of angels, even to the most distant epochs of the future, and the glorious scenes of the last day. Well; search among its 50 authors, search among its 66 books, its 1,189 chapters and its 31,173 verses, search for only one of those thousand errors which the ancients and the moderns commit when they speak of the heavens or of the earth; of their revolutions or of their elements; search,—but you will find none.

Its language is without constraint and without reserve. It speaks of every thing and in all tones. It is the prototype,—it has been the unrivalled model, and the inspirer of all that is most elevated in poetry. Ask Milton, ask the Racines, ask Young, ask Klopstock. They will tell you, that this divine poetry is, of all, the most lyrical, the boldest and the most sublime. It mounts on the wings of a seraph, it expatiates on those of the wind. And yet this book never does violence either to the facts or to the principles of a sound philosophy of nature. You never find it in opposition, even in one sentence, to the just notions which science has conveyed to us on the form of our globe, on its size and its geology; on the void and on space; on the inert and passive materiality of all the stars; on the planets, on their masses, on their courses, on their dimensions, or on their influences; on the stars which

inhabit the profundities of space, on their number, on their nature, on their immensity. In like manner, when speaking of the invisible world, and of the subject—so new, so unknown, so delicate—of the angels, this book will not present you one of its writers, in the course of the 1560 years, which were employed in writing it, who has differed from the others in the character which he gives of the love, of the humility, of the fervor, and of the purity, which belongs to those mysterious beings. In like manner, in speaking of the relations of the heavenly world to God, never has one of these fifty writers, either in the Old Testament or in the New, uttered a single word favorable to the perpetual pantheism of the heathen philosophy. Neither do you find one of the authors of the Bible who, in speaking of the visible world, has suffered to escape from his pen one of those sentences which in other books contradict the reality of facts; not one which makes of the heavens a *firmament*, as do the Septuagint, St. Jerome and all the Fathers of the Church;* no one who makes the world to be an intelligent animal, as Plato does; no one who reduces all things here below, to the four physical elements of the ancients; no one who thinks with the Jews, with the Greeks and the Romans, with the best geniuses of antiquity,—with the great Tacitus among the ancients, and the great De Thou† among the moderns,—with the skeptical Montaigne, “that the stars have rule and power, not only over our lives, and the conditions of our fortune, but even over our inclinations, our discourse, our wills; that they rule them, impel and agitate them at the mercy of their influences; and that (as far as our reason teaches and discovers) the entire of this lower world is moved at the least shaking of the least of the heavenly movements. *Facta etenim et vitas hominum suspendit ab astris.*”† No one who speaks of the mountains as Mohammed does; of the cosmogony as Buffon; of the antipodes as Lucretius, as Plutarch, as Pliny, as Lactantius, as St. Augustine, as Pope Zachariah. Certainly, if only one of these errors which abound in the writings of philosophers, both ancient and modern, could be found in the Bible, our faith in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures would be more than compromised; it would be necessary to acknowledge that there are errors in the Word of God, and that these false sentences belong to a fallible writer and not to the Holy Spirit; for God is not man that he should lie; in him there is no variableness, nor shadow of falsehood; and He to whom “lying lips are an abomination,” cannot contradict himself, nor dictate that which is false.

There is, then, no physical error in the Scriptures, and this great fact, which becomes the more wonderful in proportion as it is viewed from a position near at hand, is a striking proof of the inspiration which dictated them, even in the choice of their least expressions.

But still more;—here is a second fact. Not only does the Bible not contain a false sentence, or a false expression, but it often allows to escape words which make us recognize, in a manner not to be misunderstood, the science of the Almighty. Its great object, without doubt, was to reveal to us the eternal grandeurs of the invisible world, and not

* As the authors of our authorized English version have also done.

† De Thou, or Tuanus, a distinguished French writer.

† Montaigne's *Essays*, Book II. ch. 12.

the barren secrets of that which is about to perish. Nevertheless it often happens, that its language, when listened to with attention, permits us to see a science which it will not teach, but which it cannot be ignorant of, *since there is in it a profound abyss*. Not only will it tell us nothing false, even in passing, but it often surprises us with words which betray the voice of the Creator of the world. Often you remark in them a wisdom, a prudence, an exactitude, of which the ages of antiquity could not form an idea, and which the discoveries alone of the telescope, and of the science of the moderns have been able to appreciate: so that its language carries, by these traits, the evident characteristics of the most entire inspiration. The discreet and unusual choice of its expressions, the nature of certain details, whose perfect propriety and divine adaptedness to the facts were only revealed three thousand years later, the reserve of the language, sometimes its boldness and its strangeness, considering the time when it was written,—all these signs make you know the Savant *par excellence*, the Ancient of Days, who addresses himself to his children without doubt, but who speaks as the Father of a family, and who well knows his house. pp. 166—173.

Want of space forbids our extracting the succeeding pages, in which the author illustrates the position which he assumes in the last paragraph which we have quoted, and shows how wonderfully the representations of the sacred writers agree with the discoveries of science, in regard to the shape of the globe, its rotundity, its resting on nothing; the epoch and the order of the several stages of the unravelling of the primitive chaos; the heaven, as being an *expanse* and not a *firmament*, or *στερέωμα*; the light, as being independent of the sun; the creation of plants; the atmosphere, as having *weight*; the nature of the clouds; the mountains; the exterior of the globe, as being a crust or shell; the interior, as composed of fire;* the surface of the earth, as emerging or rising out of the waters; the deluge, as having been caused by the internal heat, and its action on the crust of the earth; the creation of birds and fishes, as having the same origin, and similar characteristics;† the arresting of the *moon* as well as the sun, by miracle; the primitive unity of the language of mankind; the dimensions of the ark of Noah; the vast number of the stars, and their subjection to laws in their position and movements; the division of the heavens; and finally, the grandeur and immensity of creation. On all these subjects, the discoveries of

* Job 28: 5. *Literally*: Beneath, it is turned up, and as it were, of fire."

† See the Memoirs of Dr. J. L. Prevost, of Geneva.

modern science most remarkably confirm, as Professor Gaussen justly states and fully proves, the gleamings of light which the Scriptures, rightly translated, in no obscure manner, shed upon them.

In the 7th and last section of this chapter, the Professor considers and demolishes the objections against the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, which have been founded upon what are called the *Avowals of St. Paul*. He shows conclusively that these avowals relate only to the cases in which the apostle had no express command from the Lord to give, thus leaving them among the things indifferent, and which might be done or not; but in which the Apostle sometimes ventures to give his *advice*. This militates in no way, however, against the true doctrine of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.

The third chapter, which is a long one, is devoted to the consideration of what the author terms *Evasions* of the true doctrine. These evasions are arranged under three heads. The first may be expressed thus: *Does the Inspiration of the sacred Scriptures concern only the thoughts, or does it extend also to the words of the writers?*

The second: *Ought the Historical Books of the Scriptures to be excepted from this plenary Inspiration?*

The third: *Does the apparent insignificance of certain details in the Bible authorize their exclusion from this Inspiration?*

These topics the Professor discusses in a very satisfactory manner, and maintains the plenary inspiration of the sacred volume throughout, in its words as well as in its ideas; in its minutest and apparently most trivial details, as well as in its most solemn and obviously important narratives. We give but one extract: it is from the portion of this chapter in which he discusses the second of the above stated topics.

Where will you find, among all the uninspired narrators, a man who has written any thing as St. Luke has written the Acts of the Apostles? Who has known how to recount in thirty pages the history of thirty of the most beautiful years of Christianity, from the ascension of the Son of Man to heaven, to the imprisonment of St. Paul in the capital of the Roman world? Incomparable History! See at once how short and how great it is! What do we not find in it! Discourses addressed to the Jews and to the Greeks,—pronounced before the tribunals, before the Areopagus and before the Sanhedrim, in the public places, and before a proconsul, in the synagogues and before kings; admirable descriptions of the primitive Church; miraculous and dramatic scenes in its bosom; interventions of angels to deliver, to warn, or to punish;

controversies and divisions in the assemblies of Christians; new institutions in the Church; the history of a first council and its synodic epistle; commentaries on the Scriptures; recitals of heresies; solemn and terrible judgments of God; appearances of the Lord in the way, in the temple, in the prison; detailed conversions and such as were often miraculous, and singularly various,—that of Eneas, that of the eunuch, that of Cornelius the centurion, that of the Roman jailer, that of the proconsul, that of Lydia, that of Apollos, that of many people at Jerusalem;—not to speak of those which were only commenced, such as the emotions of king Agrippa, the agitation of Felix, the professions of Simon of Samaria, the anguish of Pilate's wife, and the benevolence of the captain Julius;—missionary journeys; lasting divisions among Christians of different classes, respecting things external; mutual prejudices; different solutions of cases of conscience; disputes between brethren and even between apostles; the developments, the explanations and the triumphs of the spirit of charity; communications from one military officer to another, from proconsul to proconsul; revelations made to the churches respecting the calling of the Gentiles; collections made by the poor of one church for the benefit of another; prophecies; national scenes; punishments either perpetrated or designed; summons before Jewish tribunals or Roman municipal authorities, before governors and kings; Christian assemblies from house to house,—their emotions, their prayers, their charity, their doubts and fears; a persecuting king struck by an angel and eaten of worms, at the moment, when, to please the populace, he had accomplished the death of one apostle and had designed that of another; persecutions under all forms, by the synagogues, by the princes, by the Jews, and by popular tumults; deliverances of the men of God, one while by a child, another while by an angel, one while by a Roman tribune, or a captain of a ship, by pagan magistrates, or by idolatrous soldiers; tempests, shipwrecks, with details which, by their nautical exactness (as we have seen), charm even the mariners of our days;—and all this in thirty pages, or twenty-eight little chapters! Admirable brevity! Was there not need of the Holy Spirit of God for this conciseness, for this selection of details, for this pious, varied, brief, richly significant manner which employs so few words, and teaches so many things? Fulness, conciseness, clearness, simplicity, elevation, practical richness,—such is the ecclesiastical history which the people of God needed. This is true; but it is not thus that men narrate events.

Could you find on the earth a man that is capable of relating the assassination of his mother with the manifest calmness, the propriety, the sobriety, the coolness of the four-fold narrative of the Evangelists, recounting the death of Jesus; of that Jesus whom they loved more than one loves his mother, more than one loves his life? That Jesus whom they adored; whom they had seen prostrate in Gethsemane, and afterwards betrayed, abandoned, dragged along, with his hands tied, into Jerusalem, and finally nailed, naked, to the cross, whilst the sun hid his light, the earth quaked, and He who had restored the dead to life was Himself reduced to the state of the dead! Was there not need of the Spirit of God in each line, in each word of such a narration, to choose appropriately from an age, and from a world of reminiscences?

It was necessary moreover that the sacred historians should be guided by the Spirit, in order that they should know how to maintain that divine prudence which not only reveals itself in that information which they give, but also in the reserve which they manifest, not only in the terms which they employ, but also in those which they shun.

And to give here some proof of this, see, for example, how they speak of the mother of Jesus. What divine foresight, what prophetic wisdom there is both in their narratives and in their expressions, How easy it would have been for them, in their ardent adoration of the son, to have expressed themselves too respectfully of the mother! Would not a single word, suffered to escape them through an imprudence so natural in their first emotions, have forever authorized the idolatry of the ages to come towards Mary, and the crime of the worship which has been rendered her! But that word they never uttered. Did they even once call her the Mother of God! No, not even that: although He was for them Emmanuel, the God-man, the Word which was in the beginning, which was with God, which was God, and which was made flesh. Listen to them. What do they say of her after the death and the resurrection of their Saviour! Only one sentence, after which they are silent, respecting her forever! "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren." They do not name her there as the first or the last; she appears there as the mother of Jesus, among the brethren of Jesus and the women of Gallilee. And what do they say of her before the death of the Lord! Reflect upon it well; ah! it is not thus that men recount events! among all the words which Jesus Christ must have addressed to his mother, from the commencement of his public mission until its termination, they have reported to us but three sentences. Here is the first: "Woman, what have I to do with thee,"—or what is this to me and thee,—when she interfered in his ministry which had just commenced, and asked him to perform a miracle. Again, when a certain woman, from among the people, exclaimed in her ardent enthusiasm: "Blessed is the womb which bare thee and the paps which thou hast sucked," "Say," he replied, "Blessed rather are they who hear the word of God and keep it."—Listen now to the third; his mother and brethren had been shaken in their faith; they had listened to those who had said: "He is beside himself!" And some one came and told him: "Thy mother and thy brethren are without, who desire to see thee." "Who is my mother?" he replied. And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said: "Behold my mother. . . every woman who shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven is my mother."—And when, finally, he saw her, from the cross, he called her no more by the name of mother, but he bequeathed her to the disciple whom he loved, saying: "Woman, behold thy son: John, behold thy mother;" and from that hour that disciple received her into his house, not to adore her, but to protect her, as a feeble and suffering being, whose soul had been pierced as with a sword.

Is it thus, we ask again, that man relates events, and was there not need that the prophetic Spirit should be the narrator of all these facts! pp. 217—223.

Under the head of *Vulgar Details*, which constitutes the third section in this chapter, the author makes some beautiful remarks, to show that what are esteemed such details are most instructive portions of the Scriptures, when rightly studied.

The Fourth chapter is *on the use of Sacred Criticism, in its relation to Inspiration*. This topic is also discussed at very considerable length, and with much ability, in the compass of three sections, whose titles are as follows:

1. *Sacred Criticism a Servant, not a Judge.*
2. *Sacred Criticism a Historian, not a Diviner.*
3. *Sacred Criticism the porter (or door-keeper) of the Temple, and not its Divinity.*

The proper province of Sacred Criticism is very clearly and justly defined in this chapter.

Criticism (says our author) is a noble science. It is so in regard to its object—the study of the destinies of the sacred text, its canon, its manuscripts, its versions, its witnesses, the vast numbers of those who have cited it. It is so by reason of its services:—what triumphs obtained over infidelity, what objections reduced to silence, what wicked doubts dissipated forever!—It is so in regard to its history:—how many eminent men have consecrated to it either the devotion of a pious life, or the resources of the most beautiful genius! It is so, finally, by reason of its immense labors, of which no one can know the extent, unless he has studied it. God forbid that we should ever oppose faith to science;—the faith which lives by the truth, to the science which seeks for it! that faith which seeks for it (the truth) directly at the hand of God, to that science which seeks for it more indirectly elsewhere, and which often finds it! All that is true in one place is in pre-established harmony with that which is true in another and more elevated place. Faith, then, knows in advance, and before having seen any thing, that all truth will render testimony to it. If then all true science, whatever it may be, is the friend of faith, Sacred Criticism is more than a friend; she is almost a relative. But if she is honorable, useful, necessary, she is so only so long as she remains true, and keeps her proper place. So long as she does not quit the field which belongs to her, she is worthy of our respect; but from the moment she leaves it, it becomes necessary to restrain her; she is then no longer a science, but only a silly sooth-sayer.

We have no space for further extracts from this most interesting chapter. We pass on, therefore, to the next.

In chapter V. the author gives us what he terms a *Didactic Summary of the Doctrine of Inspiration*. After having given in the first section, a retrospective notice of what he has already advanced, in the preceding portions of his book, he devotes the entire second and remaining section, which extends through

nearly seventy pages, to an argumentative consideration of the subject of Inspiration. This he does to greater advantage from the fact that he had in the preceding chapters cleared the ground for it. In conducting this argument he employs the catechetical manner, and by propounding and answering no less than *forty-five* questions, which seem to cover the whole ground of argument, he discusses the subject under almost every possible aspect in which it can be considered by human reason. We give the reader some idea of the author's manner in this chapter, by extracting three or four of these questions, together with their answers:

XVI. May much evil result from the doctrine, according to which the language of inspiration is only the human expression of a superhuman revelation, and, so to speak, but the natural reflection of a supernatural illumination?

There will ever result from it these two evils: either men will degrade the oracles of God to a level with the words of saints; or they will elevate the latter to a level with the Scriptures. It is a baneful consequence, whose alternatives have been produced in all ages. It is inevitable. All men, truly regenerated, being enlightened by the Holy Spirit, it follows, according to this doctrine, that they all possess, although in different degrees, the element of inspiration; so that according to the arbitrary idea which you may have formed of their spiritual state, you will be inevitably led one while to assimilate the sacred writers to them, at another, to elevate them to the rank of men inspired from on high.

XVII. Can you cite religious bodies, in which the former of these evils have been realized; I mean to say, in which men have been carried to the length of reducing the Scriptures to the level of the words of saints?

All the systems of the Protestant Doctors who suppose that there is some mixture of error in the sacred Scriptures are founded upon this doctrine,—from Semler and Ammon, to Eichhorn, Paulus, Gabler, Schuster and Restig; from De Wette, to the more respectful systems of Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Scaliger, Capel, John Le Clerc and Vossius. According to these systems, the divine light, by which the intelligence of the sacred writers was enlightened, might experience certain partial eclipses, by the inevitable effect of their natural infirmities, of a defect of memory, of an innocent ignorance, of a popular prejudice; so that their writings have retained the traces of it, and we can recognize the places where the shadows have fallen!

XVIII. Can you cite also some religious bodies in which the latter evil has occurred; I mean to say, in which, by having confounded inspiration with illumination, men have elevated saints and doctors to the rank of inspired men?

We may, above all, cite the Jews and the Latins (or Roman Catholics).

XIX. What have the Jews done?

They have considered the Rabbis of the ages succeeding the Dispersion, as endowed with an infallibility which has placed them on a level with (if not above) Moses and the Prophets. They have attributed, without doubt, a sort of inspiration to the sacred Scriptures; but they have forbidden to explain the oracles of God, otherwise than according to their traditions. They have called the immense body of these "commandments of men" the *Oral Law*, the *Doctrine*, or the *Talmud*, distinguishing it into the *Mishna* or *Second Law*, and the *Gemara*—*complement* or *perfection*. They have maintained that it was transmitted from God to Moses, from Moses to Joshua, from Joshua to the prophets, from the prophets to Ezra, from Ezra to the doctors of the Great Synagogue, and from them to the Rabbis *Antigonus*, *Soccho*, *Shemaia*, *Hillel*, *Schammai*; until at length *Judah the Holy* committed it to the *Traditions*, or *Repetitions* of the law, which, at a later day, together with their commentary or complement (the *Gemara*), have formed, at first, the *Talmud of Jerusalem*, and afterwards that of *Babylon*.

"One of the greatest obstacles which we meet among the Jews," says the Missionary *MacCaul*, "is their invincible prejudice in favor of their traditions and their commentaries; so that we cannot induce them to purchase our Bibles without notes or commentaries."* "The Law," say they, "is like salt; the Mishna, like pepper; the Talmuds, like aromatics." "The Scriptures are like water; the Mishna, like wine; and the Gemara like spiced-wine." "My son," says Rabbi Isaac, "learn to give more attention to the words of the scribes than to the words of the Law." "Turn your children," (said Rabbi Eleazer, on his death-bed, to his scholars who asked him respecting the way of life,) "turn your children from the study of the Bible, and place them at the feet of the wise men." "Learn, my son," says Rabbi Jacob, that the words of the scribes are more lovely than those of the prophets!†

XX. And what has resulted from these enormities?

It has resulted, by this means, that millions and millions of immortal souls, though wandering throughout the earth, though weary and heavy-laden, though despised and persecuted in every place, have carried about with them, into every nation of the earth, the book of the Old Testament, intact and complete, and have not ceased to read it, in the Hebrew, every Sabbath, in thousands and thousands of synagogues, during eighteen hundred years; without, however, discovering in it that Jewish Messiah whom we all adore, and to know whom would be from this day forth their deliverance, as it must one day be their happiness and their glory! Full well said Jesus unto them; "Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your tradition."‡

XXI. And what have the Latins done?

They have considered the Fathers, the Popes, and the Councils of the successive ages of the Roman Church, as endowed with an infallibility which puts them on a level with (if not above) Jesus, the

* Letter from Warsaw, May 22d, 1827.

† Talmud of Jerusalem.

‡ Mark vii. 9, where the word *reject*, in the text, is better replaced by the word *frustrate*, in the margin of our English Bible.

prophets, and the apostles. They have, it is true, differed greatly, one from another, on the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures; and the Faculties of Douay and Louvain, for example, resisted stoutly the opinion of the Jesuits, who were unwilling to recognize in the operation of the Holy Spirit, any thing more than a *direction* which preserved the sacred writers from error; but they have all forbidden to explain the sacred Scriptures otherwise than after the traditions. They have believed that they had the right to say, in all their Councils, as the apostles and prophets of Jerusalem: "*It hath seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us.*" They have declared that it belonged to them to judge of the true sense of the Scriptures. They have called the immense body of these "commandments of men," *the Oral Law, the Unwritten Traditions, the Unwritten Law*. They have said that they were transmitted from God, and dictated by the mouth of Jesus Christ or the Holy Spirit, by a continued succession. pp. 321—323.

We have not room to give further extracts from this interesting chapter. What we have given will enable the reader to form some idea of the original and striking manner in which the subject is discussed in the Socratic style.

The Sixth chapter relates to the *Scriptural proof of the doctrine of Inspiration*, and is divided into the following sections:

1. *The whole Scripture is theopneustic, or inspired of God.*
2. *All the words of the Prophets were from God.*
3. *All the Scriptures of the Old Testament are prophetic.*
4. *All the words of the New Testament are prophetic.*
5. *The examples of the Apostles and of their Master attest that, in their estimation, all the words of the sacred Books were given from God.*

This chapter, we need hardly inform the reader, is the most important one in the book. It contains, in the course of more than seventy pages, a thorough examination of every passage of the Scriptures which has a bearing on this subject. We have extended this article too far already to allow us to give any extracts from it, and it is not possible to give an abridgment of it in a few pages. We can only say that we have read it with the greatest satisfaction, and are entirely convinced that it settles the question of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. At least for ourselves, we cannot well see how any thing more conclusive could be advanced. We have never seen the testimony of the Saviour to the inspiration of the books of the Old Testament, nor the promise of the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit to his apostles so fully brought forward and made to bear on this subject, as is done in this chap-

ter, and no view of the question could be stronger or more convincing.

The Seventh and last chapter is made up of a summary, or general view of the whole subject, and appropriate counsels to the reader, on the necessity of having right views of this important doctrine, and of so reading the Scriptures as to hear in them, and through them, the voice of our Heavenly Father, addressing us in one way and another, in every line of the sacred volume.

We do not see how any man can rise from the careful perusal of Professor Gaussen's book without having a more profound reverence for the Bible; or without uttering the prayer: "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things in thy Law." Wonderful volume! in which truth is presented in a form adapted to every condition and capacity of the human mind;—"containing," as Desmarets says, "fords for the lambs, and "deep waters where the elephants may swim."

We do not agree with Professor Gaussen in all his positions—as for instance, on the point of the second coming of the Saviour to reign personally on the earth,—nor do we suppose that his book might not be made more compact, better arranged in some respects, and more simple in its phraseology. Some improvements of this sort might, there is no doubt, be made in it. But take it all in all, we think it decidedly the best work on the subject which we have ever read. There is nothing in the English language which is comparable to it, unless it be the excellent work of the Rev. Dr. Henderson. But even that is not so entirely satisfactory to our minds as is the work of Professor Gaussen. We think that he nobly maintains the true doctrine on the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures. It is the ground which, as he justly observes, was held, almost without exception, by the entire church during the first eight centuries. It was the doctrine of the greatest and best of the Reformers, as well as the most distinguished theologians who have trodden in their footsteps. "The Holy Spirit," says the illustrious Claude,* "employed the pen of the evangelists and of the apostles, of Moses and the prophets; he furnished them with the occasions of writing; he gave the desire and strength for it; the matter, the order, the economy, the expressions are of his immediate inspiration and of his direction."

* Posthumous Works, Vol. IV. p. 228.

This sentence, from one of the brightest ornaments of the French Protestant Church, in a by-gone century, expresses, we apprehend, the truth on this subject.

We conclude this article with the expression of our sincere desire that Professor Gaussen will not permit his pen to remain long idle. There are many subjects, connected with the important department which he occupies in the new Theological Seminary at Geneva, which demand his attention and his labors. May he long live, in conjunction with his excellent colleagues, to render illustrious the Evangelical church of Geneva, and to recover for that city the glory which Farel, and Calvin, and Beza, and Francis Turretin and Pictet shed upon it in days of old.

A detailed history of the Progress, the Conflicts and Triumphs of the Truth, within the last twenty-five years, in that ancient city, where Pelagianism, Socinianism and Deism have so long prevailed, would make an interesting article for the Repository; and we think we may promise our readers that, with God's help, it shall before long be submitted to them.

ARTICLE V.

THE ANTEDILUVIAN CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

*A Discourse delivered before the Royal Society of Göttingen,
July 5, 1768: by J. D. Michaelis.*

Translated from the Latin, by Stephen Chase, Prof. of Math. in Dartmouth College, N. H.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

As introductory to his discussion, the learned author adverts to the attempt which has been made to reduce the lives of the patriarchs to the present standard of longevity. Some have contended that the *years*, which they are said to have spent on the earth, should be reckoned as so many *months*. According to this hypothesis, several of them must have become fathers at 5, 6 and 7 years of age. Besides, there is no place in ancient chronology, which can be regarded as the transition point from the monthly to the yearly mode of com-

putation. Down to the time of Abraham, who lived 175 years, there is a gradual decrease of longevity. And if the years of this patriarch were so many months, his sorrow at being childless, so frequently referred to in the sacred narrative, was, to say the least, altogether premature.

§. 1. *The question stated.*

Moses wrote genealogy, not chronology, though the latter is interwoven with the former. This was in accordance with the oriental custom, so modified as best to suit the design of history. For chronology and genealogy are the foundation of all history; and, while we attach the most importance to chronology, and make genealogy a secondary affair, among the Hebrews, Arabs and Syrians, the contrary obtains. To perpetuate the remembrance of their names, they arrange and preserve, with great care, genealogies extending through many ages, which are taught, generation after generation, to children at a very early age. And they keep such genealogies, not only of men, but of camels and high-blooded horses. Hence, their whole history is, in a manner, genealogy; and the Arabs are always ready to trace the line of their descent, and name their ancestors back to Ishmael. The Arabic books are full of such genealogies. On the other hand, they are so very ignorant of chronology, as to know nothing of the time when important events in their history took place; and they most ridiculously confound the dates of occurrences of which they have taken accounts from the Scriptures. As, then, the general attachment to genealogy prevailed among the Israelites, both in their public and private documents, Moses so far complied with the feelings of his nation, as to illustrate his history by frequent genealogies; but, by noting the dates of the births and deaths, he interwove with these genealogies that *chronology*, whose aid he saw to be essential to a perfect history. And he has done this, not in this chapter only, but in the whole book of Genesis.

But in the antediluvian genealogy there are three very dissimilar readings. The *Hebrew* codices, written in *Hebrew letters*, exhibit one set of numbers; those in the *Samaritan* character, another, which the *Samaritan version* also follows; and a third is found in the *Septuagint*, and the versions made from it, except the *Ethiopic*, which, though translated from the Greek, has a fourth set of dates peculiar to itself. But of this

last, as it is of small authority, I shall not enter into any discussion, lest too great a variety of topics produce confusion. I am to speak, then, of the Hebrew, Samaritan and Greek systems of chronology, a summary of which is here given.

	Lived before the birth of a son.				Lived after the birth of a son.				Whole number of years.		
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX.		Heb.	Sam.	LXX.		Heb.	Sam.	LXX.
Adam . . .	130	130	230		800	800	700		930	930	930
Seth . . .	105	105	205		807	807	707		912	912	912
Enos . . .	90	90	190		815	115	715		905	905	905
Cainan . . .	70	70	170		840	840	740		910	910	910
Mahalaleel .	65	65	165		830	830	730		895	895	895
Jared . . .	162	62	162		800	785	800		962	847	962
Enoch . . .	65	65	165		300	300	200		365	365	365
Methuselah .	187	67	167		782	653	802		969	720	969
Lamech . . .	182	53	188		595	606	565		777	653	753
Noah . . .	500	500	500								
Deluge . . .	1656	1307	2242								

§ 2. *Division of the subject.*

There are *some* differences in these chronologies, which may be referred to the mistakes of copyists; others are systematic and intentional. The same sentence cannot, of course, be passed upon both classes.

To the first class are referable, or, at first view, appear to be so, many variations of units and tens. For instance, Lamech is said, in the Hebrew, to have lived before he begat Noah 182 years; after he begat Noah, 595 years; in all, 777; but in the Septuagint, the same periods are 188, 565, 753; and in the Samaritan, 53, 600 and 653. In such cases I have assumed no general principle, whether preference should be given to the Hebrew, Greek, or Samaritan; since, of three transcribers, A, B and C, there is an equal chance for A, B, or C to make the mistake. Nor is any more weight to be given here to the Hebrew text than to the Greek version. For, to say nothing of the fact that the text in the Hebrew character differs from the same text in the Samaritan character, the Greek was certainly translated from a Hebrew codex, in which,—as is alleged by the defenders of the Greek,—the translator found the numbers which now stand in the translation; nor can this, in the present stage of the discussion, be denied. In this case, the question must rest, not between the text and version, but between the Hebrew codices which have been handed down by

the Jews, and that very ancient one which was followed by the Seventy.

In regard to these *sporadic* varieties, if I may use a medical term, we must decide individually; and whatever reading is supported by the best authority must be preferred; or, that must be rejected, which is at variance with the general tenor of the history. And, in affairs of so high antiquity, of which we have no account but that given by Moses, we must think it no disgrace to suspend our judgment on some variety of reading; nor must we be ashamed sometimes even to confess ignorance.

But I mentioned another class of differences of reading, which are not the result of chance, but bear the marks of system and intention. These must be judged of, not individually, but collectively, and with reference to the theory or purpose which gave them birth. To this head I refer the fact that the Seventy, in the case of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel and Enoch, add 100 years to the age of each before the birth of a son, and subtract as many years from the remainder of their lives, according to an hypothesis that no man begat children before he was 150 years old. On the other hand, the Samaritan took it for granted that no one, except Noah, had children born after he was 150 years old; and, accordingly, from the 162, 187 and 182 years of Jared, Methuselah and Lamech, it subtracts 100 years each. Nor does it afterwards add them again, so as to make out the same number of years in the whole life; but, in accordance with still another hypothesis, it makes the life of man gradually decrease, not only in this genealogy, but in the other, which reaches from Noah to Abraham. For, as the ages of the first five patriarchs were gradually reduced from 930 to 895 years, the Samaritan translator would admit none afterwards of greater longevity, but continued the same manner of decrease down to Abraham, excepting Noah, and—if he can be said to have died—Enoch. There is yet another instance of designed variation in the subtraction of 5 years from the 800 which Jared is said to have lived after the birth of his son, so that his life might not reach beyond the flood.

§ 3. *The Hebrew preferred.*

In all this systematic disagreement, I reject both the Greek and the Samaritan readings, and follow the Hebrew, except in

the case of Jared, of which I speak with less confidence. But of this hereafter.

I prefer and adopt the Hebrew reading, because, in the first place, in no instance of the addition or subtraction of a century, does the Hebrew text stand alone, but is supported either by the Samaritan against the Greek, or by the Greek against the Samaritan. Surely, in a disagreement of three witnesses, two must be credited against one; and most of all must *he* be believed, who takes such an independent course, that he is supported now by one, and now by the other. Now, in this systematic disagreement, the Greek and the Samaritan differ throughout, so as to contradict each other in regard to the age of *each* of the first nine patriarchs; while the Hebrew, without following either, takes such a middle course as to have the concurrence of the Samaritan in the age of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel and Enoch, and of the Greek, respecting Jared, Methuselah and Lamech. On this ground, more credit seems due to the Hebrew than to the others. Suppose, in a legal trial, three witnesses should give testimony in this way, would any one hesitate which to believe?

§ 4. *Appearance of design in the Greek and Samaritan readings.*

Another reason for my preference of the Hebrew depends on the general principle, that any reading must be suspected, in which we detect a theory or design of the transcribers. Now these differences of a hundred years, in each life for nine generations, could not result from mistake or oversight of transcribers. Nor can they be charged to wilful alteration by the Hebrew copyist; for he, without the least appearance of order, asserts that some became fathers when scarcely 60 years old; others, not till they were more than 180. We must believe, then, that he copied his original as he found it, without alteration; and the alteration must be charged upon those whose purpose and views would be answered by it.

§ 5. *Absurdity of the hypotheses.*

I find a third argument in the very nature of the theories which I have mentioned: for they are full of silly hypotheses, so that, strange as it may seem, the very arguments urged by their supporters in their defence, furnish an unanswerable refutation of them.

The Seventy assume that no one could beget children before his one hundred and fiftieth year : and they are supposed to have taken this position from the consideration of the ratio which the age of puberty bears to the period of human life in more modern times. But those long-lived men might have come to maturity as early as we ; just as those, who now surpass the common age, and attain to the hundredth, or even the hundred and fortieth year, are not on that account any longer in coming to maturity, than others, who, in the common course of nature, die of old age, when not more than seventy or eighty.

The Samaritan on the other hand, takes it for granted that no children could be born to any one after his hundred and fiftieth year. But this hypothesis is overthrown by the case of Noah, who begat sons and daughters after his five hundredth year ;—a fact, which the Samaritan copyist has left unaltered.

Both the Greek translator and the Samaritan text, as well as the supporters of each, assume that each of these individuals, mentioned by Moses, was a firstborn ;* and this hypothesis, formed without reason, without the slightest intimation from the sacred historian, is adhered to with the superstition of a Jew. How extremely improbable is the conjecture, which makes Noah the tenth firstborn, in regular succession,—the firstborn of Lamech, who was firstborn of Methuselah, who was firstborn of Enoch, who was firstborn, etc., back to Adam ! On this principle, there could be, in the whole human race, but one firstborn, who must be descended through a line of primogenital ancestors, continued unbroken through every generation. Such a *primogenitus primogenitorum* could not possibly exist, if any one of the *primogeniti* should die without issue,—an occurrence, which, in the course of ten generations, is, from the statistical ratio of deaths, in the highest degree probable. For a very large proportion of the human race die young, even in boyhood ; nor has nature, by any means, exempted the first-born from the common lot.

Nor is this last hypothesis improbable merely ; but, strange as it may seem, it bears upon its face, in the very first instance, proof of its own falseness. For Seth, who is included in the genealogy of this chapter, and who is said to have been born

* Jackson, p. 50. Jared lived 162, Methuselah, 187, and Lamech 182 years, before they begat children.

after his father Adam was 130 years old—the Seventy substitute 230,—was not the firstborn, but certainly younger than Cain and Abel, and a number of daughters. So that there was nothing even to make room for the mistake. Neither could any one, who was not deeply tinged in the Jewish fables respecting the sacred primogenital stock, suppose that Noah had no children till his five hundredth year.

Not more credible is the other Samaritan hypothesis; namely, that the son, in every instance, from Cainan down to Terah, died at an earlier age than his father; with the exception only of Enoch and Noah. These are excepted by the Samaritan, as, on account of unusual sanctity, the one was rewarded by early intercourse with God, the other, by unusual longevity. According to the Samaritan, the vital power of the race decreasing, and the longevity of the son being, in every case, less than that of his father, Cainan lived 910 years, Mahalaleel 895, Jared 847, Methuselah 720, Lamech 653, Shem 600, Arphaxad 450, Salah 433, Eber 404, Peleg 239, Reu 239, Serug 230, Nahor 148, and Terah 145.

Now, though I would readily admit, that, after the deluge the term of human life gradually diminished from the time of Shem, still I should not think it a necessary consequence, that the son must invariably die younger than his father had died. For *now*, when the vital energy of our race has long been stationary, a son is often born of stronger constitution, and more vital power than his father; and while some, in the regular course of nature, wear out and die by old age, far more die of disease, which, without regard to age, may snatch away the father in youth, the son at a more advanced age, and leave the grandson to extreme old age. In like manner also, from Cainan to Terah, though, in the whole race, there was a constant diminution of longevity, still in individuals, that diminution does not seem to have been so manifest and invariable, nor does the duration of life seem to have been governed by any precise law. For who can suppose, that all these, for fourteen generations, died without disease, of old age alone? and that, compared with his contemporaries, no father was naturally more feeble, or son more vigorous, excepting only two men distinguished for their piety? The approach of death is not governed by a law so constant and regular; some are the victims of premature disease; nor are men of the same generation naturally endowed with equal physical firmness. For,

though the more common limit of old age, to those who are not cut off by disease or any external violence, is about 70 or 80 years, yet some, who are naturally more feeble, earlier decay, and fall into the grave, while others live a hundred, or a hundred and twenty years, or even more. Now to exclude all such irregularity from the Mosaic chronology is certainly to form a system foreign to nature. Suppose some one to forge this table of the kings of England: Henry VII. lived 63 years; Henry VIII. 63; Edward VI., 63; Mary, 63; Elizabeth, 63; James I., 63; Charles I. was deposed and executed by the people; Charles II. lived 63; James II., 63; William, 63; Anne, 63; George I., 63; George II., 63; George III., 63. No individual, not even the most ignorant of history, nor one who had never heard of these kings, would be stupid enough to believe this; but, mere'y from the equality of the ages, would suspect falsehood. But the Samaritan text predicates of the patriarchs a regularity as incredible, by making their ages continually decrease.

It is really surprising that this palpable falsehood should have found any supporters. For, if the term of life is so shortened that no son attains the age of his father, unless it is decreed by God as a special reward of distinguished sanctity, instead of the present promiscuous allotment of long life and early death, all must die the first year.

§ 6. *The Greek Translator of the Pentateuch.*

I have already hinted my suspicion, that those, who give us a reading which is too systematic, did not copy or translate what they found in the more ancient codices, but—as they supposed—corrected, or rather interpolated and corrupted the sacred text to meet their own views.

This charge will be the more difficult of evasion, if we find them guilty in other instances. In the continuation of the genealogy after the flood, from Shem to Abraham, we shall find the Greek translator guilty of manifest error; while, at the same time, the Greek copies are so much at variance among themselves, as to make it evident that most of them wrote, not what they found written, but what they thought most suitable, or what they wished had been written by Moses. In other respects, I have been accustomed to express a high opinion of the Greek translator of the Pentateuch; nor can I name, from all the rest, his equal in talent and learning. He was unequalled in his thorough knowledge of Hebrew; per-

sonally acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, not, indeed, aiming at the elegance of the Greek language, yet so well acquainted with it as to command whenever he wishes, the neatest style; and, when uninfluenced by other motives, faithfully translating word for word. But, having in his mind the philosophy and history of Egypt, and being anxious to render his author agreeable, not only to the Jews, but to foreigners, he sometimes puts forced meanings upon words; and, with still greater audacity, absolutely corrupts the reading. For, lest the Egyptian philosophers should draw from the sacred writings something in support of their errors,* he sometimes substitutes his own sentiments for those of Moses; sometimes changes the text, and makes it conform to Egyptian history; and finally, he alters whatever might seem likely to offend foreigners by its improbability. There is a marked example of this kind of alteration in the journal of the deluge. Now he, who has once or twice corrected, instead of translating, the original text, may well be suspected, in other instances also, where he differs from the Hebrew and Samaritan reading, of having acted the part of a corrector rather than that of a translator.

§ 7. *Comparison of Versions.*

Perhaps the question may seem to have been sufficiently settled by the preceding considerations, without regard to the evidence drawn from different versions, and from ancient commentators. We will, however, hear their testimony; and in judging of its value, we must recollect, that, as in court, those are not considered independent witnesses, of whom one received his account from the other, so the testimony of those, who read and interpreted a *version* alone, cannot have weight in support of the version, on a question respecting the ancient reading of the Hebrew text.

First, then, we will consider those whose testimony favors the Samaritan text. But, indeed, I know of no such, except the Samaritan interpreter himself. I suspect, however, that the Sam. Arabic version, which has been preserved in the Bodleian library, of which Durell published a description with a

* See my Dissertation "*De indicibus Gnosticæ philosophiæ tempore Septuaginta Interpretum.*" It is the thirteenth of Vol. II. of the *Syntagma*.

specimen, is on the same side. But my conjecture as to what the witness would say, if he were questioned, is of no value. He must speak for himself, and, indeed, I should like to be informed by Durell, or Kennicott, in respect to the chronology of this version.

For the reading of the Seventy, I can give nothing worthy to be called an authority. For, though the ancient Latin and Coptic versions, and not a few of the Greek Fathers agree with the Seventy, still, these are not independent supporters, but followers and copyists. The old Latin and Coptic versions were translated from the Greek; and the Fathers, who are quoted by the defenders of the Greek chronology, read the Greek and not the Hebrew. It is a fact, moreover, though it scarcely seems possible, that the readings of the Greek version have, not only no evidence in their favor, but even positive evidence against them. For the Ethiopian translator, though he, in general, rigidly follows the Greek, does not in all these cases exhibit the same numbers; but respecting half of the ages in this genealogy, agrees with the Hebrew readings. But of this—no authority for the Greek readings having as yet been named—and also respecting Josephus, whom Jackson very triumphantly adduces as a witness for the Seventy, I shall speak hereafter.

We come now to the evidence of the correctness of the Hebrew text, as it has been delivered to us by the Masorites, and published in the *Hebrew character*. But, to avoid even the appearance of anxiety to maintain the opinion I have espoused, I leave out of the question four versions which agree with the Hebrew; these are the Chaldee of Jerusalem, and that of Pseudo-Jonathan, and the two Arabic versions,—the one, published in the Polyglott, the other, by Erpenius. I admit that these are more recent, and were made when the Masorites had, perhaps, already determined the reading of the Hebrew text; so that they might be expected to agree with the Masoretic edition. The following authorities, however, are, in my opinion, sufficient both in number and weight. In the first rank I put Onkelos; then the Syriac; and then Jerome, who, in the fourth or fifth century, found in the Hebrew books the same readings that we now have, and from them corrected the Vulgate.* Respecting Aquila, Symmachus and Theodo-

* Sciendum, quod usque ad diluvium, ubi in nostris codicibus

tion, Jerome has given us no direct information; but, from his silence in regard to them, we may infer that they agreed with the Hebrew text. Indeed, as to Symmachus, the fact is certain, as appears from a passage of Eusebius Emisenus, which Montfaucon has extracted, on the Hexapla, Genesis 5: 5.

If these authorities—the Chaldee, the Syriac, Symmachus and Jerome—are not enough to establish the Hebrew reading, I will add one more; which, incredible as it may seem, has never before been mentioned by any writer on this subject. In fact, this alone is enough to settle the whole controversy, at least between the Samaritan and Hebrew; so that I have some doubt whether the testimony of this witness will not cause half of my dissertation to seem superfluous. If we believe Jerome, the Samaritan codices, as late as the fourth century, had the same numbers as the present Hebrew text; in other words, the Samaritan codices of the fourth century support the Hebrew text against the *present* form of the Samaritan. Take and examine for yourselves the words of Jerome, showing the incorrectness of the Greek reading, in his Questions on Genesis, 5: 25.*

Of eight numbers, then, in which the Samaritan version, at the present day, differs from the Hebrew, this single extract has four, and those too, of the first importance; and it shows that, in the fourth century, the Samaritan had the same reading which we now have in the common Masoretic Hebrew Bible. The fifth number, that is, the whole age of Lamech, could not be the same in those Samaritan codices of Jerome, that it is in the later Samaritan; nor was it necessary to assign to Jared

ducentorum et quod excurrit annorum genuisse quis dicitur, in Hebræo habeat centum annos, et reliquos qui sequuntur. Again, Quia in ducentis erraverat (the ancient Latin translator) consequenter hic posuit septingentos, cum in Hebræo hic habeatur, octingentos et supra centum.

Quæst. in Gen. 5: 3, 4.

* Siquidem et in Hebræis et Samaritanorum libris ita scriptum reperiet, vixit Mathusala centum octoginta septem annis, et genuit Lamech. Et vixit Mathusala post quam genuit Lamech, septingentos octoginta duos annos, et genuit filios et filias. Et fuerunt omnes dies Methusalæ anni nongenti sexaginta novem, et mortuus est. Et vixit Lamech centum octoginta duobus annis, et genuit Noë.

785 years—which is the sixth number different from the Hebrew—instead of 800, after the birth of his son, to prevent his living beyond the flood. It appears, therefore, perfectly evident that the later Samaritan copies, which differ from the Hebrew chronology in the fifth chapter, have been, by an unknown hand, corrupted in most of the numbers; and that they differ from the ancient Samaritan itself. Was this fact unknown to Houbigantius, the recent defender of the Samaritan chronology, or did he conceal it?

And on this point again, I should like to ask Kennicott and Durell, whether there may not be some Samaritan codices in the British collection, which have the same numbers as those found by Jerome in the fourth century? Likewise, what numbers has the Arabic version, written in the Samaritan character, which Durell found in the Bodleian library?

§ 8. *The testimony of Josephus.*

As the testimony of Josephus is of great importance in the question, he must be spoken of separately. That he read both the Greek and the Hebrew, and, as a compiling historian, compared them together, I could show, if this were the proper place, by numberless examples. Jackson cites him as authority for the Greek reading, never once supposing that his testimony would be against it. Nor can I deny that the Antiquities, B. I. ch. 3, coincides almost entirely with the Septuagint; except that there is a slight discrepancy in regard to the age of Methuselah and of Lamech, before the birth of sons. For he gives to Methuselah not 167 years, but, as the Hebrew codex, and, in fact, the former Greek codices, 187 years before he begat Lamech: to Lamech himself he gives, before the birth of Noah, 182 years, as it stands in the Hebrew. Now all these numbers of Josephus added give us, from the creation to the flood, 2256 years; while the numbers found in the Septuagint amount to 2242;—a slight disagreement, considering that it is in *numbers*, in which transcribers easily err.

But Ernesti, in his first “*Exercitatio Flaviana*,” has justly remarked, that this passage of Josephus has been almost entirely corrupted, to make it agree with the chronology of the Seventy, by transcribers who had been accustomed to read the Greek version. For though, as I just said, from the numbers

found here, the creation appears to have been 2256 years before the deluge, yet Josephus himself, in another place, where he has escaped the hands of false correctors, tells us that the building of Solomon's temple was commenced 3102 years after the creation, and 1440 after the flood; whence it follows, that the flood took place A. M. 1662. This differs from the Hebrew account but very little,—only the small space of six years; of which discrepancy I shall speak again, after quoting the words of Josephus: * “Solomon began to build the temple . . . 1440 years after the deluge. And from the creation of Adam, the first man, to the building of the temple by Solomon, had passed, in all, 3102 years.” So then the 1662d year of the world is assigned to the flood, which differs immensely from the Greek chronology, but very slightly from the Hebrew. Indeed, Josephus seems in this place to have followed the Greek only in giving to Lamech 188, instead of 182 years, before the birth of his son. But to whatever conclusion we may come, respecting these six years, this is certain; if Josephus wrote this which we find in the history of Solomon, and upon which no suspicion of alteration has fallen, then what is found in the first book of the “Antiquities,” in the third chapter, in regard to the chronology before the deluge, cannot be the work of Josephus, nor can he have agreed with the Seventy in the number of centuries.

§ 9. *The Ethiopic version.*

I have already mentioned the Ethiopic version, which has, indeed, no weight as to the Hebrew reading, because it was made from the Greek. It has, moreover, numbers so contradictory and absurd, that no one can believe it, who can add 9 and 1. And yet, this very version deserves to be heard, because it convicts the Greek version of manifest corruption, and shows that other numbers, agreeing with the Hebrew, were formerly found also in the Greek. We will hear a foolish witness, who relates what he has been told so faithfully, as not even to vary from his authority to save his credit.

* Τῆς δὲ οἰκοδομίας τῶν ναοῦ Σολομὼν ἤρξατο . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας μετὰ χίλια καὶ τετρακόσια καὶ τισσαράκοντα ἔτη. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πρώτων γεννηθέντος Ἀδάμου ἕως οὗ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδόμησεν ὁ Σολομὼν διατηλῦθαι τὰ πάντα ἔτη τρισχίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.

Job Ludolph tells Leibnitz,* that the Ethiopic version, though in other respects it follows the Greek *κατὰ νόδα*, has a different chronology, of uncertain origin; but he does not explain what that chronology is. The Ethiopic language is known to but few, and those who are acquainted with it are destitute of books; for the Ethiopic Pentateuch has never been printed; whence it happens, that those who have very lately discussed the chronology and reading of the chapter before us—Jackson and Houbigantius—have neither examined, nor even named the Ethiopic version. But I have in my possession an Ethiopic Pentateuch in manuscript; and can therefore bring forward this witness never yet examined;—a witness, indeed, of not very great weight, but honest, and never wilfully swerving from the truth. But, as I use a manuscript copy, it is reasonable to show it to you, and to mention by what means it came into my hands, so that you may judge of its value. I received it as a legacy from my father, who obtained it from the library of John Henry Michaelis. It bears this title: “*Pentateuchus Æthiopice, a Christiano Ludolpho, illustris Ludolphi filio, ab exemplari Dn. Ludovici Piques, doctoris et socii Sorbonnae, quod illi Joannes Michael Wansleben, Romæ a se descriptum, vendiderat, Parisiis, anno 1684, descriptus.*”

You may therefore call it the Wanslebenian, or Ludolphian copy, as you please. If any error has been committed by the copyists, I am not answerable for it; every one must see that the numbers 90 and 60 have fallen from the whole ages of Mahalaleel and Jared; a thing, which might very easily happen in the Ethiopic, because they write numbers, not in words, but with numeral characters borrowed from the Greek, but with distorted forms.

But the most important point, and that to which I wish to direct your attention, is, that in the age of each patriarch, in which the Greek differs from the Hebrew by a whole century, viz. Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel and Enoch, the Ethiopian, like the Greek, adds the hundred years before the birth of a son, but does not subtract them from the remainder of the life; in this respect, differing from the Greek as it now stands, and agreeing with the Hebrew. And though these six patriarchs are thus made to have lived each a hundred years more than they did, according to the Hebrew, Samaritan and

* Leibnitz' Epistolary Correspondence, p. 161.

Greek readings, yet the Ethiopian translator, a man of by no means bad intentions, was either so unobserving, or so faithful to his original, that he assigned to them the same ages which the other versions give them, copying what was before him, without any regard to the contradiction in which he involved himself. Here is a table extracted from the Wanslebian codex.

Adam lived, before he begat a son,	230,	after,	800:	Whole age,	930
Seth	"	"	206*	"	912
Enos	"	"	190	"	905
Cainan	"	"	170	"	910
Mahalaleel	"	"	165	"	805†
Jared	"	"	162	"	902‡
Enoch	"	"	165	"	365
Methuselah	"	"	187§	"	969
Lamech	"	"	182	"	777

The conclusion to be drawn from this is easily seen ; in that Greek codex from which the Ethiopic version was made, the years of the patriarchs after they had issue, and the years of their whole life were still the same that are found in the Hebrew. Thus, the very blots, as it were, of the corrupted chronology are almost presented to our eyes, and we can readily imagine how the change was brought about. For if, in the years after the birth of a son, and in the years of the whole life, the Greek copies had formerly the same numbers as the Hebrew, no one, who can count, or who can subtract 800, 807, 815 and 840 from 930, 912, 905 and 910, will doubt that the numbers of years before the birth of issue were also originally

* Here I think some one of the copyists must have erred ; or, possibly the Roman copy is in fault, having substituted 206 for 205. The Ethiopic figures answering to 5 and 6 differ but little in form.

† For 895. The middle figure, 9, has accidentally fallen out.

‡ For 962 ; the 6 having fallen out.

§ Here also, in the age at the birth of a son, the Ethiopic agrees with the Hebrew. And indeed some Greek copies, as the Alexandrine, have the same number.

|| In respect to Lamech, the Ethiopic agrees with the Hebrew throughout, and shows that, instead of the numbers 188, 565 and 753, some of the Greek copies formerly exhibited the same numbers as are now found in the Hebrew, viz. 182, 595 and 777.

the same in the Greek and the Hebrew ; and that they were afterwards changed. When and by whom this was done, is unknown, but it was certainly the work of some rash systematizer.

If now the former Greek reading, and the Samaritan in the time of Jerome were different from what they are at present, and if they both agreed with the Hebrew, from which they now differ, what kind of critic, I ask, is he who would, in these very points, change the Hebrew text to suit the Samaritan or the Greek, as either may chance to please him ? Nor are these remarks made by one who is charmed by the name of the Hebrew text, and who admires it only as exhibited by the Masorites. For I have often charged that text with faults, and have, not unfrequently, corrected it by reference to the Septuagint and the Samaritan. But in this passage I think it more correct than the others.

§ 10. *Systematic discrepancies of the tens and units.*

Nor are the differences in the centuries alone to be referred to the systematic corruption, which I have mentioned, of the Greek and Samaritan ; but some, and, I begin to think, many tens and units, which differ from the Hebrew, are liable to the same suspicion. Nor was I myself aware, when I began to write, that so many numbers, which seem to vary from the Hebrew readings by chance, have been changed by some copyist or translator to make them conform to the Greek or Samaritan system. I will now mention those that seem to me to belong to this class.

1. To this class I refer the fact, that the Samaritan subtracts 15 from the 800 years which Jared lived after the birth of his son, leaving him only 785. For, if he had lived 800 years after the birth of his son, he must have survived the deluge ; which, according to the Samaritan chronology, occurred on the seven hundred and eighty-fifth year from the birth of Jared's son.* But as this seemed inadmissible, and irreconcilable with Moses' account, the Samaritan placed Jared's death in the very year of the flood, leaving us in doubt whether he died by disease, by old age, or, as is perhaps more probable, by the deluge itself.

* Add the age of Enoch at the birth of his son, 65 ; that of Methuselah, 67 ; of Lamech, 53 ; of Noah, 500, and 100 between that and the flood, and you have 785.

Moreover, necessarily from this account, his whole age must be, not 962 years. as the Greek and the Hebrew make it, but 847; which corresponds also to another theory—that he must die at an earlier age than his father, showing decreased longevity.

2. The disagreement of the Hebrew and Greek in the age of Methuselah is not the result of chance, but of design. But which of them is in fault might seem, at first sight, a difficult question. They agree in the whole age, 969, but differ in respect to the manner of dividing it,—the Greek subtracting 20 years from the age of Methuselah at the birth of Lamech, and adding as many to the remainder of his life; in other words, placing the birth of Lamech 20 years earlier, than it is placed by the Hebrew. And here indeed, strange as it may seem, the Ethiopic version, made from the Greek, agrees with the Hebrew reading; and the Samaritan, which usually differs from the Greek, in this case agrees with it in the number 67; the customary subtraction of a century making Methuselah 67 years old at the birth of his son.

This discrepancy cannot be considered as fortuitous, nor can it be referred to the mistakes of copyists; because, in the first place, the twenty years subtracted from the former part of the life, are added to the latter part, or, if you choose, the twenty added to the former part, are taken from the latter part, so as to give the same number of years in the whole life; which could not be supposed to happen by accident. And, secondly, another objection to supposing this discrepancy accidental is found in the fact, that the numbers sixty and eighty have no resemblance to each other, either when expressed in words,* or in letters;† and, of course, give no occasion of error in transcribing. At least, I do not recollect, in the whole Hebrew Bible, in which I have collected from the versions, and from Josephus, many instances of variety of reading, ever to have found anywhere else, sixty substituted for eighty, or eighty for sixty. But, in order to form any opinion, or even conjecture as to the intention of the corruptor of the true text, we must examine the consequence of each reading.

If Methuselah lived 167 years before, and 802 after the birth of Lamech, he must have lived 14 or 20 years after the flood;

* שמונים and ששים.

† ט and ס.

14,* if we follow the Greek in the other numbers,—20,† if we follow the Hebrew. But this contradicts the account of Moses, who says that the whole world was overwhelmed with water, and that, except Noah and his sons with their wives, the whole human race perished. Nor, indeed, can it appear probable that Methuselah was preserved in Noah's ark. For it is incredible—if, besides his wife, and his sons and their wives, Noah had also received his aged grandfather into the ark—that Moses, speaking repeatedly of the same event, and mentioning frequently his sons, his wife and his sons' wives, should fail to mention the grandfather, in whose preservation there would be still more to interest the feelings of the reader;—whether he be considered as an old man, whom, though his life was almost spent, God would not suffer to perish in the waters, or, whether we regard the filial affection of the grandson, preserving his feeble grandfather from the destruction which overwhelmed the human race.

If, on the other hand, the Hebrew be correct, and Methuselah lived 187 years before, and 782 after the birth of Lamech, his death must have occurred on the very year of the flood. And it will seem probable, although different from the common belief, that this old man, to whom of all men God had granted the longest life, despising the warnings of Noah, and refusing to use the ship which he had built, unworthy to be preserved by his grandson's piety, perished in the waters. The common opinion, that he died in a good old age, a short time before the flood, rests solely on the ridiculous notion, that all the patriarchs were holy men,—as if holiness were hereditary.

From these considerations, there may seem to be some reason to suspect the Hebrew transcribers of having altered the ancient reading. For it may be said, that some one introduced the numbers 187 and 782, who wished to avoid the difficulty involved in the numbers 167 and 802,—that Methuselah would survive the deluge. On the other hand, we can see no motive which could induce either the Seventy, or their transcribers to change the reading; since, by saying that Methuselah lived 802 years after the birth of Lamech, they must involve themselves in the greatest difficulties.

* Add together the 188 years of Lamech, and 600 of Noah, you have 788. This subtracted from 802 leaves 14.

† 182 years of Lamech's life, and 600 of Noah's give 782. This subtracted from 802 leaves 20.

And yet there are other circumstances which favor the Hebrew reading, and show that the Greek, whether designedly or not, is manifestly erroneous. In the first place, as I have already remarked, the Greek is here deserted by its Ethiopian translator, who—in a Greek copy obtained from, I know not what source, perhaps from the Thebais, or possibly from Merøe itself*—found and translated into Ethiopic the same reading which we now have in the Hebrew, assigning to Methuselah 187 years before and 782 after the birth of Lamech. Before that time then, the Greek exhibited the same reading as the Hebrew. And the Greek copies of the present day are contradicted by the ancient Greek copies of the interior of Africa.

Again, the Samaritan version, which now agrees with the Greek in the number 67, is unquestionably corrupt; for in the time of Jerome, it computed the years of Methuselah precisely like the Hebrew text. I have already quoted the passage, but it will not be unreasonable to repeat the sentence which bears upon the point before us. Speaking of the old Latin version

* Merøe had the Greek Old Testament in the time of our Saviour. For it is said, Acts 8: 27—31, that as Philip travelled, the eunuch of the Ethiopian queen Candace—a standing name of the Merøensian queens—was reading Isaiah, as I suppose, in Greek. But this is not the place to discuss my reasons for distinguishing Merøe from that Ethiopia, which gives name to the Ethiopic version—that is, Abyssinia—and for thinking that it was situated between Abyssinia and Egypt, in modern Nubia. I shall examine that question in a foreign geography of the Old Test., which I am preparing. If the Ethiopian had obtained the Greek Old Test. from lower Egypt, and so from Alexandria itself, it would not, in so many cases, agree with the Hebrew. For, when the Ethiopic version of the Bible was made, and long before, the Greek copies generally exhibited the same numbers as at present. But if, long before the Christian era, the Septuagint was carried by the devout from Egypt to Merøe, the Merøensian copies might have escaped some of the alterations made in Egypt, and might have preserved in part the ancient readings. If this conjecture be correct, the Ethiopic version, though hitherto neglected, will appear to have considerable weight in deciding the merits of the Septuagint. A question which I intend to examine more fully hereafter.

made from the Greek, he takes exception to the account of the life of Methuselah, and says: "It appears then, that in this, as well as in many other places, there is an error in the number; since, in both the Hebrew and the Samaritan, I find it thus written: 'And Methuselah lived 187 years, and begat Lamech.'" In the only part, then, of the numbers in which the Samaritan copies of the present day agree with the Greek, they are corrupted, and differ from the Samaritan copies in use before the thirteenth century.

Finally, the Greek reading is evidently condemned by the rest of Moses' text, and is inconsistent with itself. For writing thus, the historian would have contradicted himself, asserting that the whole human race, except Noah and his wife, his three sons and their wives, were destroyed by a deluge 788, or 782 years after the birth of Lamech, and still, regardless of this assertion, affirming that Methuselah lived 802 years after the birth of Lamech. What answer would be made to this, either by the Seventy, or by those who first changed the numbers in the Greek, I cannot, with certainty, determine; but I suspect they thought that the whole human race was not destroyed by the flood, but that Methuselah and perhaps others escaped the flood upon some mountains, I know not what or where. Josephus also did not suppose that the rest of the human race were entirely destroyed by the deluge. For he speaks of others, besides the family of Noah, being saved from the flood, and, for a long time, not venturing* to descend from the mountains through fear of another flood. He moreover says that the water rose fifteen cubits above the level of the *plains*,† instead

* "The three sons of Noah first came down from the mountains, and dwelt in the plains, and persuaded the *others*, who feared exceedingly to come to the plains on account of the flood, to follow their example." Antiq. B. I. ch. IV. § 1.

† Ὡς ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ δέκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερῶζειν. Antiq. B. I., ch. III. § 5. From anxiety to make his story more probable and less offensive to the ears of foreigners, than the account given by Moses would be likely to be, he has exhibited neither the fidelity of a historian, nor even a moderate degree of skill in mathematics;—in a word, he has written nonsense. For in a flood lasting almost a year, what is it to float over the earth at the height of fifteen cubits? And over what part of the earth? For one country or one territory may be higher or lower than another; and even the most level plains gradually decline

of the *mountains*, as Moses states. But these assertions are altogether destitute of proof. They not only contradict every other part of the account given by Moses, Gen. 7: 19, 20, but they are at variance with the accounts given by Josephus himself, by the Seventy and the other historians cited by Josephus. These all affirm that the ark rested on the mountains of Armenia, and that the tops of the mountains, after many days, emerged from the waters. If now the ocean actually rose to such a height as to cover the mountains of Armenia, there can have been no country, even on the opposite side of the earth, where the water would not be, by the equilibrium of fluids, of equal height.

The Seventy, then, are evidently in error, having numbers which cannot be reconciled even with their own version of the sacred history. And still I do not deny, that I am, as yet, foiled by my own argument; namely, that a reading is to be suspected of corruption, if we can discover any motive for corrupting it; and that no reason appears, why the Greek translators should insert 802 instead of 782, while by that very change they involve themselves, as we have seen, in inexplicable difficulty. In other words, it may be said that this reading indeed gives an impossible sense, but that its very absurdity shows its correctness, and proves that it has faithfully, though stupidly, followed its original.

What now if we find reason to suspect that the Greek translator, or corrector, disbelieved the total destruction of the rest of the human family, and the descent of all the nations now on earth, from Noah alone? Josephus certainly supposed many, besides Noah's family, to have escaped. Was there no dogma of Egyptian philosophy which the corrector wished to spare, but which was overthrown by the Mosaic account of the

towards the sea, and are elevated towards the sources of rivers, and the mountainous parts. Josephus would have given a truer and better account, if he had not endeavored to make the history of the Jews acceptable to foreigners. Yet surely a philosopher, like Aristotle, would not have been displeased by an account of the destruction, with the exception of a single family, of the whole human race. For Aristotle, without history or authority of any kind, was led by reason alone to suspect that there had been many conflagrations and inundations, from which but few escaped.

universal destruction of man by a deluge? Did he not fear that the whole account would be rejected by foreigners, if it opposed that dogma or tradition of the Egyptians? And did he not, to save the reputation of his prophet, change the numbers so as to accommodate the history to the notions of the Egyptians? I will not, indeed, assert any thing of this kind respecting the design of the corrector; but I may be permitted to offer such a conjecture, since the numbers in the Greek cannot have been written by Moses, unless he contradicted himself. In regard to Methuselah, then, the Greek corrector has either taken the position that others, besides Noah and his family, escaped from the flood; or he has forced upon Moses some Egyptian or Oriental tradition respecting Methuselah himself.

3. According to the Samaritan, Methuselah lived only 653 years after the birth of Lamech, and, of course, died at the age of 720. In this instance, also, the reading has been changed to suit a theory. For, in the six hundred and fifty-third* year from the birth of Lamech, the Samaritan translator placed the beginning of the flood, which he did not wish Methuselah to survive.

4. Again: according to the Samaritan version, Lamech lived 600 years after the birth of Noah, that is, 5 more than are assigned him by the Hebrew. This I consider as another of the same class of corrections. For, according to the Samaritan, the death of Jared and Methuselah, and, by this correction, of Lamech falls into the same year as the flood; so that we may naturally suppose them to have been destroyed by the deluge. Now, if I mistake not, the corrupter of the Samaritan, which, down to the time of Jerome, agreed on this point with the Hebrew, wished to make it appear, that impiety had increased so rapidly after the fifth generation, that of the four progenitors of Noah—his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather—Enoch alone, on account of the purity of his life, was snatched away by preternatural death, or, if you please, by translation; while the others lived till they saw the destruction of their descendants and of the whole race, and then perished with them, either because they were so blind and obstinate as to despise the divine threatenings, and refuse to provide for their safety with Noah, or

* From the birth of Lamech to the birth of Noah, were 53 years; from the birth of Noah to the flood, were 600 years. The sum is 653, as above.

because they were *unworthy* to be received into the ark, and preserved by their son. A fearful idea, and, from its very fearfulness, beautiful, and one upon which the painter, the poet and the orator may work, and excite the feelings. But the interest produced by such an hypothesis is no proof of its correctness, and, of course, no reason for a change of the reading.

5. According to the Samaritan, Lamech was 53 years old, at the birth of Noah. This account differs so widely from the Hebrew and Greek, that the discrepancy cannot be supposed to have resulted from the mistake of a transcriber. For who, through mere inadvertence or haste, could write 53 instead of 188 or 182? Nor are the words or the figures, which express these numbers, more similar in Hebrew, than in our own language. But here, also, we shall see reason to suspect intentional change, and an accommodation, in some respects, of the Samaritan to the Greek. Lamech lived, according to the Greek version, 753 years; according to the Samaritan, 653. Now, in this agreement of tens and units, may we not suspect that the Samaritan corrupter* of the numbers has been guilty of the same thing here as before, in the case of Jared and Methuselah;—namely, taking away a whole century from the life of Lamech, and leaving the other figures unchanged? He also wished Lamech to be drowned in the deluge, and, for that reason, gave him 600 years after the birth of Noah. These two corrections, of course, fixed the birth of Noah in the fifty-third year of his father's life.

All these discrepancies in the units and tens, so systematic, and so skilfully adjusted as hitherto to have concealed the artifice, must have resulted, not from chance, but from design,—not from the mistakes of transcribers, but from the theories of correctors.

§. 11. *Sporadic varieties of reading.*

There still remain a few instances of discrepancy of the class which I have called *sporadic*; in which there has been no intentional change, but the varieties of reading have been introduced accidentally, by mistakes in copying. In these

* I call him a *corrupter*, without qualification; because, from the passage of Jerome above cited, it appears that these numbers were formerly the same in the Samaritan as are now found in the Hebrew.

cases, each reading has equal weight; and the true one must be determined from the concurrence of other authorities.

1. I refer to this class the discrepancy in the age of Jared. According to the Masoretic Hebrew copies, he begat Enoch at the age of 162; according to the Samaritan, at the age of 62. The addition or omission of the words *וַיֵּשֶׁב שְׁנָיִם* (and a hundred years) might seem, at first sight, to be referable to the Greek or Samaritan theory, of which I have spoken above. But, in this instance, I think it may more reasonably be attributed to the mistakes of transcribers; because the Hebrew copies themselves are not agreed. For, as Jackson rightly observes,* on the authority of Abraham Echellensis, the Oriental Jews agree, in this case, with the Samaritan; and I myself have an instance to mention to you of the omission of these words in a Hebrew copy,—the Cassellan codex. In this, I have seen the words *וַיֵּשֶׁב שְׁנָיִם* (Gen. 5: 18,) omitted, and *written* in the margin. By this reckoning, the deluge must have occurred A. M. 1556.

In this case we cannot determine with so much certainty as in the preceding cases. The Masoretic reading, of 162 years, is, however, more probably correct. For, in the first place, Josephus agrees with it. In the passage before mentioned, where he has not been corrupted, he says that the building of the temple was commenced 3102 years after the creation, and 1440 after the deluge.† Thus he counts 16 whole centuries before the flood, while, as we have seen, there would be but 15, if this hundred years were left out. Again, to say nothing of the later Chaldee and Arabic versions, which exhibit the same reading, Onkelos, the Syriac and Jerome confirm the Masoretic reading. Thirdly, the Cassellan codex is here, in a manner, self-condemned; for, though it had given to Jared 62 years before, and 800 after the birth of Enoch, it still makes the sum of his age 962.

2. According to the Hebrew, Lamech was 182 years old at the birth of Noah; but according to the Greek, he was 188. In this one place—where it is deserted by its almost constant supporter, Jackson, who thought he was following the authority of Josephus—the Greek is perhaps more worthy of credit than

* Chronological Antiquities, T. I. pp. 51, 52.

† See § 8 of this article, and Josephus Antiq. B. VIII. ch. III. § 1.

anywhere else. In regard to Jackson's authority, it cannot be denied that Josephus, *Antiq. B. I. ch. III. § 4*, places the birth of Noah in Lamech's 182d year. But that whole passage has been so vitiated by transcribers, that it cannot be safely relied on, even when, as in this case, it agrees with the Hebrew. But in *B. VIII. ch. III.*, which transcribers seem to have left unaltered, in dating the building of the temple 3102 years from the creation, and 1440 from the flood, he evidently supposes from the creation to the deluge, an interval of 1662 years, six more than the Masoretic copies give. Now, of these six years no account can be given, unless we suppose that in his Hebrew copy, instead of 182, he found 188 years. Perhaps he found both numbers in the Hebrew copies, and forgetfully wrote 182 in one place, and 188 in another. But, however this question may be settled, his evidence is of great weight. For, where he unquestionably follows the Hebrew chronology, he still gives 188 years to Lamech before the birth of Noah, thus proving, beyond a doubt, that this was the reading in some of the Hebrew copies of his time.

But, again leaving out of the question the later Chaldee and Arabic, the Masoretic text and the number 182 are supported by Onkelos, the Syriac, Jerome, and, what is of still more consequence, the Samaritan in the time of Jerome. And though Jackson has silently neglected the striking testimony of Jerome in other places, on questions of greater importance, he must have the credit of having introduced it here. I have also still another witness in favor of the Masoretic reading; namely, the Ethiopian translator, who, as we have seen above, found the number 182 in the Septuagint itself.

In this case, though the authorities for the Hebrew are more numerous, and worthy of no small credit, yet, as Josephus favors the other reading, I shall give no positive decision, but, for once, avail myself of a privilege, by no means unworthy of a critic,—the privilege of doubting.

3. Lamech is said, by the Hebrew, to have lived, after the birth of Noah, 595 years, by the Greek, 565; consequently, his whole age is, according to the former, 777, according to the latter, 753.

But in this instance, as no ancient version coincides with the Greek, except those whose evidence is excluded; as Josephus himself — even in that chapter of which the principal part has been remodelled by transcribers to make it conform to the

Septuagint—differing from the Greek, makes the whole age of Lamech, 777 ; and, finally, as the Ethiopian translated from the Greek itself the numbers 182, 595 and 777, there can be no doubt that the Hebrew reading is the correct one.

ARTICLE VI.

THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NEW ENGLAND, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT IMPROVEMENTS ADOPTED IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. Emerson Davis, Westfield, Mass.

“THE first colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut, from which the other New England states derived their origin, were some of those men of learning, who were led to expatriate themselves by the joint impulse of promoting education, and of enjoying their religious opinions undisturbed.” There were among them many learned and pious men ; they were choice spirits, sifted from the best men of England at the close of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth. Many of them were trained in the cloisters of Oxford and Cambridge, and they united the learning of the best scholars of the age, with the piety and zeal of martyrs. It is said that the first founders of the Royal Society cherished for a time the purpose of coming to America, and of devoting themselves exclusively to the pursuit of science. Two of their number finally removed to the wilderness, and carried on a correspondence with the society at home.

Such men, coming to this country for such purposes, felt the necessity of making provisions for the education of all the children. The Puritans looked more mildly on death than on ignorance ; and this feeling passed down from sire to son, and has not yet ceased to animate many of their descendants. It is believed that the first provision, that was ever made by law for general education, was made in the Old Bay State. In 1636, only 16 years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, a law was passed relative to the founding of Harvard College. “In 1642 a law was enacted requiring the selectmen of every

town, not to suffer so much barbarism in any family as that the parents and masters should not endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and servants to read the English tongue, and to know the capital laws. The penalty for every such neglect was twenty shillings." The same law was enacted by the legislature of Connecticut in 1650. In 1652 the General Court of Massachusetts made it the duty of every town, containing fifty families or householders, to be constantly provided with a schoolmaster, who should teach the children and youth to read and write; and every town having 100 families was requested to set up a grammar school, and procure "some discreet person, of good conversation, and well instructed in the tongues, to keep it."

Previous to 1768, schools were sustained in Massachusetts by towns acting in their municipal capacity. Between 1768 and 1789, parishes were allowed to maintain schools by a tax upon the parishioners. The present district system had no legal existence until 1789. Up to this time there were many towns and parishes that had only one public school; many children were obliged to go three miles. The legislature deemed it "expedient to divide the territory of the towns into separate districts." The division is made by a vote of the towns; and each district forms a body corporate, having power to assess money for building a school-house, for the purchase of a library and apparatus, and for the transaction of all business pertaining to the maintenance of the school, except the raising of money for the payment of teachers. The same system substantially exists in all the New England states.

There is a constant tendency to multiply districts. Families, residing two miles or a mile and a half from the school-house, are anxious to bring it nearer. If a district which has 100 dollars annually to expend for the support of a school is divided, each has 50 dollars. In order to save travel, the school is diminished in length one-half. There are in Massachusetts twice as many district schools as there ought to be. Small districts build small and inconvenient houses, employ cheap teachers, and are very reluctant to make any appropriations for the purchase of apparatus, libraries, or the necessary furniture of a school-room.

The schools in Massachusetts are supported by money derived, 1, from direct taxation;—2, from the income of school funds. Each town is required to raise \$1 1-4 for each individual residing in the town between 4 and 16 years of age. If any town

raises a less sum, it forfeits its portion of the school fund for the year ensuing. This fund was created in 1835, from the unappropriated money received for the sale of lands in Maine, and from money due from the United States for military services; and is increased from time to time by adding to it half the proceeds, that may arise from the future sales of Maine lands, until the fund shall amount to one million dollars, which sum it may never exceed. At the beginning of 1840, the fund amounted to \$437,592. The number of children in the state between 4 and 16 years of age is 179,268. The amount raised by tax for the support of schools, in 1839, was \$477,221, or \$2 2-3 to each child.

The number of children in Connecticut between 4 and 16 years of age, in 1839, was 82,676. The expense of the schools in that state is defrayed in three ways. 1. From the interest of the school fund, which was created in 1795 by the sale of lands in Ohio, called the Connecticut Reserve. In 1839 this fund amounted to \$2,028,531. The interest of the fund amounts to \$104,900, and is distributed among the districts in proportion to the number of scholars. 2. By half the income of what is called the Town Deposit funds, the principal of which is \$764,670. A portion of the other half may be appropriated to the same object. There are, in some towns, local funds, which produce in all about \$7000 annually. 3. If the income of the state and local funds are insufficient to defray the expense of the schools, the *deficit* is made up by a tax. In 1839, \$18,000 were raised in this way.

"It has not been the policy of Connecticut, to attach any other condition to the reception of a portion of the fund, except that it shall be expended for the wages and board of instructors, duly appointed and approved, and upon schools kept in all respects according to law." The Board of Commissioners have advised that some condition be annexed to the receiving of funds; either that the school shall be kept a certain number of months, or that a certain amount shall be raised by the people, or that the distribution shall be made in proportion to the actual *attendance*, rather than in proportion to the number of a suitable age to attend. The Commissioners say: "The fund does not secure its object, as it is now appropriated."

The people of Connecticut, at an early period of their history, "embraced the idea of placing the education of their children beyond the reach of all contingencies, by investing the

means of its support in permanent funds, inalienably consecrated to this object. As early as 1743, seven new townships of land—the property of the state—were sold, and the proceeds devoted forever to the support of common schools; and to this fund were added, in 1765, certain sums due on excise on goods.”*

In Maine, every town is required to expend, for the maintenance of its schools, a sum of money not less than 40 cents for each inhabitant the town contains. If there be 2000 inhabitants of all ages, they must raise and expend \$800 for public schools, or they are liable to a fine, not less than twice, nor more than four times the amount of such failure or deficiency. Each town is required to make an annual return to the Secretary of State of the number of persons in the town between 4 and 21, of the number that attend school, and of the amount of money raised by tax, or otherwise, and expended for the benefit of the schools. Those towns that make their returns are entitled to their proportion of the school fund, which is derived from an annual tax upon banks. In 1838, it amounted to \$49,415. Besides this, many towns have a school fund derived from the sale of school lands; a section in each township being reserved for the support of schools. Such a section was reserved in each town in most of the New England states. In many places it was sold and expended in building the first school-house. Those towns in Maine that began to be settled about 1835, or that sold their lands, when the rage for speculation was at its maximum, secured a valuable fund. I know one town, having a population of 200, that receives from its fund an annual income of \$136.

I am not aware that there has been any material alteration in the school laws of New Hampshire, within 5 or 6 years. Common schools are established throughout the state, and the towns are divided into districts, as in the other states. For a great number of years, \$90,000 have been raised by a separate tax for the support of schools. Besides this, the interest of a State Literary Fund, which amounts to \$64,000, \$9,000 derived from a tax on banks are appropriated to the support of common schools. The number of children in New Hampshire, between 4 and 16, is not certainly known, but it is probably about 75,000.

Among the earliest acts of Vermont, were those providing

* Lectures of Am. Institute, 1838, p. 98.

for common schools. "Liberal reservations were made for their encouragement in all grants of land under the state government. In addition to the income of their lands, the towns were required to raise money by tax for the use of schools. In 1836, the surplus revenue of the United States was appropriated by the towns to the support of common schools. All the children between the ages of 4 and 18 are required to attend school; but there is no system of accountability by which towns, that may neglect to make ample provision for the education of the children, can be compelled to do their duty."* In 1825, the legislature passed an act, imposing a tax upon the banks in the state, and appropriating the money thus received, together with the income from "pedlers' licenses," to the creation of a fund for the support of common schools. The interest in education in the state of Vermont is increasing at the present time.

In January 1828, the legislature of Rhode Island appropriated \$10,000 annually for the support of public schools, to be divided among the several towns in proportion to the population; provided each town should raise by annual tax double the amount of its proportion of the state appropriation. This law has produced an increase in the number of the districts. There are about 700 district schools in the state; and in some of the towns very commendable efforts are making for their improvement.

I have now given a summary of the manner in which provision is made in the New England states for the education of every child in the rudiments of learning. To these little seminaries all the children are expected to be sent, from the age of 4 years until they are 16 or 18. There are but few countries in the civilized world, where free schools are open for the admission of all the children within a convenient walking distance from their homes. We have no means of compelling children to attend the common school; generally, however, the disgrace of being unable to read and write constrains most parents to send their children to school.

It must be acknowledged that the district schools of the Eastern states have been deteriorating for the last half century; and yet the cause of education has been constantly advancing. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact, that, during this period, *private schools* have monopolized the attention and

* Con. Com. S. Journal II. 153.

patronage of wealthy and influential men. They have transferred their interest from the common to the private school. The Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners says: "I would not be understood to cast any censure upon those parents, who patronize private schools. They act from the highest sense of duty to *their* children; but I fear they are not aware how serious an injury they inflict on the public schools, by practically pronouncing them unworthy of their attention by withdrawing a class of children whose loss is severely felt, and by commanding, at an advanced price, the services of the best teachers. The tendency of this, especially in cities and large towns, is to degrade the common school, as the broad platform where the children of the rich and poor should start together in the career of knowledge and usefulness, into a sort of charity school for the poor."

Not less than 12,000 children in Connecticut, in 1839, were educated in private schools, at an expense to their parents and guardians of \$100,000. In Massachusetts, 28,635 children and youth were educated in the same kind of schools, at an expense of \$241,114. Any one may easily see, that, if all these children had remained in the district schools, if the zeal which has been lavished by parents upon private seminaries had been expended for the improvement of the common school, *all* the children would have enjoyed the advantages, and made the proficiency that has been made by a few. Much is said against aristocracy; but I know of nothing that tends more directly to form a higher and a lower class in society, than the building up of private schools, at the expense of common schools. In the abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for 1839-40, may be found the testimony of many school committees, touching the bad effects of private schools upon common education. "It seems to be quite a common opinion, that district schools are established for the benefit of the poorer portions of the community only; and that the wealthy ought not to burden the public with the education of their children. But a more narrow and anti-republican notion cannot be published." "The children of the affluent are educated at the private seminary, and the children of those whose means are limited are sent to glean what they can from the public schools. If this state of things does not kindle up, in the minds of the youth, in these opposite schools, a feeling of consequence and superiority on one hand

and of inferiority on the other, it is not because the best means have not been used to produce the effect.”*

Another circumstance, that has retarded the progress of common schools, has been the want of a common superintending power. There has been no connecting link, that united schools in different and distant sections of the state together. They have been strangers and aliens to each other. “If any improvement in the principles or modes of teaching was discovered by talent or accident in one school, instead of being published to the world, it died with the discoverer. No means existed for multiplying new truths or for preserving old ones.” “If a manufacturer discovers a new combination of wheels, or a new mode of applying water, or steam power, by which stock can be economized, or the value of fabrics enhanced 10 per cent., the information flies over the country at once; the old machinery is discarded, the new substituted.” “Do we not need some new and living institution, some animate organization, which shall at least embody and diffuse all that is known on this subject, and thereby save, every year, hundreds of children from being sacrificed to experiments that have been a hundred times exploded?”†

About 20 years ago the attention of a few individuals was turned to the condition of our common schools. In 1824, J. G. Carter, Esq., of Massachusetts, published a series of letters to the Hon. Mr. Prescott, in a pamphlet of 124 pages, upon the Free Schools of New England. Respecting the repeal of the law, which required all towns, having 200 families, to support a Grammar School in which instruction should be given in higher branches, than in the district school, Mr. C. says: “The object and tendency of these higher schools were to raise the standard of instruction, and elicit talents and genius wherever they might be found.” But this feature of our school system—the support of one school of a higher order—has always been viewed with prejudice, and has been thought to be an institution to accommodate a few at the expense of the many. The poorer classes, for the better education of whose children they seemed almost indispensable, have always been most opposed to these schools. The law has at length been struck from the statute book; and no town is now bound by law to support any school of a higher order, than the district school. Certain towns,

* Abstract 1839–40, p. 385. † Mann’s Lecture, p. 16.

however, are required, on condition they have no grammar school, to raise 25 per cent. more than they have done for the support of schools in the districts.

It is strange that the poorer class of people, who depend almost entirely upon the free schools for the education of their children, should be so generally opposed to raising money for their support; and also to the appropriation of small sums, from time to time, for improving their condition. This hostility on the part of the poor has probably had much influence upon wealthy and enterprising men, and determined them to remove their children to private schools, which they could make what they pleased to have them. If such has been the effect upon wealthy men, they deserve censure; for more is lost to society by the continued ignorance of the many, than has been gained by the improved education of a few.

Soon after the publication of Carter's Letters, a series upon the Importance of Teachers' Seminaries was written by Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, of Hartford. In 1826, Gov. Lincoln, in his annual message to the legislature of Massachusetts, said: "Various propositions for the advancement of education, by the establishment and endowment of institutions for qualifying teachers of youth—have recently been brought before the public, and will solicit the fostering care of the legislature." During that session, the subject of the proposed seminary was discussed, but public sentiment was not prepared for action, and the plan was abandoned. The school laws were revised during that session, and no further action was had upon the subject until 1837, except the passage of the law of 1835, by which the school fund was created.

In January, 1826, a Monthly Journal was commenced at Boston, devoted exclusively to the interests of education. It has been continued to the present time; though its circulation has been limited. It is now called the *Annals of Education*. The influence of this periodical has been considerable. It has done much towards arousing attention to this subject.

In 1830, Rev. Asa Rand published, in Boston, a weekly paper, called the *Education Reporter*, which was merged in the "*Annals*" in less than two years, for want of support. Not far from this time, Mr. Josiah Holbrook interested himself in the cause of popular education; he has since spent most of his time in giving lectures, and in organizing lyceums in different parts of the United States. He also prepared many cheap ar-

ticles of apparatus, and succeeded in securing their introduction into many schools.

In August, 1829, the American Institute held its first annual meeting. Its annual sessions continue four or five days; during which eight or ten lectures are given, upon subjects pertaining to the cause of education, by gentlemen from various parts of the country. There are often present at these meetings several hundred school teachers. County conventions began to be held in Massachusetts, about the time the Institute was formed, for the purpose of an interchange of opinions upon the great subject that was beginning to agitate the public mind. These movements were not confined to the Bay state, but extended over all New England.

It was foreseen that the frequent discussion of this important topic would result in legislative action. In April, 1837, the legislature of Massachusetts constituted a Board of Education, consisting of the Governor and Lieut. Governor for the time being, and eight other gentlemen appointed by the Executive of the commonwealth. The term of their office is eight years, with a *proviso* that one vacancy, and consequently one new appointment shall be made annually. They have authority to appoint a secretary, who devotes his whole time to the business of the Board, and is paid by the state. The *services* of the members are gratuitous; their expenses being paid by the state. The duties of the Board are: "1. To prepare and lay before the legislature in a printed form, on or before the 2d Wednesday in January, annually, an abstract of the school returns received from the towns by the secretary of the commonwealth. 2. To make a detailed report to the legislature of all their doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of extending and improving it."

In consequence of the organization of the Board, conventions have been held in each county in the state for four successive years. The Secretary of the Board attends all these conventions, and delivers at each an address. A part of the time is spent, on these occasions, in discussing plans of improvement, and in eliciting information from the friends of education in the county. At the close of the year, the Secretary makes a report to the Board, which is by them laid before the legislature and published. Four of these reports have already been issued from

the press; and scattered in every town in the state. In the report of 1837, the following topics are discussed at some length: 1. The condition of school houses; 2. The manner in which school committees discharge their duties; 3. The interest felt by the community in the education of *all* the children; 4. The competency of teachers. The report of 1838 speaks of improvements that are beginning to be made, and dwells at considerable length upon *reading* and *spelling*. The report of 1839 is principally occupied with a statement of facts respecting libraries of every kind in the state, and the means that the young have for improving their minds by reading. The report of 1840 may be considered a treatise upon the condition and wants of the schools.

Besides this the Secretary has compiled three volumes of school returns. The volume for 1838-9 is an 8vo, of 340 pages, and that for 1839-40 contains 480 pages. The school committee of each town is required by law to present a detailed report of the schools under their charge to the town; which is to be read in open town-meeting, and a copy of the same transmitted to the Secretary of State. In these reports the committees mention existing defects, improvements that have been made, successful modes of teaching, and propose further improvements. Out of this mass of documents, containing the collected wisdom of 1500 committee-men, the Secretary of the Board selects the most valuable matter, and the legislature spreads it over the whole commonwealth. The last volume is one of great interest, and richly worth to the state all the money that has been paid from the public treasury in consequence of the organization of the Board. It is a repository of information that cannot fail of doing much good. Its benign influence will be felt in other states, and it will add another stone to the monument, that commemorates the illustrious deeds of this ancient commonwealth.

In June, 1838, the legislature of Connecticut constituted a similar Board, with power to appoint a secretary. Its plan of operation is very similar to that of Massachusetts; its published documents are much less voluminous, but valuable and creditable to the character and zeal of the Secretary. A Common School Journal is published semi-monthly in each of these states, edited by the Secretaries. By these much light is thrown upon the public mind, and an interest in the cause of education kept alive. The other New England states are waiting the success

of the experiments making in Massachusetts and Connecticut. If these shall be satisfactory,—and there is no doubt they will be, if suffered to go on,—they will adopt a similar plan for the improvement of their schools.

The organization of a Board of Education was not a sudden, nor unheard of measure. In 1812, Dr. Dwight said: “One thing that is necessary to render our common school system complete is the institution of a Board of Commissioners, one in each county, whose business it shall be to examine into the state of the schools in their respective circuits, and who should meet semi-annually to receive the reports of the town committees, and compare them with the results of their own inspection and make a general report to the legislature.”* Almost the precise plan recommended by Dr. Dwight in 1812 was adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1837, and by that of Connecticut in 1838. The same plan has been substantially recommended by other friends of Education, at sundry times during the last fifteen years.†

In the winter of 1838, a gentleman in Boston, through the Secretary of the Board, proposed to give \$10,000 to be expended by the Board in an experiment upon normal schools, provided the state would add to it an equal sum. The proposal was accepted by the legislature, and \$20,000 were intrusted to the Board to try the experiment of normal schools, or teachers' seminaries. The Board accordingly undertook the solution of a difficult problem, feeling that momentous consequences depended upon its being conducted in the best manner possible. I shall not have occasion to speak of the nature and importance of these schools, for it has been well done in an article in a preceding No. of the Repository.‡

A normal school was commenced at Lexington,—where the first British blood was shed in the war of the Revolution,—in July, 1839; and in September of the same year, another was opened at Barre. In September, 1840, a third was opened at Bridgewater. The Board say that the experiment thus far is satisfactory. There can be no doubt, I think, of the general utility of these schools. But the great question yet to be decided is, whether the people in this country are sufficiently awake

* Dwight's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 297.

† Literary and Theolog. Rev. Vol. II. p. 332.

‡ Vol. X. 1st series, p. 90.

to the importance of this class of seminaries to be willing to endow and sustain them. The legislatures probably are not; individuals, therefore, must do the work.

The question may be asked by some, whether all the people in these states, in which these improvements are making, cordially approve of these educational movements? It would be very strange if they were. Men are always opposed to innovation, and especially, if it costs any thing. More opposition has been experienced in Massachusetts than in Connecticut, for the simple reason, that the latter state follows after, and, profiting by the example of her sister, avoids those points that excite the most opposition.

There have risen up in the Bay state three distinct classes of opponents. The opposition of one class is based on the expensiveness of the Board of Education. The whole expense, including the salary of the Secretary and extra printing, amounts to less than \$2,000 annually. There is one town in the state that pays \$1,000 to a man for superintending the schools within its limits. Who will say that it is extravagant for a state to pay \$2,000 for overseeing the education of 180,000 children, at an expense of three-fourths of a million dollars? The *second class* of opponents are those who are fearful that it is a plan for subverting the religious sentiments of the rising generation, and for turning them away from the old paths. It has been my privilege to be somewhat conversant with the opinions and views of those men who have taken the lead in this movement, and I am fully persuaded that they honestly desire to improve the schools, and to furnish to all the children greater facilities than they now have for acquiring a useful education. I do not believe they will attempt to subvert the religious faith of the people, nor do I believe they can do it if they would. The *third class* of opponents comes from the book-selling interest. This brings me to a new topic, which requires some explanation.

Previous to the organization of the Massachusetts Board of Education, the legislature passed a law authorizing each school district to raise money for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a common school library and apparatus for the use of the children of the district; with a *proviso*, that no greater sum than \$30 shall be expended the first year, nor more than ten in any subsequent year. The Board considered the law an important one; they say: "To what avail are our youths taught to read if no facilities exist for obtaining books? The keys of

knowledge are useless to him who has no access to the volumes to be unlocked." They supposed some difficulty would be experienced by most districts in making a suitable selection for a library. It was foreseen that the publishers of books might get up their school libraries, and vie with each other in their efforts to furnish the schools, and that many useless, and perhaps pernicious books might fall into the hands of the children. The Board, therefore, felt themselves called upon to do what they could to facilitate the execution of that law. They accordingly made proposals to several publishers to ascertain on what terms they would furnish books of a given size, and executed in a given style. It was thought desirable to have the books well made and cheap. An arrangement was made with a publishing house in Boston, which pledged itself to manufacture the books, in the style prescribed, in sufficient quantities to supply the schools; provided that each book in the library should have the approval of each member of the Board on its first page.—It may be thought by many readers of the *Repository*, that this detail is needless. I enter into these particulars, that it may be seen that the publishers of books have no reason to find fault; for if the books are once introduced into the schools, a taste for reading will be cultivated, and booksellers generally will be benefited by an increased demand for books. Why then should publishers look with an envious eye upon the firm that furnishes the school libraries? The state does not pay them a single dollar; nor have they any pledge of pecuniary aid from any quarter. They prepare the books at a great expense, to be remunerated by the small profits arising from the sale of books; I say small profits, for the prices of the volumes are fixed, by contract with the Board, at as low a rate as it was supposed they could be afforded.

The library when complete is to embrace "two series of 50 volumes each; the one to be an 18mo, averaging from 250 to 280 pages per volume; the other in 12mo, each volume containing from 350 to 400 pages." About 40 volumes are already published. Among them are found the *Life of Columbus*, by W. Irving; *Paley's Natural Theology*, in 2 volumes, with selections from Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, illustrated with numerous cuts; *Lives of Individuals celebrated in American History*, selected from *Sparks' American Biography*, 3 volumes; and *Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons* in 4 volumes, by Rev. Henry Duncan, D. D. It is unnecessary to name them

all; those I have mentioned are a fair sample of the whole. I have read most of them, and find in them much to admire and nothing to condemn. The Board did not consider themselves at liberty to select and recommend religious books; neither did they suppose that such were most needed. Most of the children in the commonwealth are supplied with books of a religious character from the Sabbath school libraries. It seemed more necessary that they should have access to works of information, to popular treatises upon natural and physical sciences, to memoirs, histories, and interesting miscellaneous publications.

The School Library is edited with great care and ability. Each volume has an index and glossary, in which every word in the book, not found in school dictionaries, is fully explained. Every quotation from other languages is translated, and the volumes are adapted to the capacities as well as to the wants of the young.

I need not say any thing by way of argument to show the importance of libraries in district schools. I do not know that any one denies that they are valuable. The time is probably not far distant, when a library will be considered as essential to the welfare of a common school, as it now is to the interest of a Sabbath school. The munificent appropriation made by the state of New-York is important testimony in their favor.*

The great objection, that has been urged against school libraries in Massachusetts, is, that the Board of Education, in making the selection, will introduce books that inculcate the sentiments of some one religious sect, and exclude others. The majority of the Committee on Education, in the legislature of 1840, recommended that the Board be abolished; and one of the reasons was the following: "It is professed, indeed, that the matter selected for this library will be free both from sectarian and political objections. Unquestionably the Board will endeavor to render it so. Since, however, religion and politics, in this free country, are so intimately connected with every other subject, the accomplishment of that object is utterly impossible; nor would it be desirable, if possible. That must, indeed, be

* The legislature of New-York by two acts, passed in 1838 and 1839, have appropriated \$110,000 annually for three years, for the purchase of libraries; which is to be divided among the districts, and any one may draw its share, if the inhabitants of the district will add to it an equal sum.

an uninteresting course of reading, which would leave untouched either of these subjects.”*

I can hardly believe that the writer of that report seriously believed his own assertions. Is it essential to the interest and utility of every book, that it should dwell more or less upon religion and politics? Are not such books as the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties, Buel on Agriculture, and popular treatises on Chemistry, Philosophy, Astronomy, Geology and the Arts, free from partisan views of religion and politics, and, at the same time, interesting and useful? I suppose the writer of the above mentioned report presumed that the library was to be a religious and political library, and still contain nothing more favorable to one party or sect than to another. It is admitted that such a book, if it could be made, would do no good, but much hurt. I see no difficulty, however, in selecting a valuable library made up of books of information, to be used in a school composed of children from families differing widely in their political and religious opinions, which shall be useful and acceptable to all. Let not the objections, that have been made to a Board of Education, to school libraries and to plans for improving schools in Massachusetts, discourage the people in other states, and keep them from improving their common school system. A variety of circumstances have operated in this state to create some division among the people, and to awaken opposition. If the Board had been organized two years earlier or two years later, there would have been fewer objections urged against it. But it is well as it is; opposition has produced discussion, and I have no doubt that the people generally are better informed upon every thing pertaining to common schools, than they would otherwise have been.

It was my intention to have dwelt upon the subject of moral and religious instruction in the public schools in New England, but I cannot do justice to this topic without protracting this article to an unreasonable length. I have endeavored to present as correct a view of the common school system of New England, and as faithful a narrative of the improvements that have been made, as the brief space to which I limited myself would allow. Frequent inquiries are made by the friends of education in other states respecting the common school system of the eastern states. If I have succeeded in presenting the great outlines of the system my object is accomplished.

* Massachusetts School Journal, Vol. II. p. 228.

ARTICLE VII.

THE RABBIES AND THEIR LITERATURE.

By Isaac Nordheimer, D. P. Prof. Orient. Lang., Univ. of the City of New-York.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RABBINICAL SCHOOLS IN PERSIA.*

AFTER the composition of the two Talmuds, the Jewish teachers, being no longer under the necessity of communicating the mass of their doctrines by means of oral tradition, confined themselves chiefly to the explanation of these written documents, by assigning for the precepts contained in them various reasons of their own, which were afterwards altered and appended to the Talmud. These learned men were named Sopherim (סופרים), to distinguish them from the authors of the Mishnah, called Tannaim, and of the Gemara, called Amara'im. (See the former Article.)

The influence of the rabbies became gradually confined to the districts under their immediate jurisdiction; and the office of Resh Glutha, now grown more secular in its character, came to be an object of ambition to persons of wealth and importance, who farmed or purchased it of the sovereigns of the country. The Beth Nasi (בית נשיא), or family in whom it had for centuries been hereditary, was nearly extinct. One Rabbi Hanina, who had formerly been sentenced by the Resh Glutha to lose his beard, on account of some opposition offered by

* The first article of this series, on *The Talmud and the Rabbies*, (Bibl. Rep. Oct. 1839,) contained an outline of the history of the Rabbinical schools till the composition of the Talmud, with a brief summary of the contents of that work. This history we now continue to the time of Maimonides; and, although the obscurity and barrenness of the details, that have reached us concerning this period, may give the article a fragmentary character, the writer hopes it will not be found entirely destitute of interest and information. It may be affirmed as a surprising fact, that while almost every department of historical science has been cultivated with success, the history of this ancient and certainly interesting people has not

him to the latter's authority, had the magnanimity to adopt and educate the last surviving descendant of this once powerful house,—a boy named Mar Sutra. On reaching the age of fifteen, the lad was brought before king Firus (A. D. 480), and received from him the appointment to the vacant office of Resh Glutha; the former incumbent, one Pahara, having just died from the sting of an insect in his nose;—a circumstance which Mar Sutra and his posterity commemorated by placing the figure of the insect on their seal. About twenty years after, however, Mar Sutra came to an untimely end; he being executed together with his adopted father by king Kobad, in consequence of a revolt raised by one Mir, who undertook to fulfil an ancient oracle by obtaining the independence of the Jews. Mar Sutra, junior, the son of the preceding, thereupon fled to Tiberias, where he was well received, and where he gave a new impulse to Talmudical studies.

The condition of the Jewish schools in Palestine became greatly changed, by reason of the disturbed state of the country from the year 589 to 630. The head of the schools now received the appellation of Gaon (גאון, excellency), in imitation of the

yet received that degree of attention which it deserves. The result is, that the few treatises on Jewish history that we possess are mostly mere recitals of the numerous harassing persecutions that the nation has undergone, and enumerations of the reproaches, just and unjust, that have been made against it, in all times and in all parts of the world; while but little attention has been given to the important task of investigating the hidden causes of the occurrences which chroniclers relate: at the same time the prevalent idea respecting the literature of the nation, is that it consists of a small number of volumes containing little else than puerilities and useless subtleties. One distinguished exception, however, exists in the learned and truly classical work of Dr. Jost (*Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*), quoted by us in the former article. This writer has exhibited great diligence and accuracy in developing the origin of the events of Jewish history; while he has also bestowed a good share of attention on the national literature. His work and a well conducted periodical (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*), edited by Dr. Geiger with the aid of several learned Jewish theologians, have constituted our principal sources in preparing this sketch.

titles *illustres* and *clarissimi* bestowed by the court on the rabbies of Tiberias. In several cities there were seminaries of some note, and those in Sura and Pumbeditha again acquired, and for a time maintained, somewhat of their former superiority. The principal seat of the Gaon was accordingly in Sura, while the Resh Methibhta (ראש מתיבטה), or head of the school, was stationed at Pumbeditha. Besides these dignities, there was the more secular one of Resh Glutha, who was chosen by the representatives of the congregations, the two above mentioned chiefs presiding at the election. The candidates for this important station were nominated by the king, whose choice was greatly influenced by the value of the presents they severally made him. At the close of the election, the two chiefs of the schools consecrated the new official by the imposition of hands. The conclusion of the ceremony was announced by sound of trumpet to the people, by whom rich offerings were made to the newly installed dignitary; while he in his turn entertained his electors with a feast that lasted several days. The following Sabbath, after a solemn service, the appointment of the new Resh Glutha was proclaimed; it being at the same time notified that the congregation was to be under his immediate charge, and also what taxes they would be required to pay. After returning home from the synagogue, the Resh Glutha no more went abroad on foot, but rode in a gilded carriage, with an escort of fifteen men and a foot-runner. He no longer attended religious services in public, but had them performed in his own house. He kept his secretary, and held a separate court for his own diocese, independent of those in Sura and Pumbeditha. His authority was upheld by the king, at whose court, when business called him thither, he always appeared with a princely retinue.

In like manner, but with less pomp and ceremony, the two subordinate chiefs of the school were elected by the college of rabbies out of their own body; and to each of them was assigned a diocese from which his income was to be derived. The three courts thus instituted sent out judges, furnished by them with diplomas, among the smaller congregations; and each of these judges, with two respectable inhabitants of a place, formed a temporary or circuit court, in which they settled disputes, made legal contracts, and performed other judicial functions, for which they received stated fees. The surplus of the income derived from this source was assigned to the support of studious

youth. The school of the Gaon, which formed a minor sanhedrim, always numbered seventy teachers, who held daily meetings in the months Elul and Adar; at these meetings the pupils were present, and took part in the councils and arrangements. During the rest of the year, each one attended to his own affairs at home,—those alone remaining in the schools who were intended for future rabbies. On each Sabbath of these two months, the students underwent an examination; and such as distinguished themselves above their fellows were rewarded with a pension. These practices were kept up in imitation of the customs prevailing at the time the Talmud was composed; although the efforts of instructors were now directed to the interpretation of that work, rather than to the forming of new laws.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE JEWISH SCHOOLS IN MESOPOTAMIA UNDER
THE DOMINION OF THE CALIPHS.

The history of the Jewish teachers and their schools in Mesopotamia, during the century following the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans, offers nothing but a barren list of names, if we except a few rabbinical authors who flourished during that period. The rabbies were at that time in complete subjection to the Resh Glutha, who exercised a sovereign sway over the Jews, appointing and dismissing their teachers at his pleasure and without any responsibility. This functionary was usually a rich man, or became so by his office. His favorable position in the royal court sometimes proved a temptation to abuses of power, which the rabbies, mostly men retired from the affairs of the world, found it difficult to resist.

It is to this period (about A. D. 750), when among both Christians and Moslems a philosophical spirit of inquiry began to be directed to traditional observances, and when many among the Jews were led by similar views to oppose the tendency of rabbinism, that the revival of an ancient sect under a new form is to be ascribed. The immediate cause of this event is said to have been, that, on the election of a Resh Glutha or Gaon, a distinguished scholar, named Anan, was defeated by his brother, a much inferior man. Anan, however, remained at the head of a numerous party, who would acknowledge no other chief. This becoming known, he was arrested and subsequently sentenced to death, as a stirrer up of sedition among the people.

In these circumstances an Arabian fellow-prisoner advised him to request an audience of the Caliph, and make known to him the antiquity and extent of the party opposed to the authority of the Talmud. By this means Anan is stated to have succeeded in obtaining his personal freedom, with permission to remove to Palestine with his whole party, which permission was carried into effect in the year 754.

The sect to which Anan belonged was distinguished by the name of Karaites (קראית, scripturists). They rejected all rabbinical traditions, regarding the Mosaic law as the sole ground of religious knowledge and legal jurisdiction; and although they afterwards found themselves under the necessity of rearing a new traditional structure, they still adhered to the principle that every authorized teacher is at liberty to explain the Holy Scriptures in his own manner, without being bound by the views of his predecessors. Anan, having established himself in Palestine, ruled over it as Nasi (נשיא). He was succeeded by his son and a number of others who retained this title; though, after the lapse of several centuries, it was exchanged for that of Hacham (חכם). The sect of Karaites never became of much note, nor did they manifest any desire for wealth and power; agriculture, the handicraft arts, and trading in provisions formed their almost exclusive occupations; the Bible and the sciences connected therewith, almost their only study. Their moral character has ever remained unimpeached. The opposition of the Karaites to the Talmud has continued to this day;* and the justification of this conduct in general and in detail has formed their principal literary pursuit. The many books composed by them, among which are numerous treatises dogmatical, philosophical, historical, hermeneutical and grammatical, written partly in Arabic and partly in Hebrew with an admixture of Arabic, have all the same general tendency, which gives to their whole literature a polemical aspect.

The great contrast in the characters, views and modes of living of the rabbies and the Resh Glutha not unfrequently caused subjects of discord to arise between them. Thus the Resh Glutha, David ben Saccai, placed over the school of Sura one Yom Tobh, a man of obscure origin and who had been a weaver by trade. (A. D. 910.) In consequence of the dissatisfaction caused by this person's conduct during the seventeen years that

* See Bibl. Rep. Oct. 1834, pp. 565 et seq.

he held the office of Gaon, the school of Sura became almost entirely deserted. The like system of mismanagement soon after reduced that of Pumbeditha to nearly the same condition; when, to avert its utter downfall, they elected Mobasser, the son of a rabbi, to the Gaonship without the concurrence of the Resh Glutha. The latter, enraged at the slight thus put upon his authority, appointed the priest Zedek to the office; but the point being strongly contested, he was compelled to yield. On the death of Yom Tobh, two candidates were set up for the vacancy,—Saadiah ben Joseph, of Fayum in Egypt, and Zemach,—the former on account of his eminent learning, and the latter for his birth, he being descended from a former ruling family. David, the Resh Glutha, had intended to appoint a favorite of his own; but the latter declined the proffered honor, and at the same time recommended Zemach as the most fitting candidate. His choice, however, ultimately fell on Saadiah, who was appointed Gaon at the age of thirty. Notwithstanding the favor thus shown him, Saadiah, who was a man of firm and independent character, remained closely attached to the interests of the rabbies, even when it involved opposition to the will of his patron. Thus he once refused to subscribe to a decision of the latter relative to an inheritance, although his signature was requisite to its legality. When David found that he could not succeed in compelling his refractory subordinate to succumb, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and appointed another Gaon in his stead. Saadiah retorted by pronouncing against David a similar sentence, and by nominating Hassan Joshua, David's brother, Resh Glutha in opposition to him; but being unable to gain over a sufficient number to his views, he was compelled to retire from the contest. Several years after, David and Saadiah met at an entertainment given by one Cassad to all the respectable persons in the place; this happily resulted in a reconciliation between them, in consequence of which the mutual ban was revoked. Saadiah, however, returned no more to public life; but resigning his office and income to the person on whom in the meantime they had been bestowed, he devoted himself to the prosecution of his literary labours. His numerous productions,—which stamp him as the first rabbi, who united the qualities of the skilful philologist and sound interpreter to extensive Talmudical knowledge and a philosophic turn of mind,—may justify us in adding a few words concerning them.

Saadia was born in the province of Fayum in Egypt, in the year 892; his death took place in 942. He was very diligent in the prosecution of literary pursuits, and thereby earned for himself an enviable reputation, not only among his own people, but among the learned Arabs also. Masudi and other Arabian scholars his contemporaries mention him in terms of high respect.* In his capacity of Gaon, he greatly distinguished himself as a profound Talmudist, by his manner of deciding doubtful cases, on some of which he wrote entire treatises; he also did much towards arranging and establishing the Jewish ritual. As a philologist we find him the first who exhibited any thing approaching to a scientific treatment of the grammar and lexicography of the Hebrew language; although, as might be expected, the results he accomplished were little more than rude beginnings. His exegetical labors are of more importance; he made the well known Arabic version of the Pentateuch, Isaiah and Job which goes by his name, and whose critical value is very great. His philosophic spirit of inquiry is shown, not only in his translations and comments, but also in his celebrated treatise on Faith and Observances (אמונה ודעות);† in which he endeavors to reconcile Jewish belief with the teachings of philosophy, maintaining at the same time the truth of the former and the correctness of the latter. He divided his book under ten heads, each containing several chapters, which are as follows: 1, of the Creation of the World and all that it contains out of nothing; 2, of the Creator; 3, of his Command and Prohibitions, with the reasons therefor; 4, of Obedience and Disobedience; 5, of good and bad Actions; 6, of the Soul and Death, and of the State hereafter; 7, of the Resurrection; 8, of the Redemption of Israel; 9, of future Rewards and Punishments; 10, of Well-doing. Although Saadia is entitled to consideration as the first rabbi whose writings assumed a philosophic cast, his speculations are far inferior in value to those of Bechai, Judah Hallevi, Aben Ezra, or Maimonides. These latter formed a complete philosophical system, based on theology, and designed as a permanent support to and confirmation of the principles of re-

* See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Vol. II. pp. 487, 495, first edition.

† This work, originally written in Arabic, was translated into Hebrew by Judah ben Tibon, 1186; and was printed at Amsterdam in 1562, and again in 1649, and in Berlin in 1789.

ligion ; but Saadiah's metaphysics were a mere polemic engine, employed by him for the defence of Judaism against the attacks of other religionists, especially Christians. He generally adhered to the literal sense of the sacred Scriptures, except in those cases where he considered it impossible so to do ; as for instance in the account of the serpent in the garden of Eden, and of Balaam's ass, to which he gave an allegorical interpretation. The soul he considered as endowed with a corporality distinct from the mortal body, and maintained that the rewards and punishments of the life to come would be adapted to the nature of such a being.

From the account we gave of the misunderstanding between Saadiah Gaon and David, it is evident that the secular power of the Resh Glutha as well as the spiritual authority of the Gaon were now in a state of rapid decline ; this was accelerated by the pride and tyranny of the former functionary, and by the diminished respect paid to the Talmud, in consequence of the prevailing devotion to philosophical and philological studies. The only successors that David had in the Gaonship were Sherira Gaon and his son Hai ; who were enabled to keep up the office a short time longer, by means of their extensive learning and the popularity they consequently enjoyed.

Sherira Gaon, a distinguished teacher in Pumbeditha, who flourished in the year 967, appears to have united in his own person the offices of Resh Glutha and Gaon, on the latter's becoming vacant ; this constituted him the sole head of the congregations. Afterwards, when enfeebled by age, he associated with himself his son Hai as co-regent. Being impeached before the reigning caliph, Ahmed Kadher, for some arbitrary exercise of power, Sherira and Hai were both condemned to imprisonment and loss of goods, and the former was sentenced to be hung up by the hand. (A. D. 997.) Hai, however, was liberated and restored to his office, which he filled about forty years longer. Sherira has left us a concise account of the distinguished scholars who flourished before him.

Hai Gaon was born 969 ; he was, as we have said, the son of Sherira Gaon, and was also son-in-law to Samuel ben Chofni a teacher in Sura. He successfully exerted all the influence of his birth and character to support the tottering authority of the Gaonship during his lifetime ; for the more inquisitive and enlightened minds in the community already began to cast off the authority of tradition, and with it that of the rulers by whom

the system was administered and upheld. Hai is one of the most interesting characters in Jewish literary history; he was a fertile author, and the influence of his doctrines on the moral condition of the Jews continued to operate long after his death. He seems to have fully comprehended the duties of a spiritual head, who, while careful to preserve the integrity of traditional dogmas, should not cling with slavish submission to their letter, but should seize their spirit, and adapt their requisitions to the demands of the age in which he lives. He made the decision, remarkable for the period, that traditional observances did not depend on the authority of the Talmud, but must be regulated by the opinion of the congregation of Israel, from which the Talmud itself derives its sanction; hence, he says: "Give to every man his own; and whatever the Agada may teach, if it be not consistent with sound reason, reject it." He was still somewhat inclined to mystical studies, as appears by his cabalistic writings. He died in the year 1038, and with him the office of Gaon expired.*

About this time occurred the dispute respecting the various readings of the Bible, between Aaron ben Asher of Tiberias and Jacob ben Naphtali of Pumbeditha; from which dates the general collection of such readings and their division into two classes, called after those who used them, Oriental and Occidental. From the period when the Jewish mind ceased to be fettered by the almost despotic power of their spiritual and secular rulers, other branches of knowledge, as philosophy, philology and poetry began to be cultivated among them, although long held subordinate to the study of the Talmud, and considered simply in the light of auxiliaries to the religious and moral teachings of the synagogue. The attention of the rabbies and other learned men of the time was accordingly directed for the most part to Talmudic explanations of the Scriptures, and to polemical treatises in defence of the Mosaic religion against Christianity and Islamism. Both these tendencies are visible in the writings of Saadiah Gaon, and especially in his celebrated work on Faith and Observances (see p. 160); they afterwards caused the production of the polemic colloquy, called the book *Cosri*

* His biography, with that of some other rabbies, has been elegantly written in Hebrew by the learned and much esteemed Rapoport of Lemberg, with the title *חולדות ר' נתן איש רומי* חולדות ר' סדיה גאון וקורות ספריו וגו'.

(כוזרי) by R. Judah Hallevi, the Book of Morals (חברת חכמים) by Bechai, and above all Maimonides' master-piece, the Wanderers' Guide (מורה נבוכים). Their philology, which before had consisted almost exclusively of those endeavors to preserve a correct text that gave rise to the Masorah, began now to have for its principal object the critical elucidation of the Bible; as appears from comments written on its various parts in addition to separate treatises on lexicography and grammar. These latter were indeed composed after the manner of the Arabs, but without neglecting the distinguishing peculiarities of the Hebrew. The first Hebrew lexicon deserving the name was composed by Menachem ben Seruk in Spain; and upon it there are some critical remarks by Adonim ben Librat (called also Dannach) of Fez. Several grammatical and lexicographical works were written by Judah ben Karish of Dura in Barbary; but a greater reputation is enjoyed by those of Judah ben David ibn Ching of Fez, and the lexicographers Merinos (Merwan) ben Chasdai and Jonah ben Gannah (Abulwalid) of Cordova. The religious character that marks their philosophical productions is also discernible in their poetry, which was composed chiefly for devotional purposes, and among the principal authors of which are Isaac ben Chasdai, Joseph and Solomon ben Gabirol, Eliezer Hakkalev, etc.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RABBINICAL SCHOOLS IN SPAIN, AND OF
THE COMPILATION OF THE LITURGY.

These various productions of the learned, in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, appeared chiefly among the Jews of Spain under the Moorish dynasty,—their literary activity being excited by that of the people with whom they lived. They studied the principles of Arabian grammatical and metrical science, and endeavored to apply them, as far as possible, to the cultivation of the Hebrew; whence arose the modern form of Hebrew poetry, comprising both metre and rhyme, which were entirely unknown to the ancients. But, notwithstanding the influence thus exerted on Hebrew cultivation by the literature of the Arabs, and the impetus given by it to the pursuit of other branches of knowledge, as medicine and astronomy, the study of the Talmud was by no means neglected; indeed the rabbies always considered it an imperative duty to obtain a familiar acquaintance with its contents, as affording the grounds on which their judi-

cial decisions must be based. This rendered necessary the establishment of rabbinical schools in Spain ; while it contributed not a little to their success, that the distance of this country from the East, together with the disturbed political state of that part of the world, rendered frequent journeys thither both difficult and dangerous.

The following occurrence, which took place as early as the time of Sherira Gaon, aided essentially in rendering the Spanish independent of the Oriental schools. Four rabbies of Cairo,—Hushiel, Moses, Shemarya and another whose name has not reached us—when on a voyage, were captured by a pirate and sold in different places. Shemarya was left in Alexandria ; but it was not long before his learning procured him the chair of rabbi in Cairo. Hushiel was sold on the coast of Tunis, and afterwards became head of a school in Cairwan ; while Moses with his little son Enoch was taken to Cordova. Moses' wife, who was on board ship with them at the time of their seizure, was compelled, in order to escape the pirates' insults, to seek a watery grave, having previously been assured of immortality by her husband. On his arrival at Cordova, the unfortunate rabbi went in his slave's dress to the synagogue where Rabbi Nathan was then delivering a lecture. Moses took occasion, at the close of the discourse, to offer a few remarks on some of the opinions expressed in it. The whole audience were astonished and delighted, and begged him to state his views more at length. He thereupon complied, exhibiting in the course of his observations extraordinary ingenuity and learning. At the conclusion of the service, some parties approached Nathan as usual, for the purpose of settling their disputes ; but he modestly exclaimed : " I am no longer your judge ; this slave here is my master, and I am his pupil ; elect him to the office." This was accordingly done, and Moses was assigned a considerable salary with a splendid carriage for his use. King Hashem readily confirmed the appointment, on being informed that the acquisition of this learned stranger would render his Jewish subjects independent of Eastern domination. From Moses justly dates the gradual rise and prosperity of the rabbinical schools in Spain ; indeed it is probable that they then, for the first time, became possessed of complete copies of the Talmud. The existence of this celebrated body of Jewish legislation coming to the knowledge of Hashem, he ordered Joseph ben Isaac Stanas, a pupil of Moses, to translate it into Arabic ; partly that he might him-

self examine its contents, and partly that his judges might acquaint themselves with the grounds of legal decisions among the Jews. The task was accomplished by Joseph to the sovereign's satisfaction. In this way the Spanish Jews became independent of foreign influence; and they were wont to take a natural pride in the possession of this venerated monument of the piety and erudition of their forefathers, in addition to the literary knowledge of their Arab neighbors, which they also strove to make their own. This honest pride was one of the principal characteristics of the Jews of the Peninsula; and it afterwards caused them to be distinguished, even under the most dreadful reverses, by an independence of spirit, a strictness of principle, and an ardor in literary pursuits, not possessed by the rest of their brethren in exile.

After the death of Moses and Chasdai, the Jewish community in Spain became separated into two parties, on the occasion of electing a spiritual head; one of them supporting the claims of Moses' son, Enoch, and the other those of Joseph Stanas, who, in consequence of his proficiency both in rabbinic and Arabic literature, considered himself entitled to the highest office in the gift of his people. After a long dispute, Enoch was proclaimed elected; and as Joseph Stanas still persevered in his opposition, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. Two brothers, silk manufacturers, named Jacob and Joseph Gav, who continued to exert themselves in his cause, succeeded by means of rich presents in gaining the favor of King Hashem. Jacob Gav was in consequence appointed secular chief of the Jews and successor to Chasdai. He immediately ordered Enoch to cease the exercise of his official functions, and authorized Joseph Stanas to fill his place. The latter, however, refused to accept the appointment, holding it unworthy of him to get the better of his opponent by such intrigues. Jacob, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, offered no further molestation to Enoch, who performed the duties of his office for fifteen years in a praiseworthy manner. At the expiration of this period (1015), he was accidentally killed by the falling in of the roof of the synagogue at the feast of tabernacles. Joseph Stanas died in obscurity at Damascus.

The next who distinguished himself, after Enoch, was Samuel Hallevi of Malaga, who resided in Grenada, and enjoyed the title of Prince (רנניד). He was the first who undertook to systematize the materials of which the Talmud is composed.

His Introduction to the Talmud* shows him to have been a man possessed of clear and liberal views. He divided the Talmud into two parts, the Mishnah and the Gemara. The former comprises the traditions said to have been handed down from Moses himself; and this he subdivided into two parts, consisting of 1, the code of laws embraced in these traditions; and 2, the decisions of the learned on the minute points that had arisen for discussion in the lapse of ages. The second part includes later additions as well as tracts on legal topics of every kind; these Enoch considered as mere comments on obscure points, and consequently as of no authority except in so far as they agree with the dictates of reason and common sense. A still more important labor of this diligent scholar is his enumeration and classification of the various modes in which the Talmudic discussions are conducted; by means of which one is easily enabled to determine the principles on which the conclusions of the Talmud are arrived at. He wrote moreover a Hebrew Grammar and likewise some poetry; in addition to which he kept up a constant correspondence with Hai Gaon in Palestine, whose decisions he held in great respect. His death took place between the years 1050 and 1060.

Samuel was succeeded in his office by his son Joseph, a man equally conspicuous for natural abilities, but possessed of a stern, unbending character, which created general dissatisfaction; and notwithstanding his acknowledged generosity, he is also deeply censured by the rabbies. After being eight years in office, he was massacred or executed, in company with fifteen hundred Jews of respectability, for some cause or causes now unknown. Upon this dreadful catastrophe, the synagogue in Grenada was dissolved; and every Jew left the city, and sought a shelter elsewhere. Among the fugitives were two sons of Hiskiah, the Resh Glutha of Babylon, who had met in Spain with a kind reception on the part of Joseph. The latter's wife took refuge in Lucena, where a number of rabbies were collected together, and among them several of Joseph's friends and pupils. One of these, the rich and learned Isaac ben Geath, was at the head of the assembly. He, being under many obligations to his deceased friend, offered to confer the office of

* *מפתח תלמוד* printed in the first tract of the Talmud, and separately published with a Latin translation by Basel Nuyssen, under the title of "*Clavis Talmudica maxima*," Hanau, 1714.

chief rabbi on Joseph's son, Assariah ; but as the latter died shortly after his arrival there, Isaac was constrained to take it himself. Isaac ben Moses ben Sakhne, another of Joseph's pupils, taught at Deria ; but, undertaking a journey to Hai Gaon, he surrendered his place, which was supplied by Isaac ben Reuben of Barcelona. All these, and especially the last, distinguished themselves by their Hebrew poetical productions. A still greater man was Isaac ben Jacob ben Baruch, of the family of Albaliah, a pupil of Samuel and Joseph, and who formed a collection of their writings. He was in the service of Abulcastem ibn Abad Almuhamed, king of Seville, and was his councillor and astrologer, besides being in high repute with his own people as a learned rabbi and poet.

These men, however, were all cast into the shade by the celebrated Isaac ben Jacob of Kaleth Hamam in Fez, called also Isaac Alfez, who, on coming to Spain, went first to Seville, then to Cordova, and finally settled in Lucena, where the above mentioned Judah ben Geath had just died. He was an admirable scholar and a man of a noble and generous disposition. His principal work, the *Halachoth*,* has given him an undying reputation. It consists of extracts of such parts of the Talmud as were still applicable (omitting the treatises on agriculture, on sacrifices, on cleanness and uncleanness, etc., now become obsolete), arranged in a more scientific order, and accompanied by a commentary. This collection, from the facility of reference afforded by its arrangement, was of singular utility to the rabbies ; while the elucidatory remarks accompanying it, formed a contribution to Jewish literature of no small value. The judicious critique, with which Zechariah Halleli enriched it, contributed to render it still more popular. Alfez died in his ninetyeth year (1163) universally lamented. The school at Lucena was maintained in a flourishing state after his decease, by his two favorite pupils, Joseph ben Megas and Baruch ben Albaliah ; the former of whom was celebrated chiefly as a Talmudist, and the latter as a philologist and philosopher.

We will now revert to Chushiel, another of the four rabbies captured by the pirate, and who was taken to Cairwan, where he obtained the post of chief rabbi. This gives us occasion to mention his celebrated son and pupil, Chananel, ben Chushiel,†

* The principal editions are those of Constantinople, 1599, 3 vols. fol.; Cracow, 1597 ; Amsterdam, 1720 ; Sulzbach, 1764.

† His life is given by Rapoport, entitled *חושל*.

who succeeded him in his office. He was born in the last quarter of the tenth century, and died 1050; hence he was a contemporary of Hai Gaon, Resh Glutha of Babylon, with whom he maintained a correspondence. Although the situation in which he was placed was far from giving him the extensive influence which Hai enjoyed, he much excelled the latter in the amount and value of his literary labors. He composed a commentary on the Pentateuch, which is characterized by a simple and sound style of exegesis, that favorably contrasts with the tendency of similar productions in his day. The independent and philosophic cast of his mind is shown to great advantage in his Talmudic writings. He was the first who composed a distinct work for the elucidation of the Talmud; this he conducted on a plan similar to that afterwards pursued by Isaac Alfez in his commentary. The author declares it as his opinion, that all such Talmudic narrations, as do not admit a natural and reasonable explanation, are to be regarded as mere allegories; and that prophetic visions, giving anthropomorphite views of the Deity, are simply the result of the writers' limited human conceptions. This was an important step; since the literal truth of these legends had hitherto been held indisputable; and the only mode of dealing with them had been either to modify them in part, so as to render them somewhat conformable to reason, or else to neglect them altogether. His ideas did not meet with a favorable reception from the learned of his own age; but in the subsequent one, they were held in the greatest esteem,—so much so that they were followed to a great extent by Isaac Alfez in composing the Halachoth, which, on account of its conciseness and the more favorable position of its author in the literary and influential community of Spain, soon surpassed the work of Isaac in popularity.

Contemporary with Chananel was Nissim ben Jacob; his father Jacob ben Nissim was chief rabbi in Cairwan before Chushiel, by whom he was succeeded. Chushiel and his son Chananel did not spring from the Arabico-rabbinical school, but first became acquainted with it during their stay in Africa. The case was different with Jacob and his son Nissim. The former had already composed a philosophical commentary on the Talmudic writings, as also on the tracts of Rabbi Eleizer (מִיקְדָּשׁ דִּרְ אֵלִיָּזָר), and on the book Jezirah.* The latter composed

* This book, which has not been translated into Hebrew, is to be published for the first time in the original Arabic in

a number of works, in which he endeavored to reconcile the discrepancies of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. He was accustomed to write either in a mixture of rabbinical Hebrew and Arabic, or else in pure Arabic. His ethical work alone, which contains a number of Talmudic and Medrashic moral tales, has been translated into Hebrew, and published several times. He enjoyed great esteem and popularity in his day, so much so that he was honored with the title of Gaon, which however he would not consent to bear. He forms the connecting link between Hai Gaon and Samuel Hannasi.

All the writings of this period, although tinged with the more liberal and enlightened principles that were beginning to prevail, exhibit a profound reverence for the traditions contained in the Talmud. This respect for tradition was accompanied by a deep-seated feeling of piety, and by that devoted resignation to the will of God, which results from a full sense of his power and of human frailty and insignificance. But although this excessive self-abasement, originating in the holiest sentiments of our nature, has produced many misguided actions among the votaries of other religions, causing men to desert the sphere of activity allotted them, and convert themselves into monks, hermits and santons of the desert, it had but little effect on the outward conduct of the Jews, notwithstanding the oppressed and humbled condition in which they so long remained. Indeed there are but few of their writings in which any tendency of this sort appears; one such is the ethical work of Bechai ben Joseph, called the Duties of the Heart (فرعى القلوب), originally written in Arabic, and translated into Hebrew by Abram ben Chasdai, under the title of רבנו שלבנות. The Duties of the Heart are so termed by him in contradistinction to those of the body; by the former he understands purity of thought and feeling, and by the latter the observance of commandments. He bitterly complained that no book had yet been written to inculcate those duties of the heart which form the true basis and essence of a pious life. "Heretofore," he says, "the sole endeavor has been to explain the most trifling observances enjoined by the law, and to find out decisions applicable to the most unusual and improbable occurrences; while those things in which true piety and morality mainly consist, have been utterly neglected." He

the promised Arabico-rabbinical Chrestomathy of M. Munk of Paris.

divides his book into ten chapters, the topics of which are as follows: 1, of the Unity of God; 2, of his Government and Preservation of the Universe; 3, of Resignation to God's Will; 4, of Confidence in God; 5, of Actions performed for God's sake; 6, of Meekness; 7, of Repentance; 8, of Self-examination; 9, of the Renunciation of worldly influences; 10, of Love to God. The spirit which pervades the whole performance clearly shows the influence of the Arabian sages, whose sayings he profusely quotes. The relations between God and man, as exhibited by him, are not those of the loving father and son, but of the gracious master and submissive servant: so that the predominant motive, held out for feelings and acts of piety, is a dread of opposing the will of God; and the most edifying contemplations are declared to be those of his might and majesty. Holding the belief that good actions are of value, only as exhibiting purity of feelings and obedience to the Supreme will, he gives them an Arabic name signifying *viatica*,—such being the provisions with which one should furnish one's self for his journey to the other world. The idea that the present life is but a state of preparation for that to come, he thus expresses: "This world is as an antechamber, in which thou art to prepare thyself for entering with propriety into the saloon."* It is clear that the doctrines of Bechai might easily have degenerated into those of total seclusion from the world, had not the practical tendency of Judaism effectually opposed such a result. Indeed he himself admits, that although such a religious retirement is not altogether unpraiseworthy, it is opposed to the spirit of the Bible;† adding, however, that it might still be permitted to some individuals, in order to form a standard of holy living for the rest. Although these doctrines were not fully adopted by the people, their effect must have been highly beneficial, at a period when the Jewish mind was rapidly tending to a gross materialism.

The intellectual advancement of the Jewish nation was next assisted by the labors of the celebrated Abraham ben Maier ben Ezra of Toledo, commonly styled Aben Ezra, in whose voluminous writings the sciences of philology and philosophy, although grounded as usual upon Talmudical learning, reached a much higher point of development than in those of any of his

* חזונו חזו רומח לפרדוד (ἡρώδης) חזקן עומד לפרדוד כדי שחכם לסרבלין.

† Chap. IX. § 2, 3, 5.

predecessors. He was descended from one of the most respectable and learned families among the Jews of Spain ; and was alike distinguished in his own person for native genius and profound scholarship. Master of both Hebrew and Arabic, he was thoroughly versed in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings, and also in the Aristotelian philosophy then so much in vogue, besides possessing an acquaintance with mathematics and astronomy. His activity of disposition and ardor for inquiry led him to enlarge the bounds of his knowledge of men and things by foreign travel, in preference to remaining at home and occupying a teacher's chair. He thus extended his journeyings eastward to Italy, Greece, Palestine and other Oriental countries, and according to some as far as India ; and towards the close of his life he is known to have visited England. He yet found leisure, notwithstanding his migratory course of life, for the composition of numerous works in widely different branches of literature. Among his grammatical writings are those entitled *Mosnaim*, *Zachoth* and *Sepher Brura* ; in these he appears as the first scientific investigator of the etymologies of words and of the abnormal forms found in the Bible, with which he manifests a degree of minute familiarity that is truly extraordinary. Many ingenious and successful interpretations are also to be met with in these works ; but his exegetical productions are chiefly contained in his commentaries on the Pentateuch and various other parts of the Bible, and in them he exhibits extensive philological knowledge, sound critical judgment, and an uncommon freedom from Talmudical bias. His style is pure and condensed, often abrupt, and occasionally obscure, in consequence of his merely hinting at the ideas he wishes to convey, instead of expressing them at length.

Of the several modes of interpretation adopted by others and himself he speaks as follows : " Some, and especially those rabbies who reside among the Arabs, take occasion to connect the study of biblical interpretation with that of natural history and metaphysics ; but every one who desires to become acquainted with these sciences will do better to study them in books that treat of them alone. Others, as the Karaites, seek to explain all these matters from the Bible, and to establish them upon what is there contained. A third class, the Cabbalists, grope in total darkness, thinking to discover symbols in every part of the Law ; the errors of these men scarcely deserve a serious refutation, although in one respect they are right, viz. in asserting that all laws

are to be weighed in the balance of reason,—for in every heart is a mind which is a reflection of God's spirit, and when this is opposed to the literal acceptance of Scripture, a deeper meaning is to be looked for, reason being the messenger between God and man. If, however, the plain interpretation of a passage be not opposed to reason, why should we seek for any other? Notwithstanding, there *are* phrases which contain both a literal and an allegorical meaning, as for instance the terms 'circumcision,' 'the tree of knowledge,' etc. A fourth class explain every thing according to the Agada,* without regard to the laws of grammar; but what purpose is served by repeating the often contradictory views that have already been detailed in so many Talmudic writings? Some of these Agadic explanations have indeed a deeper meaning than appears on the surface; but the majority of them are designed merely as an agreeable relaxation for the mind when wearied by the study of the Halacha.† A fifth mode is that followed by myself: this is, first to determine the grammatical sense of a passage; next to consult the Chaldee version of Onkelos, although this, especially in the poetical portions, often departs from the simple meaning; and for the legislative books of the Bible I call in the aid of tradition."‡

As might be expected, from the views of interpretation here given, we find the commentaries of Aben Ezra full of sound judgment and acute criticism; his bold and original mind often spurning the beaten track pursued by the rabbies his predecessors, although not able to escape from their influence altogether. Indeed there seems to have been a constant struggle going on in his mind, between the deep-rooted impressions of childhood and the more enlarged views and correct opinions obtained by

* The Agada is that portion of the Talmud which consists of narrations, sayings and allegorical illustrations; while the Halacha comprises the discussions and decisions that have been made on the traditional laws.

† Sentiments similar to these are expressed in the preface to his Commentary on Lamentations. "The Agadic explanations," he says, "are of various kinds; some to elevate and refresh the mind, and some to furnish food for the weaker intellects: so that the literal sense of a verse is to be likened to the body, and its Agadic illustration to the dress, which is sometimes of fine silk, and at other times of sackcloth."

‡ Pref. to Com. on Genesis.

his extensive commerce with the world. Thus, at one time, his indignation is excited against writers who doubt or deny the authenticity of portions of the Bible ; and, being impressed with the conviction that the spread of such opinions would tend to overthrow the whole fabric of religious belief, he denounces the books containing them as worthy of being committed to the flames ;* while, at another time, he ventures to intimate that some passages of the Pentateuch are of later date than the rest, but bids the prudent keep silence respecting it ;† he also points out an error in the Book of Chronicles.‡ Again, he sometimes amuses himself with Cabbalistic trifling ; thus he finds holy symbols in the number of days, &c. of the festivals,§ and in the numbers of the letters composing the sacred name יהוה, concerning which last he wrote an entire treatise, called the Book of the Name (ספר השם).|| He also composed a number of poems in the modern form, with rhyme and metre, which show a happy invention and considerable richness of thought and language. In fine, his talents and labors were such as to entitle him to a very high place in the esteem of Jewish scholars ; and his works, many of which still remain unedited, are among the most remarkable monuments of Jewish erudition.

As a poet, however, Aben Ezra was far surpassed by Samuel ben Judah Gabirol, of Malaga in Spain, and Eliezer Hakkaler in Italy. Both of these literati distinguished themselves by their many poetical productions of merit, of which a great portion are preserved in the synagogue service of the present day. The Portuguese ritual is mostly composed of the sacred poems of Samuel Gabirol ; and the Italian, Polish, and German, of those of Eliezer Hakkaler. The remainder of this article we shall devote to an account of these productions.

THE JEWISH RITUAL.

The Jewish ritual has grown up from small beginnings to a great and multifarious mass, by the gradual accession of new pieces. The ancient Hebrews knew nothing of an order of

* At the end of Zachoth, and in his Commentary on Gen. 36: 30.

† Com. on Gen. 12: 6. 13: 7. ‡ Com. on Exod. 25: 29.

§ Com. on Lev. 23: 26.

|| First edited by Dr. Lippmann, Furth, 1834,

common prayer, their religious services consisting chiefly of sacrifices, which the individuals offering them were wont to accompany by an extempore prayer in the temple. But during the existence of the second temple, when various circumstances arose to weaken the unity of the Jewish faith, a necessity began to be felt for a set of religious exercises, more uniform and complete, and better adapted to their altered situation. To this end, formulæ of prayer and praise were composed from time to time by different teachers, for the use of the students in the seminaries of learning (בתי מדרש). These schools were afterwards converted into meeting-houses, or synagogues (בתי הכנסת), in which the public merely took the part of auditors, listening in silence to the words of the reader, and accompanying the close of each petition with the ejaculation, *Amen*. The reader, who stood in front of the desk where the Law was kept, was called *הגביר לפני הדיבור*; he generally used the appointed formulæ, but sometimes followed the impulse of his own feelings, and led the devotions of the congregation in extempore prayer. After the destruction of the second temple, with which the ancient service finally disappeared, the consoling influences of prayer in the nation's humbled state became more fully appreciated, and its exercise became more general among individuals and assemblies. By degrees, prayers for particular occasions, as Sabbaths and other festivals, acquired an obligatory character; and "the eighteen blessings" (שמונה עשרה ברכות) were ordered to be daily used in the private devotions of individuals not taking part in the public service of the synagogue.

The liturgy thus founded obtained the sanction of the Gaonim, whose spiritual authority was universally recognized, and who not only instituted the order of prayer in their own dioceses, but transmitted it to distant countries, to be used by the rest of the nation. The additions made to it from time to time are as diverse in character, as the individuals by whom they were introduced. Some are mere extracts from the Talmud, not originally intended to serve as prayers, and by no means adapted to devotional purposes; many again are written, not in Hebrew, but in Chaldee,—at that time the vulgar tongue. The liberty possessed by the Gaonim of making additions, especially of poems for the festivals of the Jewish church, was afterwards exercised by different rabbies, who in later times were the spiritual heads of the people. These additions, however, instead of being called forth by the circumstances of the times, or writ-

ten in a language which the people generally understood, were made up in a great measure of sayings from the Agada, with accounts of the festivals and other occasions on which they were employed. The evil was augmented by introducing the poems of Eliezer Hakkaler, which are chiefly of a didactic nature, and not at all calculated to excite feelings of devotion. When the people came, in process of time, to take an active share in the exercises of the synagogue, these pieces were recited aloud as unintelligible formulæ; for to understand them requires a knowledge of the Hebrew language and of the Agada, such as the mass of the people could not possibly possess. These defects are much less conspicuous in the ritual adopted by the Jews of Spain and Portugal, and which is chiefly compiled from the productions of Solomon ben Gabirol. This man, although he lived only till about his thirtieth year (between 1040-50 and 1070-80), distinguished himself by his philosophical treatise, entitled the Art of Improving the Mind (חִיקוֹן מִדּוֹת הַנֶּפֶשׁ); besides which he was an excellent commentator and poet. He founded and closely adhered to a strict system of metre and rhyme, and his religious poems are characterized by a biblical style, and a truly poetic cast of thought; they comprise hymns (בְּקִשּׁוֹת), prayers (תַּפִּלוֹת), and elegies (קִיּוֹת), and are very numerous. In order to give a better idea of the character of his poetry than can be communicated by mere description, we will conclude with an extract or two from his compositions. The following verses, which, it will be perceived, consist of couplets of sixteen syllables each, form the introduction to his poem entitled the Royal Crown.

בְּחַפְזִי יִסְתַּדְּרֶנּוּ • מִי כֵּה יִלְמַד יִשְׁר וְיִזְכֶּה:
סִפְּרִיתִי כֵּה מְלֹאֵי אֵל רַחֵ • בְּקִצְרָהּ אֵךְ לֹא בְּאֵרִיכוֹת:
מִצְחִיתִי עַל רֹאשׁ מַלְאָכַי • וְקִרְאתִיהָ כִּתְרֵי מַלְכוּת:

By rehearsing my prayer, a man may benefit;
For he may thereby learn purity and rectitude.
Therein have I declared the wonders of the living God;
Though briefly, and not at length.
I have made it the first of my hymns of praise,
And called it the Royal Crown.

This poem forms part of the Portuguese service for the Day of Atonement. The author begins by recounting, in glowing and highly poetical language, the adorable attributes of God; he describes his wonderful deeds in the creation of the world; and lauds his goodness in the formation of angels and men. He

mourns over the frailty and disobedience of mankind, and concludes with a confession of his own unworthiness and an humble supplication for divine mercy. This composition is not in verse, strictly speaking, but in a sort of rhymed prose, in imitation of the style adopted in the Koran and other ornate Arabic writings. We will give, as a specimen, the following description of the celestial inhabitants, which is quite in the Arabian manner.

יְהוָה מִי רֵצוֹן לְמַחְשְׁבוֹתָיָהּ. בְּעֶשְׂרֹתָהּ מִזְיוֹ הַשְׂכִּיחַ זֶהָר הַנִּשְׁמֹת. וְהַנִּשְׁמֹת
הַרְמוֹת הֵם מְלָאכֵי רְצוֹן; מִשְׁרָחֵי פְנֵיהֶם; תָּם אֲדִירֵי כֹחַ וְגִבּוֹרֵי מַמְלֶכֶת. בְּיָדָם
לֶחֶם תִּהְיֶה וְשֶׁחֶרְפָּה; וְעֵשֶׂה מְלָאכָה; אֵל אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה שֶׁפָּתָה חֲרִידָה לְלֶכֶת; כָּלָם
זָרוֹת פְּנִימִיּוֹת וְחַיּוֹת עֲלִיּוֹת. חֲצוֹנִיּוֹת וְשִׁנִּיּוֹת. הַלִּיכּוֹתֶיהָ צוּמִיּוֹת; מִמְּקוֹם
קָדוֹשׁ יִתְלַכּוּ. וּמִמְּקוֹר הָאֵוִר יִשְׁלָכוּ. הַחֲלָקִים לִכְתוֹת. וְעַל הַגִּלָּם אוֹתוֹת. בְּעֵט
סוּפֵר מִדֵּר חֲרוּתוֹת. מִדָּם נִסִּיכוֹת וּמִדָּם מִשְׁרָחוֹת. מִדָּם צִבְאוֹת. רְצוֹת וּבְאוֹת.
לֹא עֲבָדוֹת וְלֹא נִלְאוֹת. רְאוֹת וְלֹא נִרְאוֹת. מִדָּם חֲצוֹבֵי לִכְחוֹת. וּמִדָּם רִחוּת
וּמִדָּם נִשְׁכּוֹת. מִדָּם מֵאֵט וּמִדָּם מְרַבּוֹת. מִדָּם מְרַמִּים. וּמִדָּם רִשְׁמִים. מִדָּם בְּרָקִים.
וּמִדָּם דִּקְרִים. וּכְלִיפֹת מִדָּם מִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לְרוֹכְבֵי עֲרֵבוֹת. וּבְרוּם עוֹלָם נִצְבִּים
לְאַנְשִׁים וּלְרַבּוֹת. הַחֲלָקִים לְמִשְׁמְרוֹת. בְּיוֹם וּבְלַיְלָה לְרֹאשׁ אֲשֶׁמְרוֹת; לְעֶרְוָה
תְּחִלָּה וְשִׁירוֹת. לְנֶאֱמָר גִּבּוֹרוֹת; כָּלָם בְּחִרְדָּה וּרְעָדָה. בּוֹרְעִים. וּמִשְׁתַּחֲוִּים
לָהֶם. וְאוֹמְרִים מוֹדִים אֲמֵנוּ לָהֶם. שְׁאֵמָה הֵיא רַב אֱלֹהֵינוּ. אֵמָה עֲשִׂיתָנוּ; וְלֹא
אֲנֵנוּ. וּמִעֲשֵׂה יִרְדָּה כָּלָנוּ; וְכִי אֵמָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. וְאֵמָה עֲבַדְתָּ; וְאֵמָה בּוֹרְאָנוּ;
וְאֵמָה עוֹדָה:

O Lord! who can fathom the depth of thy thoughts, when thou didst form from the lustre of thy divine presence, the splendor of souls; and the exalted spirits, even the angels who perform thy will, and minister in thy presence; they are the excellent in power, and the mighty of the kingdom, in whose hand is the flaming sword, which revolveth. They perform their work, whithersoever thy Spirit directs them. They all are as polished rubies, exalted creatures; the inner and the outer all view thy paths. They proceed from the holy place, and draw their existence from the fountain of light. They are divided into troops, according to their standards and ensigns, as engraven by the pen of the ready writer. Some of them are princes, and some servitors; some in hosts run backwards and forwards, they are neither weary nor fatigued; they see, but are not seen. Some are hewn from the flames; some are waving winds; some are compounded of fire and water. Some are as burning coals, some as flashes of fire, some as lightning, and some as sparks of fire. And every troop of them boweth down to him who rideth upon the heavens; they all stand in the highest sphere, by thousands and ten thousands, divided into watches, observing both by night and by day the beginning of the watches, to arrange songs and praises to Him who is girt with mighty powers. They all with fear and trembling prostrate themselves, and worship thee, saying, We gratefully acknowledge unto thee, that thou art the Lord our God, thou hast made us, we are crea-

tures; and we all of us are the work of thy hands. Thou art our Lord, and we are thy servants; thou art our Creator, and we are thy witnesses.

The following extract, from the Additional Service for the same day, is in a more elaborate style, resembling that of Hariri and his Hebrew imitator Alcharisi. The reader will observe that, in addition to the rhymes, the two last words of each clause of the Reader's portion form a close paranomasia.

ח' אֲרוֹמְמָהּ חֶזְקִי וְחֻלְקִי • בָּבוֹאִי בְּרִיר דְּבָקִי וְדַעֲסִי • גַּם בְּשֹׁפְכִי וְצַקִּי וְצַעֲקִי
 ק' בְּקִרְאִי עֲנֵנִי אֶלֶיךָ צָדִיק • ח' הַלְשִׁיתִּיךָ בְּשִׁמְשִׁי וְרַמְשִׁי • תִּאֲזִינָה לְחִשִּׁי וְרַחֲמִי
 וְחִעְבְּרִנָּה יוֹקְסִי וּמְקַסִּי • ק' שׁוּבָה יְיָ חֲלֹצָה נַפְשִׁי • ח' זֵרֶת נָא עֵינִי אֲוִרְבִּי
 וְיִקְרְבִּי • תְּבוֹשׁ מִחַיִּי עֲזָבִי וְיִקְלְבִּי • טוֹרֵר סָגוּר לִגְי וְחֹזֵבִי • ק' וְרַחֵם נִכּוֹן וְהַשׁ
 בְּקִרְבִּי • ח' יוֹם עֲמִידִי בְּאַלְפִי וְטָמִי • בָּבוֹשׁ יָהּ קִשָּׁה עֲרִמִי וְאַכְסִי • לֶךְ אֶפְרוֹס
 בְּפִי וְאָסִי • ק' וְשִׁפְתֵי רִנָּנוֹת יִתְלַסְּמִי

Read.—I will extol thee, O my Strength and my Portion; when I come in the ardency of my pursuit and my knocking; and when I pour forth my supplication and my cry. *Cong.*—"O God of my salvation, answer me when I call." *Read.*—I have sought thee at morn and evening-time: O give ear unto my humble supplication and prayer; and pardon now my iniquity and sin. *Cong.*—"Return, O Lord! and deliver my soul." *Read.*—Heal, I beseech thee, the iniquity of my insidious and treacherous appetites; bind up the wounds of my grief and affliction: O cleanse the caul of my sinful heart. *Cong.*—"And renew the spirit of rectitude within me." *Read.*—On the day that I thus stand, surrounded by old and young, subdue, O Lord! my obstinacy and perverseness; for unto thee do I spread forth my hand, and lift up my countenance. *Cong.*—"And with tuneful lips my mouth shall praise thee."

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF QUINCY'S HISTORY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

By one of the Professors of Yale College.

The History of Harvard University, by Josiah Quincy, LL.D., President of the University. In two volumes. Cambridge: John Owen. 1840.

THIS history, from its subject, the high character and station of its author, its literary execution, and the circumstances under

which it comes before the public, prefers unusual claims to attention. It must, at first view certainly, be considered of indisputable authority as to all matters of fact; and destined as a work to be appealed to for the determination of all doubts, respecting any subject to which it relates. Time likewise will soon give it additional sanction; and, within a short period, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to question successfully its statements or its reasonings. Hence the importance of an early and free inquiry into its historical merits. If this history contains mistakes either as to facts, characters or motives, these mistakes can now be most easily corrected; and an attempt at such correction, if unsuccessful, so far from injuring, will strengthen its authority. We have no motive in making this production of President Quincy the subject of remark, but to determine, if possible, in a few instances, what is historical truth. For the author himself, and for the venerable institution over which he so honorably presides, we entertain no feelings, but those of respect; but parts of this history seem to impose on us the duty of suggesting our doubts as to their conformity to fact; and no objection to this course can, we suppose, arise from any quarter, provided in our comments we keep within the limits, and use the language, of fair and honest dissent.

It is by no means our intention or wish to enter on a general examination of the contents of these volumes. It is our object to look only at the allusions in this work to Connecticut, and more particularly the remarks on the origin and history of Yale College, in connection with a few other topics so closely allied to these, as not easily to be separated from them. Yale College President Quincy supposes to have owed its foundation and its characteristic features to a prevailing influence of the more rigid and strictly orthodox portion of the clergy and laity in Boston and the vicinity. Hence to exhibit more fully the character and operations of parties, at an early period, in the neighborhood of Harvard College, he has thought it necessary to mark some particulars in the rise and progress of the new institution in Connecticut; and Yale College has served the author the double purpose of illustrating the design and nature of domestic proceedings, and of giving greater prominence and of setting off more advantageously some bright parts of his picture by the strong aid of contrast.

The great fact alleged by President Quincy as the foundation of most of his reasoning respecting the religious parties in

Massachusetts, so far at least as they have been connected with the college at Cambridge, is this, that the college was established on the broad principles of religious liberality, as this species of liberality is now understood ; or to use his own language,* that "there is unquestionably a liberality of religious principle manifested in the several charters of this (Harvard) college, apparently irreconcilable with the general conduct and policy resulting from predominating religious opinions in that day." He supposes, that "among the early emigrants, there existed men who were true disciples of the great principles of the Reformation, and who even carried them to a degree of theoretic perfection, scarcely exceeded in our time." What reason there is for this assumption, we may find it necessary to inquire as we proceed ; at present, we advert to the fact merely, that such is his opinion, and that it is the foundation, upon which much of his superstructure rests. Two religious parties, it appears from President Quincy's narrative, early arose in Boston and the neighboring towns ; one of which was formed on the principles of liberality, to which we have already referred, and the other was composed of the representatives of the more rigid Puritans of the original stock. The latter, from opposition to Harvard, which was the chosen seat of catholicism, instigated the clergy of Connecticut, who were predisposed to have a college of their own, to found such an institution on principles entirely consonant with the peculiar religious views in which they both agreed. This party of strict Calvinists in Massachusetts, therefore, must be considered the real founders, and, in an important sense, the efficient patrons and supporters of the seminary, which was afterwards called Yale-College. This seems to be the obvious inference from the story told, and it appears to have been so understood by some who have commented on this history.

It is a matter of some curiosity to trace the progress of events in Connecticut, as represented in this work, from the settlement of the colony to the founding of its college. "The first settlers of Connecticut," we are told, "had emigrated from Massachusetts for the purpose of being under a stricter form of worship, than they could here attain." Of this assertion we look in vain for any proof. The first settlers of Connecticut certainly did not emigrate for the purpose of forming a closer connection between their religious and civil concerns. In Massachusetts,

the "members of the church" only were "freemen of the state." In Connecticut, by the constitution of government adopted in 1639, neither church-membership nor property was a necessary qualification for voting at elections. Among the reasons assigned by Mr. Hooker and his congregation, as recorded by Governor Winthrop, and which, unless the contrary should appear, we ought, in the exercise of liberality, to admit as the true reasons, no mention is made of any wish, inclination, or "purpose of being under a stricter form of worship." The objections, likewise, which were made to the removal of the emigrants to Connecticut, imply no such design on their part. It was said, "that in point of conscience, they (Mr. Hooker and his congregation) ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of this commonwealth. There is here something very like a denial, that there had been any dissension, or difference of opinion on any important subject, between those who wished to emigrate, and those who wished them to remain in Massachusetts. The only question seems to have been, whether the party about to remove to Connecticut could conscientiously separate themselves from those, with whom they were "knit in one body." If there had been any disagreement in religious belief or practice as the occasion of this removal, it must have been known to Winthrop, and we should find some notice of it in his faithful chronicle. But their purpose was, we are told, to be "under a stricter form of worship," than they could attain to in Massachusetts. We are not certain that we correctly understand this language. In any sense, however, which it can bear, if it describes the object of the emigrants, they appear, on their arrival at their place of destination, to have entirely forgotten their errand. As to the "form of worship," as this phrase is generally understood, it was, as far as we can ascertain, identical in both colonies. If there was any such diversity of opinion on points of theology and church polity, as to induce the removal to Connecticut, we know not where to find the proof of it; and we cannot but think, that President Quincy is chargeable with an oversight in making so novel a statement without reference to his authorities. We are inclined to believe, that this motive to the first colonization of Connecticut is to be placed in the same catalogue with that assigned by Robertson, who says, that "the rivalry between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, disposed the latter, who was least successful in this contest for fame and

power, to wish for some settlement at a distance from a competitor, by whom his reputation was eclipsed."

If we were to speculate on this subject, we should say, judging from what the emigrants did in their new commonwealth, that they wished to adopt a less rigid and a less exclusive form of government, rather than that they were desirous of "being under a stricter form of worship." In the principles of the government which they instituted, they departed greatly, as before stated, from what they left in Massachusetts; but in their form of worship, we know of no evidence that they made the slightest variation. In the colony of New-Haven, indeed, the Massachusetts principle of suffrage was at first adopted, but after about twenty-five years, it was abandoned; and this, thirty years before the charter of Massachusetts, granted by William and Mary; by which the people of that province, in their political institutions, became in part conformed to the more free and liberal system of their neighbors. But we have here no business with conjecture. According to Winthrop, the "principal reasons" for the removal of the new colony to Connecticut were "their want of accommodation for their cattle," "the fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English," and though last, we presume, not least, "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither." Any attempt to look beyond these reasons, and to discover others more reconдите, and especially such as throw some discredit on the enterprise, we consider altogether gratuitous.

But President Quincy proceeds: "A desire had long existed in that colony (Connecticut) for the establishment in it of a "school of the prophets," constructed with reference to their peculiar religious views. To this object the crisis of affairs in Massachusetts was deemed favorable, and measures were adopted for founding such an institution in the neighborhood of New-Haven." It is true, that Mr. Davenport very early had a project for establishing a college in the colony of New-Haven, and some funds were collected for this purpose; but it was urged in opposition to his favorite scheme, and evidently on good grounds, that one such seminary was, at that time, enough for New-England, and the design was not prosecuted. Both Connecticut and New-Haven united cordially in the support of the college at Cambridge, and their contributions, as will appear more fully hereafter, were proportioned to their

ability. But the plan of building up a college in Connecticut was never abandoned ; it was merely postponed to a period, when the increase of population and of wealth should render its execution more necessary and practicable. But when, or where, the proposed seminary was denominated by the Connecticut clergy the "school of the prophets," or as President Quincy calls it in another place, the "school of the church," we know not. If the author intended here to intimate, that this appellation was selected as more exactly descriptive of the object of the proposed institution, and that it is language which in any degree characterizes the clergy of Connecticut at that period, he is altogether in error. There is no document, with which we are acquainted, proceeding from any public body, either ecclesiastical or civil in Connecticut, which gives this name of "school of the prophets," or that of "school of the church" to a college. Mr. Davenport aimed to establish "a college," which should be; "for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth." Similar phraseology is used in the first charter of Yale College. "School of the church" was proposed in a plan drawn up evidently in Boston, as a name to be given to the projected institution in Connecticut, and individuals may have adopted this language from that source, but it is not the language of official papers.

But what were the "peculiar religious views" of the clergy of Connecticut, to which President Quincy refers, in conformity with which they were desirous of constructing their college? That there was any peculiarity in their religious views applicable to this case, in the sense in which the author intends, is, so far as we know, without proof. They had united cordially with their brethren in Massachusetts in the proceedings of the synod at Cambridge in 1649; nor does it appear from the Saybrook Confession of Faith, adopted in 1708, that any such change, in the mean time, had occurred, as to give the least countenance to the supposition, that "peculiar religious views" were entertained by them. It is certain that among the reasons publicly assigned for instituting a college in Connecticut, there is no mention of any diversity of theological opinions. If there were religious parties in Massachusetts, it is not improbable that there were those in Connecticut who more or less sympathized with them; but that the stricter part of Calvinists in Massachusetts had a predominant influence in Connecticut'

is a point not easy to establish ; as we think will appear clearly in the sequel.

The narrative proceeds : " Among the firmest adherents to the doctrines of the early New-England churches, were Sewall, afterwards Chief Justice, and Addington, then secretary of state. They were both statesmen of the old charter caste, in whom the characters of politician and theologian were combined in nearly equal proportions. Both were dissatisfied with the state of things in Harvard college. Both were zealous and vigorous defenders of the doctrines of the early Congregational church. To these statesmen the clergy of Connecticut applied for the draft of a charter for their proposed institution ; and received from them an instrument, not founded, like the charters of Harvard, on 'the instituting, guiding and furthering of the said college, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality and learning,' but on something which they, doubtless, deemed more safe and scriptural, 'the reciting *memoriter* the 'Assembly's Catechism' in Latin, Dr. Ames's 'Medulla,' and also his 'Cases of Conscience,' accompanied on the Sabbath by expositions of practical theology, and the repeating of sermons by the undergraduates ; and on week days by reading and expounding the Scriptures according to the laudable order and usage of Harvard College."

That Chief Justice Sewall and Secretary Addington inserted an article of this kind in their draft of a charter has not before, we believe, been made public in any printed work. President Quincy must have had a copy of their draft, which he probably found among the papers of Judge Sewall. The article, however, referred to, differs widely from the above representation of it, and in the original paper is as follows :

"And whereas the principles of the Christian Protestant religion are excellently comprised in the Confession of Faith composed by the Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster, and the learned and judicious Dr. Ames in his *Medulla Theologiæ*, the Rector of the said school is to give in charge and take special care, that the said books be diligently read in the Latin tongue, and well studied by all scholars educated in the said school." Here it will be noticed, that there is nothing about "reciting *memoriter* the Assembly's Catechism," nothing about Ames's "Cases of Conscience," nothing about "expositions of practical theology," or "reading and expounding the Scriptures." President Quincy adds : "The founders of the col-

lege in Connecticut adopted, without any material alterations, the draft made by Sewall and Addington." The reader is thus left necessarily to infer, that what, as he says, was proposed by Sewall and Addington, was included in the charter granted by the legislature of the colony; for no one could imagine, that President Quincy would consider the omission of that, to which he has given such prominence, as no "material alteration." Thus the author has not only given a representation of the article differing greatly from the fact, but has left an impression respecting the charter still more erroneous. *The article was entirely rejected;—the charter contains no trace of it whatever.*

That the subject of this charter may be fully understood, it is necessary to give a short narrative of facts respecting its origin. While the clergy of Connecticut in 1700 were deliberating on the plan of a college of their own, a communication was made to them, entitled "Proposals for erecting a University in the renowned Colony of Connecticut, humbly offered by a hearty, though unknown, well-wisher to the welfare of that religious Colony." This paper contained a plan of a college to be erected by a general synod of the consociated churches of Connecticut. The synod was to have influence in all elections, so far as should be necessary for the preservation of orthodoxy. This college was to be called the "school of the church," and numerous regulations were proposed for its management. These proposals were sent to the Rev. Mr. Noyes of Stonington, the Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Saybrook, and the Rev. Mr. Pierpont of New Haven. They were evidently not of Connecticut origin, and there is no place from which they could, with so much probability have come, as from Boston. From the coincidence of language and views in this project with what appears in the letters of Sewall, there is no room to doubt that he was in some way concerned in framing it. Addington may have lent his aid in devising and forwarding these "proposals," and, for aught we know, Cotton Mather likewise.

But this scheme, by whomsoever projected, found no favor in Connecticut. We can discover no evidence that any effort was made to carry it into execution, or that it was approved of by a single individual. This paper, though in form anonymous, was undoubtedly known to have come directly or indirectly from Sewall and others of his party; which fact might have led to the subsequent correspondence. In the mean time, the clergy of Connecticut had designated ten of their number to stand as

"trustees or undertakers to found, erect and govern a college." These ten clergymen met and proceeded to execute their commission. They constituted themselves a "*quasi* corporation," as they believed themselves to have a right to do by common law. They soon, however, concluded that it was expedient to have a charter from the colonial legislature, and as they had been in correspondence with Judge Sewall, though they had rejected the "Proposals," they invited him and Secretary Addington to send them a draft of such an instrument, as might suit their purpose.

While the legislature was in session in New-Haven in October, 1701, "a large number of ministers and others" petitioned, that "*full* liberty and privilege might be granted to the said undertakers" to erect a "collegiate school." After the subject had been fully discussed, and as it appears, every important point had been settled, the draft, which had been solicited, arrived. The letter inclosing it was not dated, as President Quincy infers, "about the end of 1700 or the beginning of 1701," but the 6th of October of the latter year; three days only before the charter actually agreed upon received the legislative sanction. The date of the charter is October 9th, 1701. That the draft should have been brought from Boston to New-Haven, at that time, in three days, is sufficiently remarkable; but that it should in this short space have been conveyed such a distance, been fully considered by the trustees, and have passed through the forms of legislation, is explicable only on the supposition, that all the principles of the charter had been before discussed and determined on, and that all, which was necessary on the arrival of the draft from Boston, was the final legislative action. This is made certain by a comparison of the draft of Sewall and Addington, with the charter which was adopted.

In the draft from Boston there are three things, and but three, which mark it as at all peculiar. These are, the legislature made the founder of the college; the board of trustees is made to consist of both clerical and lay members; and the teaching of the Assembly's Catechism and Ames's Medulla is made imperative. In the letter accompanying the draft, Sewall and Addington recommend the introduction of some kind of "visitation," which, in their view, would be "exceedingly proper and beneficial." It is remarkable, that the trustees adopted not one of these suggestions, thus showing most conclusively, that they had a plan of their own, and that their correspondence with gen-

tllemen in Boston had no influence on their final determination. This will appear if we look more particularly at the documents. In Sewall and Addington's draft, the language is: "Be it enacted by the Governor and Company, &c., that there be a collegiate school forthwith founded and set up, &c." In the charter it is: "Be it enacted, &c., that there be, and hereby is, full liberty, right and privilege granted unto the Rev. Mr. James Noyes, &c., proposed to stand as trustees, partners, or undertakers for the said school, to them and their successors, to erect, form, direct, order, establish, improve, and at all times, in all suitable ways, for the future, to encourage the said school, &c." It is evident that the trustees wished to be themselves the founders, and acted on the principle, that, "a *license* to found, and a *charter of incorporation* are in their own nature distinct." The legislature likewise, in a subsequent clause, recognize the school as already founded in fact. This was thought by the original trustees, and it has been thought by others since, a very important point, and in reference to it they received no aid from Sewall and Addington. This matter must have been fully settled before the arrival of the draft. The same is true of the provision in the act of the legislature, which limits the trustees in the choice of successors to "ministers of the gospel;" in the draft there was a clause for the admission of lay members. The rejection of the article respecting the Assembly's catechism and Ames's Medulla has been already mentioned. The recommendation of a board of visitors was rejected likewise. The trustees undoubtedly considered such a board as a piece of cumbrous machinery, fitted to embarrass, rather than facilitate their operations. In this they judged right; and the present generation can hardly be sufficiently grateful, that the founders in this respect took the plain path of common sense. However useful a board of overseers may have been at Harvard, and on this point we are wholly incompetent to give any opinion, at Yale it would have been the ruin of the institution. The college never could have survived the disputes and divisions, which such a body, as it must have been constituted, would have excited and perpetuated in its concerns.

Perhaps it may be asked here, what use of Sewall and Addington's draft did the trustees make? As it arrived obviously at the last moment, in which it could be used at all, the trustees, probably that they might not appear entirely to neglect their Boston friends, took the preamble of the draft, not however

without important verbal alterations ; and they took also several other clauses usual in such instruments, but varying and improving the language throughout. They were indebted to this communication, so far as we can discover, for no principle, suggestion or hint, which altered their original purpose. The trustees were, without doubt, willing to receive the advice of others, and to give it full consideration ; but the college was one of their own designing, and was modified in no respect, either in its form or character, by any foreign counsel or interference. So far also was the favor of the " stricter sect of Calvinists " in Boston from being, as President Quincy supposes, " an element of worldly prosperity and success " to the new institution, that while very considerable sums were received by Harvard from Connecticut, not a shilling was received for more than a century by Yale from any part of Massachusetts ; nor do we find any evidence, that a single student from the eastern part of Massachusetts came to Yale college, for more than forty years after its establishment. Those also, who first entered from that quarter, did so, much against their own inclination and the earnest desire of their friends ; having been denied admittance into Harvard College, on account of their religious opinions. We shall have occasion to go into some detail on this subject hereafter. But does not President Clap say, that the legislature " established the act or charter drawn up by Mr. Secretary Addington, with some small additions and alterations ? " He does say so ; and hence probably President Quincy's mistake ; though, as he seems to have had both the draft and the charter under his eye, we are surprised that he did not notice the great difference of the two documents. How President Clap should have expressed himself as he does, we are unable to explain. Some of these variations involved principles, which he certainly considered of the utmost importance. Others, besides President Quincy, relying on the wonted accuracy of President Clap, have adopted his account, evidently without examination. But how far this account is accordant with fact, any one can judge for himself from the above comparison of the two papers.

But it will be said, that though President Quincy's representation of what Chief Justice Sewall and Secretary Addington proposed to be made, and of what was made, a part of the charter of the college in Connecticut, is erroneous, yet it is not very inaccurate, as an account of the first rules adopted by the trustees for the management of the seminary. This is true ;

and President Quincy seems to have made his statement, with President Clap's History of Yale College, or Trumbull's History of Connecticut before him; in both of which works the directions for religious instruction are expressly mentioned as rules of the trustees, and in neither is there any intimation, that they were enjoined by the charter. The trustees ordered, that the Rector "shall take effectual care, that the said students be weekly, at such seasons as he shall see cause to appoint, caused *memoriter* to recite the Assembly's Catechism in Latin, and Ames's Theological Theses, of which, as also Ames's Cases of Conscience, he shall make, or cause to be made, from time to time, such explanations, as may, through the blessing of God, be most conducive to their establishment in the principles of the Christian Protestant religion." They ordered likewise, that "the Rector shall cause the Scriptures daily, except on the Sabbath, morning and evening, to be read by the students at the times of prayer in the school, according to the laudable order and usage of Harvard College, making exposition upon the same:" and upon the Sabbath, that he "shall either expound practical theology, or cause the non-graduated students to repeat sermons." President Quincy supposes that the mention of the "order and usage of Harvard College" had reference to the "expounding" of the Scriptures by the President, which had there fallen into some neglect: and that Sewall and Addington were particularly instrumental in having this matter put right in Connecticut, and wished to have it secured by charter. It will be seen, however, by looking at the article which they prepared for the charter, that there is no allusion to this matter of "expounding;" and in the order itself, the reference to the "laudable usage of Harvard College" is restricted to the reading of the Scriptures "by the students at the times of prayer." That Sewall and Addington took an interest in this subject is true. In their letter to the trustees in which their draft of a charter was inclosed, they say: "we make no doubt you will oblige the Rector to expound the Scriptures diligently morning and evening." If they had thought it expedient that a provision to this effect should be included in the charter, their article would have contained it.

In establishing the regulations mentioned above, it was, without doubt, one great object of the trustees, to satisfy the public at the outset, as to the course of religious instruction, which was to be pursued in the new Collegiate School. To

effect this, they seem to have judged it expedient, to conform their seminary in this, as well as in other respects, as far as was in their power, to the older college at Cambridge. If they wished to satisfy their correspondents in Boston, as to charter provisions on this subject, the manner of doing it was somewhat equivocal; as Sewall and Addington would see, that their favorite points were secured in no other way, than they were at Cambridge; with the state of things at which place, according to President Quincy, they were dissatisfied. That the rules adopted by the trustees were merely a transcript of those at that time in force in Harvard College, there is abundant proof in these volumes.

In the ninth chapter of this work, we have a general view of "the course of studies and the degree of literary instruction" in Harvard in the early period of its history. "The exercises of the students," we are told, "had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised *twice a day in reading the Scriptures*, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretical observations on the language and logic of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances, and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and *repeating them publicly in the Hall*." It is added: "in every year and every week of the college course, every class was practised *in the Bible and catechetical divinity*." A sketch is likewise given of the course of study in other departments of learning; and it is then said: "such were the principles of education established in the college under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear, that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century;" that is, to the time of the founding of Yale College.

In the year 1723, various inquiries were made by the board of overseers respecting the state of the college, more particularly in reference to its religious and moral condition. These inquiries were arranged under ten different heads; two of which only are immediately to our purpose. The third inquiry was: "How are the Saturday exercises performed, and are the great concerns of their souls duly inculcated on the youth?" To this it was replied, that the *Greek Catechism* is recited by the Freshmen without exposition. Wollebius's and Ames's *Systems of Divinity* by the other classes with exposition on Saturdays; and *repetitions of the sermons* of the foregoing Sabbath are made by the

students on Saturday evenings, when the president is present." The fifth inquiry was: "Whether the Holy Scriptures be daily read in the hall, and how often expounded?" It was answered, "that the Scriptures are read in the hall, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, when the president is present, and once a week *expounded by the president.*" Previous to 1708, the practice of obliging the undergraduates to read portions of the Scriptures from Latin or English into Greek, at morning or evening service, had been discontinued. On the accession of President Leverett, this "ancient and laudable practice was revived." In an official report of the regular exercises of the students, in 1726, "Wollebius's Divinity" and "Ames's Medulla" have a conspicuous place.*

Let the reader now compare this system of religious instruction with that of Yale College, as stated above, and he will see they are the same, with very few and immaterial variations. This is what might have been expected. All the trustees, with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Saybrook, were graduates of Harvard. They evidently retained a strong regard for their *Alma Mater*, and in bringing into operation their new college, were disposed to make Harvard their pattern, as far as circumstances would permit. It is an important fact illustrative of their feelings towards the older seminary, that they established no general laws, or very few, for the government of the students, for more than forty years after the founding of the college. The rector and tutors were referred to the laws and usages of Harvard College for their guide. Here is no evidence of disaffection, no indication of a feeling of opposition to the college at Cambridge. The trustees adopted a system with which they were familiar, in which they had themselves been educated; and they appear to have thought, that there was no way in which they could so effectually recommend the rising institution to the public, as by copying after one, in which there was such general confidence.

In the theological course, adopted first at Cambridge, and afterwards in the college of Connecticut, we see nothing very peculiar. Is not the Scotch Confession the ground of all theological instruction, in the universities of Scotland; and the thirty-nine articles in the universities of England? The church catechism is, we believe, taught, if not in the universities, in the

* Vol. I. p. 439—441.

great schools of the kingdom, in some portions of each in Latin, and in others, perhaps, in Greek. Among the first regulations made by the trustees of William and Mary College in Virginia, was this, that in the grammar school attached to the college all the scholars should learn the church catechism, in the English language, and that those who were more advanced in their studies should learn it in Latin.* It was likewise ordered, that on Saturdays and holydays, lessons should be set in Castalio's Dialogues, or Buchanan's version of the Psalms, or some other book of religious instruction, approved of at least by the president and master, to be recited in the morning on Mondays, and days next after the holydays.† In New England the Westminster catechism was the undisputed standard of orthodoxy; and Ames and Wollebius were considered two of the most able expounders of the same system. The Assembly's catechism in Latin, we believe, has been recited likewise in the college of New Jersey.

That there was in 1700 some opposition in Boston to Harvard, is clearly proved by what President Quincy has published. But that this opposition took a decided form in Connecticut is without proof. The strongest testimony to this point adduced by President Quincy is found in an extract of a letter from the Rev. Moses Noyes of Lyme, to Judge Sewall, in 1723. He says "it was a wrong step when the trustees, by the assistance of great men, removed the college from Saybrook, and a worse, when they put in Mr. Cutler for rector. The first movers for a college in Connecticut alleged this as a reason, because the college at Cambridge was under the tutelage of latitudinarians; but how well they mended, the event sadly manifests."‡ That the language of the disaffected in Boston should be repeated to some extent in Connecticut, when the establishment of the new college was in agitation, was a matter of course. But the testimony of Mr. Noyes ought to be received with some

* *Curabit etiam ludi-magister, ut Catechismum Anglicanum linguâ vulgari omnes addiscant; proveciores etiam in Linguâ Latinâ.*

† *Diebus Saturni et profestis, lectio præscribatur sacra ex Castalionis Dialogis aut Buchananani Psalmorum Paraphrasi, aut quocunque alio libro pio, a præside et ludimagistro saltem comprobato, quæ diebus Lunæ et post festa mane reddatur.*

‡ Vol. II. p. 462.

grains of abatement. Mr. Noyes lived in the neighborhood of Saybrook, was himself one of the trustees, and had at first opposed the removal of the college from that town. Having been defeated in his efforts, and having reluctantly given his assent to the proposed measure, in this letter to Judge Sewall, he evidently wrote with the feelings produced by recent disappointment. The real disposition of the original trustees towards Harvard is to be looked for rather in their treatment of Judge Sewall and Secretary Addington, which was barely civil, and in the uniform regard which they manifested to that institution. In 1725, the trustees, Mr. Noyes being absent, by a *unanimous* vote invited the Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, to the office of rector; and as he declined the place, private negotiations were immediately commenced with Mr. Henry Flynt, a tutor in the same college, to induce him to become rector of Yale. This attempt was likewise unsuccessful. These proceedings show, how little real apprehension there was then at New-Haven, Mr. Noyes's letter notwithstanding, about the theology of the "latitudinarians" at Cambridge. One half of the original trustees were in the board, at the time Mr. Cutler was elected rector; and three of the number, at the election of Professor Wigglesworth.

But it may be useful to look a little more closely at the theological course in the college of Connecticut, so particularly noticed by President Quincy, and compare it with that of the college at Cambridge. The trustees of the former directed that the students should recite the Assembly's Catechism *memoriter* in Latin. In the latter, every class was practised every year, and every week of the college course in *catechetical* divinity. The catechism was recited by the Freshmen in Greek, and without doubt *memoriter*. What more probable, than that the "Catechism of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster" was the catechism in question. This catechism was in the highest repute in Massachusetts, as well as in Connecticut, was universally taught in families; and if "catechetical divinity" made a part of the college course, what other manual would have been adopted in preference to that of the Westminster divines? We have now before us a copy of the Assembly's Catechism, in Greek and Latin, which was used in several successive classes in Yale College. What other catechism in Greek was there, which could have been used at Harvard? Yale College, then, in using this catechism, imitated

Harvard. At Harvard, the catechism was recited by the Freshmen in Greek, at Yale, by all classes in Latin; a difference, the importance and ground of which, we will not undertake to determine.

At Yale, "Ames's Theological Theses" were recited; at Harvard, "Ames's System of Divinity." "Ames's Medulla" is meant in both cases. It seems, that at Harvard, previous to 1723, Wollebius had been called in as an auxiliary to Ames. In Yale College, about the same time, the "Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ" of Wollebius was a text-book; proving, what before, perhaps, was sufficiently evident, that the course of studies in the latter institution was regularly conformed to that of the former. At Yale, the students heard explanations of "Ames's Cases of Conscience;" at Harvard, they gave an account of "their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths," were required "to attend God's ordinances, and be examined on their profiting." The actual process in the two cases was probably nearly the same. We can see here, however, no indications of any "stricter form" in Connecticut, than in Massachusetts. As to reading and expounding the Scriptures, and repeating sermons, the course in the two colleges was the same. Why "the college in Connecticut began to be deemed by the stricter sect of Calvinists the stronghold of their opinions" does not appear. If in Harvard, a "catholic and liberal spirit" was "its vital principle and distinguishing characteristic,"—and we are not now questioning the fact,—what proof has been yet presented, that the same spirit did not exist in Yale?—If in Harvard there was no "form of sound words," no "creed," no "catechism," no "medulla theologiæ" "established as a standard of religious faith, to which every one, entering on an office of government and instruction, was required to swear and subscribe, and, at the hazard of perjury and hypocrisy, under the combined temptations of loss of place, of caste and of bread, at stated periods to renew his oath and subscription,"—neither was there at Yale. If the regulations of Harvard show no "shackle for the human soul," neither do the regulations of Yale show any such thing there. If "the first constitution of Harvard College, established in 1642, in enumerating the powers granted and the objects proposed to be attained by its foundation, makes use of these simple and memorable terms:" "To make and establish all such orders, statutes and constitutions, as they shall see necessary for the instituting,

guiding and furthering of the said college, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in *piety*, morality and learning ;" the first charter of Yale College authorizes the establishment of a school, " wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employments both in church and civil state." If there is proof of a " catholic spirit" in the one case, why not in the other ?

But perhaps at Yale, in elections, inquiry was made as to the belief of individual candidates. How was it at Harvard ? In 1737, when the Rev. Mr. Holyoke of Marblehead was a candidate for the Presidency, Governor Belcher is related* to have inquired of the Rev. John Barnard : " Can you vouch for Mr. Holyoke's Calvinistic principles ?" To which question Mr. Barnard replied : " If more than thirty years intimacy, and more than twenty years living with him, and scores of times hearing him preach can lead me into the knowledge of a man's principles, I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man ; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper to cram his principles down another man's throat." " Then," said his excellency, " I believe he must be the man." And *accordingly* he was the man, and was elected in both boards unanimously. We suppose, that in the selection of the ten clergymen who composed the first board of trustees in Yale College, satisfactory evidence was required that each individual was " as orthodox a Calvinist as any man," and that all, or most, of this board were not of as " catholic a temper" as President Holyoke we have no reason to believe. The Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, one of the first trustees, certainly sympathized with the party in Boston, considered as liberal by President Quincy, and there is no ground for the supposition, that he was singular in this respect. The board, as a body, is indirectly represented by Mr. Noyes, soon after, as consisting of " Latitudinarians," like those who had the direction of the college at Cambridge. If suspicion of a man's orthodoxy is sufficient to prove him of a " catholic spirit," the President and Fellows of Yale College have strong support of this kind ; since from the time Mr. Noyes wrote his letter to Judge Sewall in 1723, and perhaps from a much earlier period, there has never been a day, when that body have not lain under the imputa-

* Vol. II. p. 7.

tion from some quarter or other, of having, more or less, "departed from the faith."

But can it be true, that the first trustees of Yale College were "liberal" and "catholic," in the sense in which these epithets are used by President Quincy? If we correctly apprehend his meaning, he would be understood to say, that the founders of Harvard College designedly gave it a constitution which, so far as any provision of the charter was concerned, would admit of its easily passing into the hands of any sect of religionists, who could use the words "piety" and "godliness;" and that in making their fundamental arrangements, they had this object distinctly in view. This we do not believe to have been the fact in Connecticut; and yet every argument adduced to prove it to have been true at Harvard is equally cogent to prove it to have been true at Yale. The first trustees of the latter college had the proposition distinctly before them, to insert a provision in their charter, that strict Calvinism should be taught; and on consideration, they rejected it. Not that they were not Calvinists, or did not intend to make their own system of faith the ground of religious instruction. They undoubtedly supposed, that they were abundantly secured in another way. "They were as orthodox Calvinists as any men," but, like President Holyoke, were not disposed to adopt "new measures."

The question here, we wish it understood, is not how far the present directors of either Harvard or Yale, in the management of their respective institutions, are bound to respect the religious opinions of their founders; or whether they are bound at all. These questions are of entirely a different character from that which we are about to consider, and would lead to a discussion, on which we have no inclination at present to enter. The inquiry will be simply as to the matter of fact, whether the founders of Harvard College were "liberal" in the sense above explained? In our opinion, the reasoning of President Quincy on this point is inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

[*To be continued.*]

ARTICLE IX.

ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE.

THE SAXON part of the English language has, as yet, attracted but little attention in the United States. The causes of this neglect are obvious. The importance of studying the language, as a whole, or any part of it, has not been deeply felt. Our institutions of learning have been tardy in making provision for the radical study of the vernacular speech. Professors of the English language have not, in general, formed a part of the corps of instruction in a college. If the subject has received any degree of attention, it has been indirect and ineffectual. The history of the language, its structure, its various dialects have been considered as falling into the province of the antiquarian, rather than as being a matter of intense interest, and of great practical value to the general student. In our seminaries, the subject has been conjoined with, or appended to the department of oratory or belles-lettres, as if unworthy to stand on independent ground.

Again, the influence of certain writers has been unfavorable to the development of the original elements of the language. They have bowed down before Latin or French idols. In their zeal for high-sounding periods, or the polysyllabic march of a sentence, they have overlooked that which imparts to the language its masculine energy, its iron strength, its wedge-like force. Writers, like Dr. Johnson and Gibbon, have exerted a pernicious influence.* Their peculiarities are precisely such as attract the admiration of the young, at the period when the style is in a process of formation. It is singular that a man of so much acumen as the great lexicographer, who, in his conversation, showed such powers of irony and sarcasm, who, in other words, possessed qualities of mind which naturally seek

* The recent editor of Gibbon, Mr. Milman, has some of the faults of his author. In the *History of Christianity*, his style is exceedingly faulty. Not a few sentences are wretchedly ungrammatical. The history is, in many respects, very interesting.

short and pithy modes of expression, should have employed, in his written compositions, such a rotund and ponderous Latin terminology. The influence of Burke's writings has been, in a degree, like that of Dr. Johnson's. Robert Hall's style, though it combines distinguished excellencies, is still wanting in the force and simplicity which is the result of familiarity with the Saxon elements. His conversation and his ordinary style of preaching were not chargeable with this fault, at least in an equal degree.

We shall, perhaps, be pardoned in referring to two individuals in our own country, who have illustrated what may be called the Roman and the Saxon styles of composition. Dr. Dwight, in his more elaborate discourses, like the one which was preached before the American Board for Foreign Missions, has the pomp and stateliness of a well trained Castilian. Polysyllables roll along in imperial magnificence. On the other hand, Dr. Beecher has the sententious brevity, the point, the fiery glow of one who has smelted the ore in the native mines; who determines, with a sort of blacksmith energy, to force an instant entrance into the citadel of the conscience. Hence he uses hot shot and hand-grenades, rather than the thundering cannon.

We do not intend, by these remarks, to decry the use of Latin and French words. It is the honor of the English language, that it is a mixed one, that it has gathered the spoils of many realms and tongues. It is a poor conceit, which would confine a writer to words of one or two letters. There are thoughts and feelings which refuse to be compressed into monosyllables. There are species of compositions which demand, for their full effect, that they should be clothed in the Roman toga. The English translation of the Bible is celebrated for its thorough Saxon character. Yet, when occasion calls, the venerable translators resort to their Gallic and Italian neighbors. What can be more perfectly Latin than the version of some of the sublimer passages in the Apocalypse?

Another cause of the neglect of the Anglo-Saxon may be traced to the common impression that we are sufficiently acquainted with it already. We may not be able to read the letters; we may possess no Saxon dictionary; we may not have looked into any author anterior to Chaucer, or, perhaps, to Shakspeare; we may have never analyzed the language into its original elements, and yet we may deceive ourselves

with the impression that we understand the Anglo-Saxon, because we can write tolerably good English. But a perfect mastery of the latter depends on a careful study of the former. An acquaintance with the dialect of Alfred and of Alfric would enlarge our vocabulary, would amplify the knowledge which we already have; would give significance to terms which we now lazily utter, with but a dim apprehension that they mean any thing; and, in short, would show us how rich our mother dialect is. We need to enliven and enlarge our most current and familiar ideas, lest they should become stagnant and nothing worth.

We may mention, as an additional reason for the want of interest in Saxon studies, the difficulty which has existed, until very recently, of procuring the suitable apparatus of grammars, lexicons, etc. The works of Hickes, Lye, and some others have, indeed, long been found in some of our large libraries. But where these volumes are accessible, scarcely any thing could be more unattractive. They contain treasures of knowledge, but to the beginner exceedingly uncouth and repulsive.

Within a few years, however, this want has been supplied. A new zest for the study of the Anglo-Saxon has been awakened in England. Several individuals, most of them now living, have given us good fruits, as the result of their industrious and well-directed labors. A number of distinguished scholars on the continent have earnestly and successfully co-operated. In the following pages we propose to give a brief account of these labors, or, of the present condition of Anglo-Saxon studies in England. A slight retrospect of its past history may not be unacceptable.*

* A brief article on this subject was inserted in Vol X. of the *Bibl. Repos.*, first series, pp. 386—398. We shall endeavor not to repeat the statements made in that article. Since that was published, however, great advances have been made in England in Anglo-Saxon studies, and several valuable books have been issued. Among these are Dr. Bosworth's *Dictionary*, in 930 pages large octavo, and Petheram's *Anglo-Saxon Literature in England*. We have drawn freely from these volumes, especially from the last named. We have also before us *Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons*; and several Anglo-Saxon grammars, *Rev. Henry Soames's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, the *Deutsche Grammatik* of Grimm of Göttingen, and the various reviews and notices which have recently

Whether the Saxons, on their invasion of Britain, possessed a knowledge of written language, has been much disputed. Like most of the Teutonic race, they employed *Runes* to record their events. After the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, the Roman Missionaries taught them to write in the manner to which they had been accustomed. Hence the origin of what we now term the Anglo-Saxon letters; but there are three only which strictly possess that character, and they are derived apparently from the ancient *Runes*. These are equivalent to our *th*, *dh* and *w*. What we term the Saxon alphabet was that which was in general use in England from the 13th to the 16th century. The first school established in England was at Canterbury, at the beginning of the 7th century. Ethelbert, king of Kent, who assisted Augustine in promoting the conversion of the people, was the author of the first written Anglo-Saxon laws, which have descended to us, or which are known to have been established. Theodore, ordained Archbishop of Canterbury near the close of the 7th century, in conjunction with his friend Adrian, brought over many books from Rome, and zealously diffused knowledge wherever he went. Egbert, who was Archbishop of York in 712, founded a noble library at York. The celebrated and truly venerable Bede, to whom all who speak the English language are so much indebted, began his education at seven years of age, in the monastery of Weremouth. His writings embrace almost every subject of learning then known. By their diffusion a flood of light was poured in on the minds of his countrymen.* Learning was not now confined to ecclesiastics and kings. The Anglo-Saxon women were not only learners but teachers. In the *Epistles of Boniface*, we find many letters addressed to him by his female pupils, which show their acquisitions in Latin verse as well as prose. About the year 728, Ina, king of the West Saxons, founded a school for the instruction of his countrymen, who chose to be educated at Rome.

In 849, Alfred the Great was born. He conceived the noble

appeared in England on the subject. Our main design in this paper is to communicate information which may be valuable to the American student, and which is not easily accessible.

* His *Ecclesiastical History* has just been issued from the press, accompanied by a good English translation, in a very handsome volume.

design of founding a vernacular literature, and by his personal exertions he realized very considerably that wise and generous intention. He rendered, from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the Geography of Orosius, Boethius on the Consolation of Philosophy, Pope Gregory's Pastoral, and a selection from the Confessions of Augustine. There is reason also to believe that he made translations from the Fables of Æsop, compiled a book of Proverbs and wrote a treatise on falconry. His versions of Scripture did not, probably, extend beyond such portions as appeared, from time to time, peculiarly suited to his own comfort and instruction. He seems, however, to have been employed on a regular translation of the Psalms when overtaken by a summons to eternity. He died in his 52d year, in A. D. 901.

After Alfred, we may consider Alfric, the abbot, but better known as the grammarian, as the principal creator of Saxon literature. Among his works are treatises on the Trinity and on the Old and New Testaments, a Latin Grammar, a Latin-Saxon Glossary, a translation of the Latin Grammar into Anglo-Saxon, a portion of the Saxon Chronicle, etc.

The language, up to the time of the Conquest, was Anglo-Saxon. From that period to the middle of the 13th century, it has acquired, with doubtful propriety, the name of Semi-Saxon; and from that period to the Reformation, the name of Middle-English. The Norman language was by no means unknown before the times of the Conqueror. Many of the youth of England, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, were sent to the schools of France; and a continued intercourse between the two countries was carried on long before this period. Now, however, Norman-French became the language of the court, and various causes conspired gradually to change the ancient forms of speech. This was especially true in the large commercial towns, and in the great thoroughfares of business. In the agricultural population of the remoter counties, the relics of ancient times are still visible. Thus it is, that the same names of agricultural implements, their uses, the occupations of agriculture, the names and boundaries of fields, the streams which divide one possession from another, and the names of villages, hamlets and towns remain as they were before the Conquest. In the west of England, a language is still spoken in many places which bears no strict, definite relation to any written composition that we find in books. Many of the words are

now obsolete in written compositions. On referring to the Anglo-Saxon writings, we find them. They are seen in the Semi-Saxon pages of Layamon, and in those of Robert of Gloucester. There are many reasons for believing that the Saxon language was never extinct in England. Camden tells us that in the Abbey of Tavistock, which had a Saxon founder about 961, "there were solemn lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the time of our fathers, that the knowledge of the language might not fail as it has since well nigh done." William L'Isle, in his preface to the *Saxon Monuments*, published by him in 1623, thus alludes to the subject: "Thanks be to God, that he that conquered the land, could not so conquer the language, but that, in memory of our fathers, it hath been preserved with common lectures," etc.

Before the year 1525, we find a printing press already erected in the monastery of Tavistock. John Leland, the antiquary of Henry VIII., appears to have been the first individual of the reformed faith who possessed a knowledge of the Saxon language, and collected Saxon MSS. Archbishop Parker, three years after the publication of his book on "priests' marriages," and when the great Bible, which came out in 1572, was in preparation, distributed parts of the Old Testament to different bishops for the purpose of translation, and sent at the same time to all of them, severally, a request, that while making a visitation in their dioceses, they would examine the books in their churches and inform him what they were, and whether there were among them any Saxon authors. The Archbishop also sent out a circular letter, for the same purpose, under the Queen's authority. John Batman incidentally states, that in the space of four years, he procured 6,700 books for Parker. Persons were kept in his family who could imitate any of the old characters to be found in MSS. John Joscelyn, his secretary and amanuensis, collected, it is supposed, the materials for Parker's *Antiquitates at Britannicæ*, published in 1572. Joscelyn edited and published the first entire work in the Anglo-Saxon, which ever came from the press. This was a "Testimony of Antiquitie respecting the body and blood of the Lord." Among his works (he was assisted by John, son of the Archbishop) was a Saxon-Latin Dictionary. He also prepared a grammar which has been lost. The third publication in Anglo-Saxon literature, which issued from the press of John Day, was the *Gospels*, by Fox the Martyrologist.

At the opening of the 17th century, we find almost a blank in

regard to the Saxon language. One individual, William Camden, appears as a promoter of the Saxon tongue. In his "*Britannia*" we have many details of Saxon history; and in the "*Remaines concerning Britaine*," first published in 1605, we have some chapters which treat of the Saxon tongue, and of the derivation of our names and surnames, as well as names of places, from it. "The ground of our own tongue," he remarks, "appertaineth to the old Saxon. The Italian is pleasant but without sinews, as a still fleeting water. The French delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance. The Spanish majesticall, but fulsome, running too much on the O, and terrible like the divell in a play. The Dutch manlike, but withal very harsh, as one ready at every word to pick a quarrel. Now we, in borrowing from them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of words to the French, the varieties of termination to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so, like bees, gather the honey of their good qualities, and leave the dregs to themselves. How then can the language, which consisteth of all these, sound other than most full of sweetness?"

In 1623, William L'Isle published "a Saxon treatise on the Old and New Testament, written about the time of King Edgar, 700 years ago, by Alfricus Abbas," etc. Various Saxon treatises were appended. He also prepared for publication various portions of Alfric's Saxon translation from the Old Testament, accompanied by an English version. His labors seem to have awakened a new interest in Saxon studies. Sir Henry Spelman settled a Saxon lecture in the university of Cambridge, allowing £20 per annum to Mr. Abraham Whelock, the first incumbent. Spelman published a Glossary of the Saxon tongue, at his own cost. By various other labors, he is entitled to a high rank among the promoters of Anglo-Saxon literature in England. In 1640, Sir John Spelman published the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalter, with an interlinear Latin translation, and dedicated it to Laud, whom he praises as a preserver of ancient MSS. and a patron of the Saxon tongue. Usher was another promoter of this study. In 1655, Francis Junius, professor at Heidelberg, but for a long time resident in England, where he died, published Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase, and the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels. He had apparently intended, as early as 1654, to publish an Anglo-Saxon

Glossary. Many of his works are in MS. in the Bodleian library. His *Etymologicon Anglicanum* was published by Lye, in two volumes folio, 1750. His great work, the Glossary of five Northern languages, Dr. Fell caused to be transcribed for the press in nine folio volumes, but which has never been published. The number and variety of his works display the unwearied industry of his character.

On the death of Whelock, in 1657, he was succeeded by William Somner, who brought out, in 1659, the first Anglo-Saxon Dictionary ever printed. It is a Saxon-Latin-English Dictionary. Many of the notes are also in English. At the end are the Latin-Saxon Grammar and Glossary of Alfric. In 1660, he published the "History of Gavelkind," to which is added an appendix of charters and other instruments in Saxon, some of which are accompanied with Latin, and others with interlinear English translations. Many of his books and papers were accidentally burned. From the publication of his Dictionary, a new path was opened to the English philologist. The English language, also, began to receive the attention of continental and of English scholars. In 1689, the Anglo-Saxon Grammar of Dr. George Hickes, the first ever compiled, was published. In 1692, Gibson edited an improved text of the Saxon Chronicle. The types which Junius had presented to Oxford were employed in 1698 to print Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. As early as 1698, Edward Thwaites became a preceptor in Saxon at Queen's College, Oxford. On the 24th of March of that year, he observes, "we want Saxon Lexicons. I have fifteen young students in that language, and but one Somner for them all." He was subsequently engaged by Hickes to superintend the "*Thesaurus Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium*" through the press. Other important works were published by Thwaites. He died at the age of 44, leaving a high character for learning and talents. Hickes's *Thesaurus* came out in 1705, in three folio volumes. Of this work, Mr. J. M. Kemble says: "Though modern attention has detected so many errors as to render Hickes's Grammars rather dangerous than useful, we owe him great and hearty thanks for his labors. The enthusiasm which he brought with him to his task spread far beyond himself; a host of Saxon students rose around him; and his Grammar answered all the wants of which they were conscious." Humphrey Wanley, born in March 1671-2, and bred a limner, drew up the catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS.,

which forms a part of Hickes's Thesaurus. Many of Wanley's MS. works are in the British Museum. William Elstob and his sister Elizabeth, relatives of Dr. Hickes, were very zealous promoters of Anglo-Saxon literature. Elizabeth published an Anglo-Saxon Homily and a Grammar; she also assisted her brother in various undertakings. She, likewise, made a collection of above eighty Sermons and Tracts, of which nine sheets only were printed. From the cynical account of a contemporary, we learn that "she was of an ancient family and genteel fortune; but pursuing too much the drug called learning, and in that respect failed of being careful of the one thing necessary."

An edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws by Dr. Wilkins appeared in 1721. Some of the English prelates, particularly Gibson bishop of London, and Nicolson bishop of Gloucester, afforded a constant and generous patronage to Anglo-Saxon scholars. The latter wrote a dissertation on the Feudal Law of the Saxons. In 1722, appeared a valuable edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, with the Latin text, Alfred's Saxon translation, followed by a few charters, etc. A new impulse was given to the Saxon learning in 1750 by the establishment of a lecture in the university of Oxford, by Dr. Richard Rawlinson. Edward Lye superintended the publication of Junius's Etymologicon Anglicanum, prefixing to it an Anglo-Saxon Grammar of his own. In 1750, he printed an edition of the Gothic Gospels, and prefixed to it a Gothic Grammar. He died in 1767, after he had printed about 30 sheets of his Anglo-Saxon and Gothic Dictionary. His friend, the Rev. Owen Manning, published it in 1772, in 2 vols. folio, adding a valuable preface and appendix. "We owe a thousand thanks," says the Rev. Mr. Halbertsma of Holland, "to Lye, who gives us the Anglo-Saxon words as he found them, and never alters the orthography to suit his own views."*

In 1795, a Saxon professor, the Rev. James Ingram, was chosen in the university of Oxford, Rawlinson's design not having been before carried into execution. With the 19th century, began a new era in Saxon literature. The publication of the first edition of Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons in successive volumes, between the years 1799 and 1805, appears to have excited attention, not only towards their history, but by the addition to it of an account of their language and liter-

* Preface to Bosworth's Dictionary, p. 38.

ature, a slow but gradually increasing attention has been awakened. "The Anglo-Saxon MSS.," says Mr. Turner, "lay still unexamined, and neither their contents, nor the important facts, which the ancient writers and records of other nations had preserved of the transactions and fortunes of our ancestors, had ever been made a part of our general history. The *Quida*, or *Death Song of Lodbrog*, first led the present author to perceive the deficiency, and excited his wish to supply it. A series of careful researches into every original document, that he had the opportunity of examining, was immediately begun and steadily pursued, till all that was most worth preserving was collected from the Anglo-Saxon MSS. and other ancient books. The valuable information thus obtained, the author endeavored to give the public in a readable form in this work, of which two thirds have not before appeared in English." Successive editions, in 1807, 1818, 1823, 1828 and 1838, show the estimation in which this great history has been held by the public in England and the United States. In 1807, Prof. Ingram published an inaugural lecture on the utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature, to which he added Alfred's *Geography of Europe*. In 1819, Miss Gurney of Keswick, Norfolk, edited the first English version of the *Saxon Chronicle*. In 1823, it was published, with large additions, by Mr. Ingram. In the same year, appeared the Rev. J. Bosworth's *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, in 332 pages octavo. It was a very seasonable and valuable production, though encumbered with many matters which do not strictly belong to a grammar. An *Epitome* of it was published in 1826. A new edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, much enlarged by Mr. Richard Price, came out in 4 vols. 8vo, in 1824. The editor, in a preface of 120 pages, as well as in the notes, has ably discussed several interesting points connected with Anglo-Saxon poetry and romances. The *Illustration of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, by J. J. Coneybeare, edited, together with additional notes, by his brother, W. D. Coneybeare, 1826, is a work of very considerable merit. In 1828, Mr. Cardale of Leicester, published the *Will of King Alfred*, with notes; and in 1829, an edition of Alfred's *Boethius*, with an English translation, which, being as literal as possible, preserves the idiom of the original. In 1830, the Rev. Henry Soames published an "Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in eight sermons preached before the University of Cambridge," at the Bampton

lecture. In 1832, Mr. Benjamin Thorpe published Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase, under the auspices of a Committee of the Society of Antiquarians in London. It is said that that poem bears a considerable similarity to the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. The translation is exceedingly spirited. Fifty-three engravings accompany the work. In 1831-2, appeared the great work of Sir. Francis Palgrave, in 2 vols. quarto, entitled: "The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Anglo-Saxon Period, containing the Anglo-Saxon Polity, and the institutions arising out of laws and usages which prevailed before the Conquest." To those who take a deep interest in the origin and progress of the English language and the English constitution, it is a mine of wealth. No office, however minute, no station however high, has been passed over without its several bearings having been pointed out, and its importance carefully marked.* A volume which should always accompany it is "Allen's Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England," which contains sounder views on this subject than are to be met with in any volume of its size published within the last century. About this time, the Grammars of Hunter and Gwilt appeared, which are not considered of great value. In 1833, John M. Kemble, Esq. of Trinity College, Cambridge, published the poem of Beowulf, the most remarkable composition which exists in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The publication of this venerable poem excited great interest, and the limited number of copies which were printed, were sold in three months.

In 1834, Mr. Thorpe published a work of the highest value to all students of the Anglo-Saxon—"Analecta Anglo-Saxonica; a selection in prose and verse from Anglo-Saxon authors of various ages, with a Glossary." One chapter of the gospels is given in the Saxon character, that the student may have no difficulty when he meets with any work in that character, either printed or in MS. With this exception, and the use of the characters for *th* and *dh*, the entire text of the Analecta is in Roman letter. In 1834, Mr. Thorpe published "The Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Romance of Apollonius of Tyre." "The Anglo-Saxon Church, its history, revenues and general character, by the Rev. Henry Soames, M. A., London, 1835," is

* Petheram's *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 146.

another valuable addition to our previous knowledge of the early English church.

The work so long and so anxiously expected by the Saxon students of England—an Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary—was at length published in the year 1838, in a thick octavo volume, with the following title: “A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the accentuation, the grammatical inflections, the irregular words referred to, their themes, the parallel terms from the other Gothic languages, the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin, and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon; with a Preface on the Origin and Connection of the Germanic tongues, a map of languages, and the essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar; by the Rev. J. Bosworth, LL. D., English Chaplain at Rotterdam; London, 1838.” The matter in the introduction is of the most interesting kind. With the view of illustrating the Anglo-Saxon, nearly all the radical words, and a few important compounds are followed by the parallel terms, from the cognate dialects. For this portion of the work, the author was indebted to a zealous and learned friend, a native of Holstein, who used his utmost efforts to verify every word introduced among the parallels, and to give the orthography correctly. In order to show more clearly the analogy of the cognate languages, they have been arranged in the order of their affinity, which was considered most natural. The explanation of the Anglo-Saxon is in English, one word of which is often identical with the Saxon, by which the necessity of a long paraphrastic Latin rendering is superseded, and the definition shortened. To ensure the authority of Somner and Lye, and the sanction of Saxon scholars, the Latin significations are added. By a proper attention to the economy of space in printing, without interfering with typographical neatness, more practical information is comprised in this octavo volume than in the two ponderous folios of Lye and Manning.*

* We are glad to learn that a considerable number of copies of Dr. Bosworth's Dictionary have been sold in the United States. For the sake of the excellent author, as well as for other reasons, we wish that this number were many fold what it is. The first edition is now sold. We hope the author may, in a second, reap from the public at large, that solid remuneration.

Among the Saxon works which appeared in England in 1839 and 1840, were a History of English Rhythms, by Edwin Guest; Music and the Anglo-Saxons, by F. D. Wackerbarth; Principia Saxonica, or an Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Reading, by L. Langley; Reliquiæ Antiquæ, a work published in numbers, and designed to collect together such pieces from ancient inedited MSS., illustrative of the literature and language of the Middle Ages, as are not of sufficient extent to form books by themselves; and, lastly, the work of Mr. Petheram, to which we are indebted for many of the facts in this brief sketch, and which we cordially recommend to our readers for its research, impartiality, copiousness and accuracy.

The formation of the Camden and British Historical Societies may be looked upon as animating signs of the times. The Royal Society of Literature has determined on the publication of a Biographia Britannica Literaria, in chronological order. An introduction to the first section has appeared, under the title of "An Essay on the State of Literature and Learning under the Anglo-Saxons, by Thomas Wright." The Historical Society have recently issued a volume of Charters relating to the Anglo-Saxon period, edited by Mr. Kemble, who has prefixed an introduction of great interest and value, in which he has discussed the question respecting the authenticity of the Anglo-Saxon charters. An edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, under the care of Mr. Thorpe, will soon be published. An elaborate work by Mr. Petrie, entitled, "Materials for the History of Great Britain," is in a course of preparation.

On the continent a gradually increasing attention has been given to Anglo-Saxon literature. The first edition of Grimm's "Deutsche Grammatik" was published in a single volume, in 1812. The first volume of a second edition was published in 1822, at Göttingen; the second volume followed in 1826, the third, in 1831, and the last in 1837.* "The system of this

ation which his laborious, learned and accurate work so amply deserves. The spirit which reigns throughout is eminently such as becomes a scholar and a Christian.

* We have several volumes of this edition. It is printed, particularly the first volume, on most wretched paper, hardly fit for spelling-books or wrapping-paper. It is a shame that such a noble work should not come out in an attractive form. Other important works on the general subject of the German

scholar," says Mr. Kemble, "which can henceforth alone form the basis of any philosophical study of the Teutonic tongues, rests upon two propositions. 1. That the roots of these languages, their methods of declension, conjugation and derivation are common to them all. Time may have rendered some of them obsolete; but still there they are, under some form or other, in some one or other of their derivatives. 2. That each language, according to fixed laws of its own, differences the common element. The knowledge of the roots themselves, their modifications and gradual restrictions of meaning, must be sought in all the languages combined. The nature of each tongue determines the particular form that each root shall have in that tongue; hence we may sometimes, when at a loss for the meaning of a word, gain light upon the subject, by transferring the form in Anglo-Saxon to its equivalent in Gothic, Old Norse, or Old High Dutch. The only evil attendant on this work is its vast extent; but however it may terrify the idle, or baffle the dull, it is the most magnificent present ever made to Teutonic scholars; and as I have good reason to know, the Anglo-Saxon Grammar is beyond comparison the most philosophical and complete that has ever yet appeared in Europe." In 1815, Prof. Thorlekin of Copenhagen printed the poem of Beowulf with a Latin translation. In 1817, an Anglo-Saxon Grammar was printed at Stockholm by Prof. Rask of Copenhagen. The second edition, enlarged and improved by the author, was translated from the Danish by Benjamin Thorpe, and published at Copenhagen in 1830. The grammar is preceded by a preface of 60 pages, which is chiefly occupied by a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon with the Icelandic. The last part contains a clear account of Anglo-Saxon versification, and a selection of reading lessons.* In 1820, Dr. Grundtvig published at Copen-

and its cognate languages, are Bopp's *Vocalismus oder Sprachvergleichende Kritiken über J. Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik*, etc.; Schmitthenner's *kurzes Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1834; and Dr. Becker's *Die Deutsche Wortbildung*, 1826. See Bosworth's Dictionary, Preface p. 167.

* "Mr. Turner's and Sir F. Palgrave's important works must be carefully read by every Anglo-Saxon student. These for history, and Rask and Grimm for philosophy are rich sources of information for those who are interested in the Anglo-Saxon language and literature." Bosworth. To these we ought now to add Dr. Bosworth's Dictionary.

hagen a Danish paraphrase of *Beowulf*. A valuable commentary on the Anglo-Saxon Laws was published by Phillips at Gottingen in 1826. The Laws of Canute appeared at Copenhagen the same year, in Latin, with various readings and the Anglo-Saxon text; and in 1830, came out Dr. Mone's *Materials and Researches for a History of the German Literature and Language*, in which will be found several Anglo-Saxon interlinear glosses. Dr. J. A. Schmeller of Munich published in the same year, "*The Heliand, or History of our Saviour's Life*." In 1836, a series of works on Anglo-Saxon literature by MM. de Larenaudière and Michel was commenced in Paris. The second volume of the collection came out in 1837 entitled: "*Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne, par Francisque Michel*." Though not without value, it would seem to be a work of more pretension than its merits justify. Prefixed to the work is a letter by Mr. J. M. Kemble, in English, which extends to upwards of 60 pages, giving a brief sketch of Anglo-Saxon literature in England and on the Continent.

We have now completed the brief sketch which we designed. The subject is one of great interest to all who speak the English language. A writer, in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has endeavored to analyze the nature of those words for which the modern language is indebted to the more ancient. The words in the English language he estimates at 38,000, and of those derived from the Saxon, as five-eighths, or about 23,000; but those derived from the latter are of that character that their recurrence, from their very nature, oftener takes place than others, and hence the language partakes, in a still greater degree, of the older forms. English grammar is almost exclusively occupied with what is of Anglo-Saxon origin; the names of the greater part of objects of sense; those words which are expressive of our earliest and dearest connections, and the strongest principles of our nature, are mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin.* It is asserted, also, that some of our best modern writers have been returning to a similar model, and, by necessity, the disuse of many words from the Greek and Latin, has introduced those of Saxon origin. Nearly all our national proverbs, those homely lessons of wisdom, in which so much thrift and carefulness shine out, are derived from the same tongue. To the Anglo-Saxon Wills, we must look for information

* See Petheram, p. 175, and *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1839.

respecting the law of real property, the descent and liabilities of lands, the nature of tenure and service, the power of the popular councils, a reasonable account of household arrangements, and disposition of real and personal estate.

In the actual and prospective spread of the English tongue, we find a new motive to study it fundamentally. The language of the venerable Bede is spoken at the sources of the Mississippi and the Indus. The institutions of Alfred are the defence and glory of states and empires, compared with which the kingdoms of Essex, Kent and East-Anglia were but insignificant villages. Anglo-American energy is peopling a continent with those who revere and love the great names that live in British story. English armies and navies are carrying the Ante-Norman dialect into the vale of Cashinire, over the wall of China, into the cannibal islands of the southern ocean. The descendants of a few wild but stout-hearted Angles, who left the woods of Germany 1400 years ago, are now thundering in the track of the crusaders, dictating the terms of their future intercourse with an empire of 400,000,000, casting into the shade the victories of Alexander, even on the identical ground which he traversed; in the same year tracing the long sought passage between North America and Asia, and discovering at the opposite pole a new continent. What is better still, the children of those whose light shone so brightly in the writings of Bede, Alfred and Alfric are now carrying the light of life back to the regions where it was first enkindled, and to other realms which Scandinavian enterprise had not then reached. Happy are we who enjoy the language, the liberties and the religion for which so many generations have toiled and bled; happier still, if we prove worthy descendants of such sires, good stewards of God's manifold gifts.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF COLEMAN'S ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

By Ralph Emerson, D. D., Prof. of Eccl. Hist., Theol. Sem., Andover, Mass.

The Antiquities of the Christian Church. Translated and Compiled from the Works of Augusti, with numerous Additions from Rheinwald, Siegel and others. By Rev. Lyman Coleman. Andover & New-York: Gould, Newman & Saxton. Boston: Tappan & Dennett; Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 1841. pp. 557.

AMONG the bright features in the present aspect of the Protestant world, we may safely reckon the increasing attention that is paid to the early history of the Christian Church. For were it only the indulgence of curiosity, it would be one of the most rational and harmless indulgences of that knowledge-seeking faculty, which can be imagined;—far safer than the direction into which the serpent beguiled the same noble but perilous endowment of our first parents;—and far safer, we may add, than any of those directions into which he now beguiles unstable souls. To ponder veritable history of any kind is much better than to listen to the most enchanting fictions. And to the child of God, what can be more congenial than to study the record of the early struggles, perils and triumphs of that cause to which his heart is now devoted for eternity, and on which the heart of his Saviour was fixed from eternity;—to muse, too, on the infant efforts of the Church towards the systematic development of Christian doctrine, and then, on its childlike application of the doctrine itself, whether wisely or not, in the early formation of Christian life and Christian institutions? No employment, we say, of human curiosity is more harmless or more rational; and none, we may further say, is of better omen or brighter promise. It argues well for the single mind that spontaneously takes such a direction, and very well for that community which is brought, in any way, to receive such a direction.

It is not, however, nor can it be, the mere indulgence of curiosity. Good will come of it, and much every way. For,

next to the study of the Bible itself, what can promise more for the correct understanding of the truth it contains, than an accurate knowledge of the ways in which those truths have been understood, in diverse ages and by diverse kinds of men? And what can conduce more to a correct application of those truths to practice, than a knowledge of the different ways in which they have actually been applied? The experience of ages is surely one of the chief correctives for all kinds of mistakes; and next to inspiration itself, the grand voucher for whatever is true in theory or wise in practice.

In proof of the fact that an increasing attention has lately been paid to the early history of the Church, we need only allude to the rapidly increasing number of works on this subject, which are annually issued from the press in this and other Protestant countries. The supply is a good index of the demand, while it also serves to increase that demand.

If inquired of for the reason of this increase, our answer is at hand, and is manifold. Literature of almost every kind is rapidly advancing. During the last age, science, in distinction from literature, engrossed far the greater share of studious toil, in this country and in Europe, with the exception perhaps of Germany; and the mournful cry was not raised in vain, that learning was perishing from the earth. And, as is common in such cases, the cry has been continued, with but little abatement, to the present hour, though the occasion of alarm has ceased, and the prospect now is, that literature will soon stand in her full strength by the side of her sister science.

Peace, blessed peace, the daughter and handmaid of true religion, now so long enjoyed between the most enlightened nations, may be regarded as the chief cause of this relative change. War, while it is an unnatural stimulant to many of the arts and sciences, and indirectly encourages nearly all the rest, is wont to thrust its maniac sword into the very vitals of literature. Amid the roar of cannon, the march of armies, and the sight of blood, the mind of whole nations becomes ferocious, and ceases to care, and then ceases to know about the pursuits of peaceful learning. It can think, and write and read of battles, and of the means of gaining battles, but of nothing else.

France, once so distinguished for both sacred and profane learning, is a living proof of what the spirit of war can do in this part of its devastating sphere. "France has no literature," is the sigh of a recent French writer. And peculiarly is this

true in regard to religious literature ; yet France is pre-eminent in science. The martial soul of Napoleon seemed to extend itself into every French bosom ; or rather, every Frenchman's soul seemed but a Gnostic emanation from the ruthless *Æon* of the Revolution. From this effect of the war spirit, France has scarcely begun to recover. England, too, has deeply felt the like effects in her literary pursuits. And Germany was saved from them,—so far as she was saved at all,—partly by her division into small kingdoms, which could hope for no martial glory ; but chiefly by what is otherwise her deepest calamity, the despotic sway of her sovereigns, allowing no scope for the common mind to become absorbed in political concerns. Hence it is, in no small degree, that Germany kept on in her literary career ; and, when emerging from the wars of the last age, was found so far in advance of the rest of the world. And now, in these peaceful days, time and ample opportunities are afforded for disseminating through other nations the accumulated and accumulating fruits of German acquisition.

Two causes, however, in addition to a difference of languages, have conspired to retard in a measure the dissemination of these fruits. The diverse and seemingly artificial mould in which the German mind casts its productions, together with some lack of common sense in discriminating between important and unimportant matters, may be regarded as one of these causes ; and it is one which calls for the sound discretion and independent thought of the compiler from their works, if he would present the results of their labors in the most intelligible and attractive form. The other cause, to which we allude, is the deep, and, for a time, indiscriminate suspicion of heresy that rested on the theological productions of Germany. So many of them were found infected with error, that such a suspicion naturally became too strong for any thing but time and the means of more accurate discrimination to allay. But now the language is more extensively cultivated among us, and the vast difference between different German authors is better known. God, too, has of late years raised up many pious and able men among them, whose character for general soundness in the faith is universally acknowledged, and who have corrected the errors of their skeptical countrymen, and turned their treasures of knowledge to the best account. The consequence is, that while the Christian community, both here and in England, have become better fortified against German error, the indiscriminate suspi-

cion has subsided, and a taste for German learning, or rather for thoroughgoing research itself, has vastly increased.

This propitious change is particularly manifest in the departments of Biblical Criticism and Ecclesiastical History. Intimately connected as these two departments are, it could hardly be expected that either should rise or sink alone. Both rose together at the time of the Reformation, under the auspices of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza and the Magdeburg Centuriators; and both sunk together at a subsequent period. And both are now rising again in company,—biblical criticism having naturally enough taken the lead in this country. Much might be said to our present purpose, on the increased and rapidly increasing means for the pursuit of such literature, from the multiplication and endowment of seminaries, and the increase of books, and the higher demands for learning in the ministry. But both the facts and their influence are too obvious to require illustration.

A further and most powerful cause of the increased attention to the history, especially to the antiquities of the Church, as well as to biblical criticism, is found in the controversies between rival sects, and in the grand contest which the Church as a body has to sustain against her skeptical foes.

When the remarkable era of Bible Societies arose on the Church, near the commencement of our age, she seemed herself, for awhile, awestruck and lost in holy wonder and peaceful delight. The gowned prelate and the humblest dissenting presbyter,—the Methodist, the Baptist, the Quaker, the dullest formalist and the most raving fanatic, the Antinomian, the Arminian and even the Socinian,—all found themselves strangely met together, not for some dread and unearthly struggle for final supremacy, but, for the first time, on a common platform, and in the metropolis of Protestantism, in the presence of thousands of every name and grade, with blandest eye and accent, to greet each other as Christian brethren. Delight followed the surprise of so unwonted a meeting; and the surprise increased the delight. How they were all brought there, none could tell. A voice, better than that of the Hermit, seemed to have summoned them to a holier crusade against the common foe. Their pledges of unity appeared, and were sincere. The voice of their cordial greetings rolled far and wide through the ranks of their diverse communions, and were fondly—alas! too fondly—received as the pledge, not only of a new era in Chris-

tian activity, but also of a new dispensation, in which the voice of sectarian strife should be heard no more. And, indeed, for a season, a goodly one, the harsh notes of immemorial discord died away to a whisper. It was soon discovered, however, that the age for ending all controversy between religious sects had not yet come; (nor would we by any means intimate that the amicable discussion of disputed points, should ever be entirely dropped in this world;) it was found, or imagined to be found, that some sects had begun rather adroitly to avail themselves of the quiet truce, for the goodly purpose of bringing all Christendom into a still closer union,—an exact union with their *own right* views and usages. And, from that moment, whether it were suspicion or fact at first, the wild-fire again spread from sect to sect. For a long time, the voice of contention, if not so harsh and criminating in all sects, has been at least as strong and decided as ever. The temporary suspension, though followed to a good extent by the milder spirit it was fitted to infuse, has yet, by the blasting of hopes so fondly cherished, been likewise followed by a more deliberate and decided purpose, in perhaps every sect, to maintain its own ground and spread its dominion;—in some with more, in others with less of sectarian zeal and sectarian measures.

In the mean time, every sect has advanced with the rapid advance of our population. And their own increase is carefully registered by many of the sects, and loudly heralded in their periodical reports as though it were a proof that themselves are soon to fill the land. New sects, too, if really new sects there can now be, are rising up,—for instance, the Mormons,—all claiming to be the original and genuine stock of Israel.

And there is yet another circumstance bearing directly and strongly on our subject. Nearly all these sects are rapidly rising into eminence in regard to learning, as well as numbers. This is the fact, with more than one which, a few years ago, were glorying in their ignorance; now they have their theological seminaries. They discarded and condemned all traditional evidence in respect to doctrinal truth and ecclesiastical rites and offices; now they are exploring the antiquities of the church, in zealous quest of proofs in support of their own peculiarities; and sentences from the early fathers grace their controversial pages and are familiarly rehearsed to their congregations.

Instead of complaining, however, we count it all joy that it is so. A resort to this additional and legitimate source of argu-

ment will ultimately have its benign and elevating effect on every sect. We only adduce the fact in its bearing on ecclesiastical literature. Every sect, if not every minister, has begun to feel its indispensable importance. The Baptist, the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Prelatist—all zealously plead prescription. And even the Mormons not long since, employed an enlightened Jewish convert to teach them Hebrew! What, then, is to be the fate of that sect, if such there be, that shall neglect to defend itself against weapons drawn from the ancient arsenal? And how is this defence to be made, except by weapons from the same source? When the Protestant Reformers were overwhelming the Pope with this armor, he put the youthful Baronius in a course of training for this species of defence, and bade him devote his life to the writing of *Christian Annals* for the support of his tottering throne. And, next to political machinations and the civil sword, it proved its best support.

But this brings us to say, that we have controversies from without, that imperiously demand an acquaintance with the doctrines and usages of the early church. This same popery, if met at all to any good purpose, is still to be met with the sword of the Spirit in the right hand, and the shield of ecclesiastical history in the left. Both are indispensable to the success of any combatant in this long and recently reviving conflict. Prescription is here, indeed, the main plea. And who can deal with such an argument, without knowing the grounds on which it rests?

Infidels, too, and skeptics of every class, from the days of Voltaire and Gibbon and Hume, have delighted to assail Christianity within the citadel of her own literature. Generally, they hate the Word of God too bitterly to study it enough to learn even its more plausible points of assault. But history is often their delight, as it has been so extensively their triumphant boast. To glean the scandal of the church and her inconsistencies, and place them in their most revolting attitudes, and then charge the whole on Christianity itself, has been their favorite and most successful mode of warfare, from the early periods of Celsus and of Porphyry, down to the now famous Strauss, who is at this moment agitating Germany afresh by another publication,—“*The Christian Dogma in its contest with Science.*”

Nor are these contests confined to those who move in the

higher walks of literature. It is truly marvellous to see with what celerity the essence of some new moral malaria is invisibly wafted, by the prince of the power of the air, from a German or a French university to the lovely prairies of our far West. There our domestic missionary has to meet it in all its virulence ; and if too ignorant of the history of his own religion to comprehend or cope with the new difficulty, both he and his religion are branded afresh with the stigma of stupidity.

Nor are these contests, whether from within or without, merely so much matter of unmitigated regret. Like their own baleful instigator, they are yet made to subserve some useful purposes. They are the needful fire to burn up the wood, hay and stubble in the fabric of every sect, and of the whole church. What, we may ask, would that church have been, had she never been assailed by foes from abroad ? Just what, in many respects, the quiet dark ages were making her. For what friend would ever have had the heart to shiver her unsound arguments for the truth ? And who can tell the amount of paralyzing superstitions that would have continued to cluster around those spurious materials ?

But our limits, at the close of the present No., forbid a further pursuit of these topics, if we would reserve any space to speak of the work before us.

And truly, one of the many lessons we may learn from the facts now briefly presented, is that of the increasing need of this kind of books. General histories of the church, we have already in considerable number. But they are either too large and expensive for most readers, or altogether too defective, in the kind of information here presented. Mr. Coleman has given us a very judicious compendium of the rites, ceremonies, manners, polity, etc. of the early Christians, embodying a vast amount of matter in a simple and perspicuous style and form. The work does not profess to treat of *doctrinal* history, nor to give any connected view of the *general* history of the church ; but for the wide range of topics in regard to practice which it presents, it is exactly the sort of book which every minister and every student should have by him. It contains an explanation of numerous terms, and a full statement of innumerable things, which the common historian has no time to present. And some readers, especially those already acquainted with the general history of the church, may be deeply interested in reading it through in course.

Mr. Coleman has enjoyed the best helps in the compilation of his work, which Christian literature affords; as will be seen by his preface and by a brief but valuable introduction to the work by Prof. Sears, of Newton Theol. Sem. And we are happy in being able to add, that he has availed himself of these helps to good purpose. Most of it is in the form of an abridged translation of the several portions selected from the more voluminous works of Augusti, Siegel and Rheinwald. We have compared the greater part of the first 200 pages with the originals, and are fully satisfied in respect to the general accuracy and faithfulness of Mr. Coleman's presentation of the views of his authors. He does not attempt a literal translation in all cases; nor could he, consistently with his purpose of abridging their works as much as possible. We have noticed, indeed, a number of passages in which we think he has mistaken the meaning of the original. Nor would it be a difficult task to point out many instances in which we should prefer a different rendering of single words or phrases. But this is only a matter of course with any translation from a foreign language. Nor would the general reader be edified at all by a list of real or supposed errors, as he only wishes to be assured of the general trustworthiness of the performance; and we shall have the means of informing Mr. C., in a more private way, of any emendations that would better please us in a future edition.

In comparing the translation, we have been struck, even more strongly than we anticipated, with the difficulty and extreme responsibility of the task Mr. C. has here assumed, of giving an abridgment of such a work as that of Augusti, and on such a subject. The great stress of the difficulty is in deciding as to what can be safely omitted. Augusti's first work was in twelve volumes. This he subsequently reduced to three large octavos. And for Mr. C. to abridge this abridgment to the limits of a single volume, without omitting any thing essential in a book designed for authoritative reference on points of controversy among jarring sects, must be seen by any one, who will make the comparison, to require no ordinary degree of knowledge, judgment and toil. Were not the original within our reach, we should have preferred to pay a higher price for a larger work; but the present state of our reading public would hardly warrant the increase. At a future day, we hope Mr. C. or some other American will venture to give us about twice as large a work on the subject. We say *American*, for Americans

are the men to write books for *us*, in preference to Germans, or even Britons. *They* only know exactly what we need, and exactly how to speak to our ready comprehension. And whenever this shall be done, we hope the author, instead of giving a compilation, however good, will surround himself with the original works of the Christian fathers, together with all modern helps, and devote some five or ten years to the production of an original and standard work, on themes of such high and permanent importance to the general interests of Christian knowledge and so vital to the final adjustment of sectarian disputes. All that is needed is the requisite time, talent, judgment and truly Christian candor. And by the time such a work shall be produced, the public will doubtless be prepared to patronize it.

To show more definitely the extent and importance of the subjects here embraced, we subjoin the several captions to the twenty-three chapters into which Mr. C. has divided his work:—A general View of the Organization and Worship of the Primitive Church; Names and Classes of Christians; of the Ministers of the Church; of the Inferior Officers of the Church; Appointment to Ecclesiastical Offices; of the Rank, Rites, Privileges and Costume of the Clergy; of the Revenue of the Church and Maintenance of the Clergy; of Ordination; of Churches and Sacred Places; of the Prayers and Psalmody of the Church; Use of the Holy Scriptures in Religious Worship; of Homilies; of Catechetical Instructions; of Baptism; of Confirmation; of the Lord's Supper; of the Discipline of the ancient Church; Domestic and Social Character of the Primitive Christians; of Marriage; Funeral Rites and Ceremonies; Sacred Seasons, Festivals and Fasts; Sacred Seasons of the Puritans; of the Armenian Church.

The last two chapters are,—the one “from the hand of a distinguished antiquary and historian, the Rev. J. B. Felt, of Boston,” and the other from Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, one of our missionaries at Constantinople, where he has the best opportunities for a thorough knowledge of his subject. These two chapters are a very valuable addition to the work. That by Mr. Felt, on the history and reasons of our own sacred seasons, will be deemed invaluable by every genuine descendant of the Puritans. The fact that it does not strictly belong to “the Antiquities of the Church,” is rather an artificial than any real objection to its having a place in such a work.

Then comes an index of authorities, of no less than fifty-two

pages, to which references are made all along in the progress of the work, and by which the critical student will see the original authorities for the facts adduced, and will be guided to the best helps in the more extended researches he may wish to make on any of the topics. And to this are added a chronological list of councils to the middle of the ninth century; and a chronological index of persons and events mentioned in the work, to the eighth century; and finally, a general index of the whole work. These are quite full, occupying together about thirty pages, and will be a great help to the more illiterate reader, and will afford facilities to all in the work of occasional consultation. Nor must we here neglect to add, that for this last purpose, the Sabbath school teacher will find this work a great help in his important vocation.

The reader will not understand our warm commendation of the book as implying an indiscriminate approbation of all it contains. We are sorry, for instance, to find Augusti often vaguely and inconsistently speaking of infant baptism; just as though it were first introduced some ages after the apostles. We say inconsistently, for when treating expressly on the topic, he very properly carries it back to the origin of Christianity. From this inconsistency, and from the manner in which most of the late German authors we have consulted speak on the subject, we cannot help suspecting that they have paid far less attention to this than to the other important topics of Christian antiquity; and we hope the time is not distant in which some one will arise among them to write an entire and standard work on the early history of baptism, and do good justice to the theme. It is no strange thing for a German to be well acquainted with one subject, and sadly ignorant of another in the same general field of research.

As a specimen of the work, we subjoin the following from the section on "Disqualifications and Qualifications for Ordination."

The strictest precaution was exercised by the church to guard against the introduction of unworthy or unsuitable persons into the ministry. Several classes of persons were accordingly excluded from ordination, such as the following.

1. *Women.* This rule was in conformity with the apostolical precept, 1 Cor. 14: 34, 35, 1 Tim. 2: 11 seq. The appointment of deaconesses was no exception to this rule. They

were not appointed to bear rule, or to teach, but to perform certain offices which, from a due sense of decency and propriety, were restricted to their own sex. They were ordained with the usual formalities in the early periods of the church, but the custom was afterwards discontinued.

2. *Catechumens*. To this rule there were a few exceptions, as in the case of Ambrose, Nectarius, etc., but in general it was observed with great strictness.

3. *Neophytes, novices*; men who were deficient in age, or knowledge, or Christian experience. 1 Tim. 3: 6.

4. *Energumens*; including all who were subject to severe mental or bodily infirmities.

5. *Penitents*; all who for any offence had fallen under the censure of the church, even though they had been fully restored to the privileges of its fellowship and communion.

6. *Apostates*. All who lived a vicious life after baptism. Offences committed previously were not alleged as a disqualification.

7. *All who were devoted to theatrical pursuits*, or any occupations which disqualified them from receiving baptism.

8. *Slaves, and freedmen* who were still under some obligation to their former masters. This restriction was made not by reason of their humble condition, but because such persons could not be supposed to act with the freedom and independence which became the ministerial office.

9. *Soldiers and military men of every description*; for reasons substantially the same as those which are mentioned in the preceding article.

10. *Lawyers and civilians*. Men bearing civil offices, or in any way entangled with the affairs of state, were incapacitated for the sacred office. Cavendum ab his est (says Innocent I.), propter tribulationem quod sæpe de his ecclesiæ provenit. The power of Rome at times overruled this regulation, but the church uniformly sought to separate herself wholly from all connection with the state.

11. *All who were maimed, especially eunuchs*. Non infirmitatem (says Ambrose), sed firmitatem; non victos, sed victores, postulat ecclesia. To this rule there were exceptions.

12. *Persons who had contracted a second marriage*. This rule is based on an erroneous interpretation of 1 Tim 3: 2, and Tit. 1: 6. To these views of the church may be traced the ancient sentiments respecting the celibacy of the clergy, which prevailed as early as the fourth century, and in the twelfth required of them the vow of celibacy in the Roman Catholic church.

13. *Those who had received baptism upon their beds in ex-*

treme sickness, or under any urgent necessity when they might be suspected of having acted not voluntarily, but by constraint.

14. *They who had been baptized by heretics.* An exception, however, was made in favor of the Novatians and Donatists.

15. Persons who had been guilty of simoniacal conduct, i. e. of using bribery or any unfair means of obtaining ordination. This species of iniquity—the buying and selling of appointments to spiritual offices, and the obtaining of them by any unfair and dishonorable means—was severely censured by the church. The penalty was deposition from office, both on the part of him who was invested with holy orders, and of those who had assisted in his ordination. The laws of Justinian also required the candidate elect to make oath that he had neither given nor promised, nor would hereafter give, any reward directly or indirectly as a remuneration for aiding in his appointment.

The exceptions above mentioned are comprised in the following lines :

Aleo; venator; miles; caupo; aulicus; erro
Mercator; lanius; pincerna; tabellio; tutor,
Curator; sponsor; conductor; conciliator; pronexeta
Patronus causæ; procurator ve forensis;
In causâ judex civilis; vel capitali,
Clericus esse nequit, nisi Canones transgrediantur.

Besides the foregoing negative rules, there were others of a *positive character* prescribing the requisite qualifications for ordination.

1. *The candidate was required to be of a certain age.* The rules by which this canonical age was determined were undoubtedly derived from the Jewish rituals. The deacons were required to be of equal age with the Levites—twenty-five years. The canonical age of presbyters and bishops was the same as that of the priests of the Jews—thirty years. The Apostolical Constitutions prescribe fifty years as the canonical age of a bishop. This was afterwards reduced to thirty. In some instances, persons may have been introduced into the ministry at an age still earlier. Both Siricius and Zosimus required thirty years for a deacon, thirty-five for a presbyter, and forty-five for a bishop.

The age at which our Lord entered upon his ministry is frequently alleged as a reason for requiring the same age in a presbyter and bishop. That was usually the lowest canonical age. Children were sometimes appointed readers. The age of subdeacons, acolyths, and other inferior officers, was estab-

lished at different times, at fifteen, eighteen, twenty and twenty-five years.

2. *They were subject to a strict examination previous to ordination.* This examination related to their faith, their morals, and their worldly condition. They were especially subjected to the severest scrutiny in regard to the first particular. It was the duty of the bishop and subordinate officers of the clergy to conduct, for the most part, the examination; but it was held in public, and the people also took a part in it. No one would be duly ordained without the concurrence of the people in this examination, and the united approbation both of them and the bishop. Cyprian also insists upon the concurrence of the people in the selection of a pastor, and offers as a reason, the consideration that they were more familiarly acquainted with the life and conversation of the candidate. The names of the candidates were published, in order that they might be subjected to a severer canvass by the people. By a law of Justinian, the candidate was required to give a written statement of his religious faith, in his own handwriting, and to take a solemn oath against simony.

The extracts in the margin show how carefully the church observed the apostolic injunction to lay hands suddenly on no man.

3. *No person could regularly be appointed to the higher offices of the church without having passed through the subordinate grades.* To this rule there were frequent exceptions, but the principle was strenuously maintained, in order that no one should assume the ministerial office until he had, in this way, become practically familiar with the whole system of ecclesiastical discipline and polity.

4. *Every one was to be ordained to some special charge.* This was supposed to be the apostolical rule, Acts 14: 33, Tit. 1: 5, 1 Pet. 5: 2. Exceptions sometimes occurred, though very rarely, and always against the decided sentiments of the church. Non-resident clergy, who are in this way removed from the watch and discipline of the church, receive no favor from the ancient canons and ecclesiastical writers.

5. *Every minister was required to remain in the diocese over which he was ordained; and no one could, at the same time, be invested with more than one office.* Plurality of livings were unknown to the ancient church.

6. A clerical tonsure was made requisite about the fifth or sixth century. No mention is made of it before the fourth, and it is first spoken of with decided disapprobation.

In perfect consistency with these strict precautions against the introduction of unworthy persons into the sacred office, was the character of the discipline to which the clergy were subjected. This, in some respects, was more severe than that of private members of the church. The latter, if penitent, might regain their former standing, but the excommunicated or degraded minister could never be restored to the clerical order. The offences which exposed a clergyman to censure were numerous from the first; and they regularly increased as the purity of ancient Christianity diminished. Many of them originated in the peculiar trials to which primitive Christians were subject, and in the heresies and defections consequent upon them. We subjoin the following account of the punishments inflicted upon offending ministers during the first seven or eight centuries.

1. *Suspension.* This related either to the salary of the clergyman, or to his office. Both methods of punishment were practised by the ancient church. An instance is related in the writings of Cyprian of some whose monthly wages were suspended, while they were allowed to continue in the discharge of their office. Decrees to this effect were ordained by the councils of Nice, Ephesus and Agde.

Suspension from office was varied according to circumstances. At one time the offender was suspended from the performance of the active duties of his office, whilst he still retained his clerical rank with his brethren in the ministry. At another, he was forbidden to perform some of the duties of his office, while he continued in the discharge of others; and again, he was debarred the performance of all ministerial duties for a definite period of time.

2. *Degradation.* This punishment consisted, as its name implies, in removing the offender from a higher to a lower grade of office. This sentence of degradation appears to have been final and irrevocable. Bishops were in this manner transferred from a larger to a smaller or less important diocese. Presbyters were degraded to the order of deacons; and deacons, to that of subdeacons. This species of punishment was also inflicted upon bishops in Africa, by superseding them in their expected succession to the office of archbishop or metropolitan.

3. *Exclusion from the communion.* Of this there were two kinds, which were denominated *communio peregrina*, and *communio laica*. The former has sometimes been confounded

with the latter, or it has been supposed to denote a communion in one kind, or communion only at the point of death, which, in the Romish church, was regarded as a kind of passport to the future world. The most probable explanation of this point, confessedly obscure, is, that the term *communion* implied not only a participation in the eucharist, but in all the rights and privileges of a member of the church. Travellers and strangers, unless they had testimonials certifying to their regular standing in the church, were presumed to be under censure, and were not allowed the privileges of full communion, though permitted to receive, if need be, a maintenance from the funds of the church. An instance is related of Chrysostom, who on a certain occasion hospitably entertained the bishop of Alexandria, who had fled from persecution to him at Constantinople; but the bishop was not allowed to partake of the eucharist, until it had been fully ascertained that no just accusation could be brought against him. Clergymen under censure were sometimes treated in this way in their own communion. They were placed in the same relations as strangers, which was denoted by the phrase *communio peregrina*. Under these circumstances they could neither officiate nor be present at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, until they had given the prescribed satisfaction.

The act of communion was indeed the highest privilege of a layman; but it was a severe rebuke to one who had been elevated to the rank of the clergy to be again degraded to the condition of a layman, and to be required to communicate as a layman at the table of the Lord. This was a kind of mitigated excommunication. He was excluded from the body of the clergy and reduced to the condition of a humble individual. In this situation he was required to perform certain services for that same body from which he had been expelled. This was styled *communio laica*, and the subject of this penalty was said to be delivered over to the secular arm,—*curiæ tradi*,—in the phraseology of the ancient canonists.

4. *Imprisonment.* The custom of confining delinquent clergymen in monasteries appears to have taken its rise in the fourth and fifth centuries. At a later period it became a frequent mode of punishment.

5. *Corporal punishment.* This kind of punishment, together with the last mentioned, was inflicted only on clergy of the inferior orders. This mode of punishment was by no means uncommon in the time of Augustine. A presbyter, who had given false witness, could first be deposed from his office; and then, as a layman, might be subjected to corporal punishment.

Connected with the churches in large cities, such as Constantinople, there were houses of correction, *decanica*, for administering the correction of imprisonment and of corporal punishment.

6. *Excommunication.* This was the last and highest form of ecclesiastical censure. It cut off all hope on the part of the offender from ever being again reinstated in the ministry, even if he were restored to the fellowship of the churches. None who had at any time been exposed to public censure, were restored again to their office.

The above penalties appear to have been inflicted by authority of ecclesiastical councils alone, or at least to have been prescribed by them.

ARTICLE XI.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*The Nestorians ; or the Lost Tribes ; containing Evidence of their Identity, an Account of their Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, together with Sketches of Travel in ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy :* by Asahel Grant, M. D. New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1841. pp. 385.

WE begin our notice of this book by expressing our high estimation of its value. It is intensely interesting and instructive. Dr. Grant, as our readers generally know, is one of the missionaries to Persia, sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions. His work is a valuable accession to the vast amount of information, and even of critical and learned research, for which not only the Christian public, but the literary world is indebted to the published correspondence and other productions of the missionaries of that Board.

The first part of the volume,—130 pages,—contains an account of the author's travels and missionary labors, dangers and privations, from the spring of 1835 to 1840, during which he accomplished a more extensive exploration of the country of the Nestorians, than has been effected by any modern traveller. He went out as a physician, and by means of his profes-

sion was enabled to disarm the prejudices and secure the confidence of the warring and cruel tribes of the Koordish mountains, and obtain access to regions, where, in any other character, his life would have been in imminent peril. Many of the scenes and incidents of his travels are of thrilling interest, and his observation of the country, the customs and traditions of the people, etc. throws much light upon that ancient portion of the world.

But that which renders this work especially valuable is the evidence which it is supposed to contain of the identity of the Nestorians with the "Lost Tribes" of ancient Israel. Dr. Grant expresses great confidence that he has found, in the Nestorian Christians and the Jews of the same country, the remnant of the *Ten Tribes*, who were carried away captive into Assyria, by Shalmaneser, about 720 years before the birth of Christ. 2 Kings 17: 9—12. We have read this portion of the book with care, and most cordially commend it to our readers. It will richly reward a diligent perusal, and will be found in a high degree entertaining, as well as instructive. We are not, however, convinced that the *lost tribes* have really been found. Our author's arguments to this point, though rich in materials and ingeniously urged, are to us inconclusive. That our readers may see at a glance some of the ground of our hesitation, we add the following suggestions.

About 125 years after the captivity of Israel above referred to, Judah and Benjamin were also carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Chaldea. Jer. 39: 10, etc. Seventy years afterwards there was a restoration of a portion of the tribes of Israel to their native land, in which the tribes of Judah and Benjamin partook most largely. A large portion of the other tribes remained in captivity, and have become lost to history. By some means a presumption has been entertained that the *ten tribes*, thus lost, have still a separate existence, and that they will be restored, with the Jews, before the conversion of the Gentiles. This opinion is founded on various prophecies which speak of the return of the children of Israel, and which are supposed to be not yet fulfilled,—upon a statement of Josephus, that a large part of those tribes still resided east of the Euphrates in his day, and some other supposed allusions to the *ten tribes*, in the Scriptures and the Apocrypha. Several theories have accordingly been started on this subject, among which, in our own country, are those of Boudinot—"Star in the West,"—and Smith,—*"View of the Hebrews,"*—both of whom confidently urge the identity of the American Indians with the *lost tribes*. Dr. Grant maintains, with much

more plausibility, that the tribes in question have their separate existence among the mountains of Koordistan. We are ready, indeed, to grant, that, if these tribes are to be found anywhere,—if they are not lost and absorbed in the idolatrous nations to whom they were subjected,—our author has found them. His arguments are conclusive to prove that the Nestorians had a Jewish origin; but whether they are a remnant of the *ten* tribes, or of the *two*, or of the *twelve*, are questions not answered by the interesting witnesses here introduced; and we are driven back upon the inquiry, whether the expectation of finding the *lost tribes* is well founded,—whether the fulfilment of prophecy demands that they should be found anywhere, as a separate people? Some of the predictions quoted by Dr. Grant and others have respect as well to the two tribes as to the ten, and require their return to be simultaneous, and all of them seem to be capable of a similar application:—"I will cause the captivity of *Judah* and the captivity of *Israel* to return," etc. Jer. 33: 7. Whatever portion of these prophecies, therefore, remain yet to be fulfilled, we are inclined to look for their accomplishment in the conversion of both *Judah* and *Israel* to the faith of the Gospel. It is with this expectation, rather than with the idea that the ten tribes have still a separate existence in Persia and Koordistan, that we value the labors of our author. It is interesting, and confirmatory of the faith of the church to find so much evidence of the providential preservation, during so many centuries, of a band of early converts from Judaism, who, we may hope, through the strengthening hand of their brethren in more favored countries, will yet become as "life from the dead," to the Gentiles in the midst of whom they have been so wonderfully kept from falling into hopeless idolatry.

We forbear to pursue this subject farther, with the expectation of being favored with a review of Dr. Grant's work in season for our October No.

2.—*Lectures on Universalism.* By Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., President of the Union Theological Seminary, New-York. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841. pp. 192.

The principal part of this volume was written about thirteen years ago. Two editions have been exhausted, and the work has been out of print for several years. The author now presents it in a form somewhat more expanded and complete. His mode of discussing the subject may be learned from the titles of the several Lectures, which are as follows:—Direct

Arguments from the Scriptures; Examination of Arguments against Eternal Punishment; An Argument from the Providence of God towards the Righteous and the Wicked; Argument against Universalism deduced from its Moral Influence; Eternal Punishment not inconsistent with Divine Justice; Difficulty from the Divine Goodness considered. It will be seen at once, that Dr. Parker has not shaped his discussion with particular reference to the views of later Universalists. He supposes,—correctly we apprehend,—“that men first become Universalists by means of the arguments and objections specified in this volume.” It is well to follow this Protean error through all its changes; it is well occasionally to erect a battery against that perfect anomaly of creeds—modern Universalism; but it is not wise to leave the old battle-ground on which the victory has been so often won. Elsewhere, indeed, we may confound and silence our opponents; but here is almost the only spot where we can hope to convince. As an auxiliary to this end, the work of Dr. Parker will be exceedingly useful. The tone of the discussion is kind but manly, the reasoning lucid and unanswerable. Different opinions will be entertained as to the conclusiveness of this or that text of Scripture; but the argument as a whole is irresistible, and, if read with candor, cannot fail to do good.

3.—*Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea. A Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations, by Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York, Author of a Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, etc. With new Maps and Plans in Five Sheets. In Three Volumes 8vo. Boston; Crocker & Brewster. New-York: Jona. Leavitt. London: John Murray. Halle: Waisenhausbuchhandlung. 1841. pp. 599, 679, 721.*

It is with no ordinary pleasure that we announce the appearance of this truly great work of our friend Dr. Robinson. Some foretastes of the “Journal” embraced in these volumes have already been furnished to our readers in preceding Nos. of the Repository. Our knowledge of the long cherished plans of the author, his ample qualifications for his undertaking, and the patience and faithfulness with which he is accustomed to pursue his investigations had raised our expectations high in respect to the result of his “Researches.” Our

anticipations, however, have been more than answered. We looked for a work on Biblical Geography, which should correct and verify the topography of the Holy Land. Such was the humble aim of our author. In respect to his journey in Palestine he remarks: "I entered upon it without the slightest anticipation of the results to which we were providentially led." He hoped, indeed, to satisfy himself by personal observation, as to many points on which the books of travellers gave no information. "But I never thought," he adds, "of adding any thing to the former stock of knowledge on these subjects; I never dreamed of any thing like discoveries in this field." In the progress of his researches, however, new subjects of inquiry were suggested, and objects undescribed by former travellers were constantly presenting themselves, and thus an unexpected amount of materials was accumulated in the Journals of our author and his companion, the Rev. E. Smith, out of which to construct a much larger and more extensive work than had been designed.

With these materials Dr. Robinson returned to Germany. They were too valuable and too deeply interesting to the cause of Biblical learning to justify his attempting their elucidation without the best historical and philological helps. The libraries of this country could not have furnished him the means of that investigation which their importance seemed to demand. He accordingly, during the whole preparation of his volumes for the press, remained in Berlin, where, in the unrestricted use of the Royal Library and the very valuable private collections of Ritter, Neander and Hengstenberg, he enjoyed all the literary means he could desire. The result is that the three volumes, now given to the public by an American citizen, contain a mass of information, Biblical, Geographical, Historical and Critical, which places this work in the highest rank of the learned productions of the age, and confers an honor, which we ought not lightly to esteem, upon our country.

These volumes, however, valuable as they are in themselves, the author wishes may "be regarded merely as a beginning, a first attempt to lay open the treasures of Biblical Geography and History still remaining in the Holy Land,—treasures which have lain for ages unexplored, and had become so covered with the dust and rubbish of many centuries, that their very existence was forgotten." Mr. Smith has returned to the seat of his labors in Beirut, taking with him instruments of the best kind, in the hope of being able, in his occasional journeys, to verify and correct the former observations of himself and

Dr. R., and also to extend his examination to other parts of the country. From the materials thus to be gathered, together with those already in possession, our author intends hereafter to prepare "a systematic work on the physical and historical Geography of the Holy Land."

On the whole, it is rarely the privilege of the periodical press, in any country, to announce a publication so rich in the materials of important knowledge, and so full of promise in respect to its progressive improvement and diffusion, as the work now before us. To the Biblical student and the Christian scholar it opens sources of instruction, new, unexpected, and in the highest degree interesting. But we have not space in the present notice for an analysis of these volumes, and we abstain from any discussion of their merits in detail, having reason to expect a review, from a competent hand, in season for our October No.

In justification of the high terms of commendation, in which we have felt it our duty, after a very brief examination of this work, to introduce it to our readers, we add the following extract of a letter from Professor Ritter of Berlin, the perusal of which we have solicited, and which our author, we hope, will excuse us for inserting without his permission. It is the testimony of a German Professor of "Universal Geography," whose opinion, on this subject, possesses the highest authority. It is contained in a friendly letter addressed to Dr. Robinson, dated Berlin, March 2, 1841.

"I cannot often enough repeat, what an uncommon amount of instruction I owe to the invaluable work you have left us here. It lays open, unquestionably, one of the richest discoveries, one of the most important scientific conquests, which has been made for a long time in the field of Geography and Biblical Archæology. I can at present say this the more decidedly; because, having had opportunity to examine the printed sheets nearly to the end of the second volume, I can better judge of the connection of the whole, than was before possible. Now, however, I perceive, how one part sustains another; and what noble confirmation the truth of the Holy Scriptures receives from so many passages of your investigations, in a manner altogether unexpected and often surprising, even in particulars seemingly the most trivial and unimportant. The accompanying Maps, too, justify, step by step, the course of the investigations.

"Thus now first begins, since the days of Reland, the second great epoch of our knowledge of the Promised Land. You

can well afford to return to your home, fully satisfied with the rich harvest of your journey. The blessing of every student of the Holy Scriptures will follow you. Above all I admire your devoted perseverance in these inquiries. How providential, too, for you, that you could thus travel in Palestine immediately before the entanglements and troubles of the oriental question !”

The Third volume contains 246 pages of appendices, in which are found a Chronological list of works on Palestine and Mount Sinai, with some account of their history and contents, memoirs of maps, etc., an Itinerary exhibiting the routes and general rate of travel of our Journalists, an Essay on the pronunciation of the Arabic, by Mr. Smith, lists of Arabic names of places in Palestine and the adjacent regions, etc.

The maps intended to accompany the work were drawn up in Berlin, and will no doubt be found in accordance with the best Geographical authorities. We will only add, that this work, as is intimated on the title-page, is published simultaneously in Germany, England and the United States. The copy before us is in the best style of the American press. Mr. Trow, the printer, has here turned to a good account his recently procured and beautiful founts of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic type.

- 4.—*A Classical Dictionary ; containing an Account of the principal Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors, and intended to elucidate all the important points connected with the Geography, Biography, History, Mythology and Fine Arts of the Greeks and Romans : together with an Account of Coins, Weights and Measures, with Tabular Values of the same.* By Charles Anthon, L. L. D., Jay Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New-York, and Rector of the Grammar-School. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1841. pp. 1430.

The author of this comprehensive and useful volume, it is well known, has bestowed much time and study, within the last few years, on the different topics embraced within the plan of a Classical Dictionary. The work of Lempriere was published in 1788 ; and its popularity was soon established. A second edition appeared in 1792, a third in 1797, and others followed at intervals of five or six years. In 1825, Prof. Anthon was requested to prepare a new edition of Lempriere ;

without venturing, however, on extensive changes, his alterations were restricted to the more obvious mistakes and defects of the original work. But another edition was soon called for, which, owing to the numerous improvements introduced into it, was republished in England. In 1833, still another edition was issued, in two volumes, containing the results of Prof. Anthon's more recent investigations.

It will be seen at a glance that the author has been gradually and laboriously preparing himself for this new and improved Classical Dictionary. In addition to the time bestowed on Lempriere, he informs us in his Preface, that "the patient labor of more than two entire years has been faithfully expended" on the present work; "which, though compressed in a single volume, will be found to contain much more than the edition of Lempriere in two volumes, as published by the Messrs. Carvill."

The principal topics illustrated by Prof. Anthon are the Geography, History, Biography, Mythology and Fine Arts of the Greeks and Romans. The subject of Archæology he has reserved for a "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," to be prepared "with all convenient speed." He has devoted very great attention to Ancient Geography. He thinks "that in no work in the English language will there be found a larger body of valuable information, on this most interesting subject, than in that which is here offered to the American student." Next to Ancient Geography, the Mythology of Antiquity has furnished the largest number of articles. It has been his aim to present an impartial view of the two great schools,—the Mystic and Anti-mystic,—which now divide the learned of Europe. In preparing these articles special care has been taken, by the exclusion of every thing gross and offensive, to adapt the work to the young of both sexes. The historical and biographical departments have been amply illustrated. The later speculations of English and German scholars, respecting the origin of nations, may be found in different parts of the volume. The biographies of distinguished individuals are intended to exhibit an outline of the literature, philosophy and fine arts of antiquity.

In its execution the work is such as was to be expected from the extensive attainments and indefatigable industry of Prof. Anthon. Its great superiority to previous Classical Dictionaries is everywhere apparent. At the same time that innumerable topics, which are treated by Lempriere very briefly and vaguely, if at all, are here illustrated with copious and varied erudition, the greatest care has been taken to exclude

those offensive, pernicious and disgusting details which are too common in works of this description. The author has been too conscientious and considerate to enrich his volume at the expense of delicacy and morality. Those who are familiar with this department of learning will suggest, perhaps, some improvements both in the plan and execution of his labors. If permitted to continue his researches, Prof. Anthon will himself feel, we have no doubt, that he can at some future day make a more perfect exhibition of the subjects here discussed. But he richly deserves, for what he has already done, the thanks of every friend of a thorough classical education.

- 5.—*History of the Establishment and Progress of the Christian Religion in the Islands of the South Sea ; with preliminary notices of the Islands and of their Inhabitants. Illustrated by a map.* Boston: Tappan & Dennet. New-York: Gould, Newman & Saxton. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 1841. pp. 398.

While it is the condemnation of some books that they come from a hand which is too easily recognized, it is the misfortune of others to be anonymous. To the latter class belongs the volume before us. We commenced its perusal with many misgivings as to its character and worth. It is so uncommon for the writer of a valuable work to suppress his authorship, that the absence of a responsible name is presumptive evidence of conscious demerit. But this presumption was soon rebutted by satisfactory evidence of a happy combination of those qualities which are essential to a good compiler. We regret that we are not at liberty to give the name of the accomplished authoress, to whom the public are so much indebted.

The design of the work is to present a clear and connected view of the progress of missions in the islands of the South Sea. Interesting accounts, describing the triumphs of the gospel in those distant lands, have been published from time to time ; but few of these can be regarded as accessible to the majority of readers in this country. It is the aim of this volume to place the substance of their contents within the reach of all. The first four chapters are taken up with a general description of the islands, and the condition of the inhabitants prior to the introduction of Christianity. The remaining chapters are devoted to the progress of religion in connection with the labors of the London Missionary Society. The work deserves an extensive circulation ; ministers may derive much assistance from it in preparing for the monthly concert ; and no Sabbath-school should be without it.

- 6.—*Christian Experience, as displayed in the Life and Writings of Saint Paul.* By the Author of "*Christian Retirement.*" First American from the seventh London Edition. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1841. pp. 418.

No character, whether of ancient or modern history, is more deserving of profound study than that of Paul. To the philanthropist and the Christian, he presents a striking illustration of the spirit and aims of genuine benevolence. To the preacher of the gospel, he may be safely recommended as a model of fidelity, zeal and fervor. In no other man do we find such a delightful combination of apparently conflicting qualities. It is a matter of surprise that some master in the delineation of character has not applied his skill to this noble subject. We have admirable sketches of isolated features, but no complete and finished picture.

This particular desideratum it is not the design of the present volume to supply. In his Preface, the author observes that "this little treatise has no pretensions to novelty, being on subjects which form the daily meditation of the devout Christian, and from which he derives his purest enjoyments; neither does the author presume to vie with those whose works on the life of St. Paul have enriched the stores of sacred literature. His design in publishing these thoughts on the experience of the Apostle is, in some feeble measure, to exhibit the beauty of evangelical religion; by bringing into one view the varied excellencies of his character, and by unfolding those principles of faith and love, which, through the Spirit, made him so great a blessing to mankind. Christianity is the religion of the heart. Every doctrine of the gospel is a sacred spring of holiness. In these pages, the author has therefore endeavored to treat these mysteries of grace, not controversially, but practically; not as subjects of speculation, but as sources of peace and joy." The design and spirit of the volume are highly commendable. Indeed it is sufficient to say, that this is "the first American from the seventh London edition."

- 7.—*A Refutation of sundry Baptist Errors, particularly as they are set forth in a recent work of Rev. J. J. Woolsey, and in the third Annual Report of the Am. and For. Bible Society.* By Edwin Hall, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Norwalk, Ct. Norwalk: John A. Weed. New York: Gould, Newman and Saxton; Robinson, Pratt and Co. 1841. pp. 156.

It is a matter of profound regret, that ministers of the

gospel should ever be required to engage in religious controversy. In this feeling, we have no doubt, the author of this volume fully participates. Still he has felt himself obliged to resist the assaults, which have been made upon what he considers "the truth and ordinance of God." In our Oct. No. for 1840, we noticed his "Exposition of the Law of Baptism." This "Refutation of Baptist Errors" he has undertaken to meet the wants of the people of his charge. The first half of the volume relates more particularly to the translation of βαπτισμῶ; and he shows, by pointing out the mistakes and even the contradictions of our Baptist brethren, that the confidence with which they have spoken on the subject is altogether unwarranted. The remainder of the work is occupied with the exposure of various misstatements and errors in respect to infant baptism. The whole discussion is clear, forcible and dignified; and it embodies many facts and considerations which are not to be found elsewhere in so convenient a form.

8.—*Incidents of Travels in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*: by John L. Stephens, author of "*Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa and the Holy Land*," etc. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1841. pp. 424, 474.

In these volumes we are called to notice another splendid American work. Few writers of travels, who have come so recently before the public, have been so extensively read, and so much admired, as our young and enterprising fellow-citizen, Mr. Stephens. His popularity has been occasioned in part by the intrinsic interest of the scenes and countries to which his thirst for knowledge and his adventurous spirit have led him forth, on his distant and perilous journeyings; but not less, perhaps, by his happy talent at description, the ease and versatility of his style, and an enthusiasm which gives life and spirit to his narrative, irresistibly drawing the reader into sympathy with himself, and making him, as it were, a fellow-traveller. Those of our readers who are familiar with the "*Incidents of Travel*," by this author, "in Egypt, Arabia Petræa and the Holy Land," "in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland," will appreciate the correctness of these remarks, and rejoice to take another voyage, with a companion and guide whom they have accompanied with so much pleasure in his former excursions.

Our traveller, however, in the present work, brings tidings not from the *Old* world, but from the *New*. Let not the reader

be deceived by this contrast of *Old* and *New*. We here speak after the manner of men. Enlightened men, men of learning and of civilization,—the whole world, as it is known to history,—have looked upon the American continent as new,—new to civilization and its arts and refinements. But he who sitteth upon the circuit of the heavens, and keepeth record of the world's history, has doubtless watched over and directed the rise and fall of empires, and the lapse of centuries and millenaries, as well on the Western as on the Eastern continent. Some traces of these are discoverable by us. They are found, not on the pages of written history, but in the rude mounds and monuments which remain in our own country; and from the time of the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, some accounts have been preserved of the monuments and architectural remains of the aborigines of South America. These accounts, however, have been esteemed as worthy of but little credit. Dr. Robertson, in his *History of America*, (1777,) as quoted by Mr. Stephens, considers it certain "that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent which had made any considerable progress in civilization," that the inhabitants were "unacquainted with those arts which are the first essays of human ingenuity in its advance towards improvement."

Since Dr. Robertson's time, however, new light has been thrown upon this subject, through the discoveries of the learned Humboldt, who travelled somewhat extensively in South and Central America, about the beginning of the present century, and others. But the ruins of ancient cities and structures in Mexico were especially brought to the consideration of Europe and this country, by the report of Colonel Galindo, who visited the ruins of Copan in 1836, under commission from the Central American government, and the results of whose examination were published in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Paris and in the *London Literary Gazette*. But his account Mr. Stephens regards as unsatisfactory, though not exaggerated; and his drawings of the monuments were necessarily imperfect, from the fact of his not being an artist.

Our space will not allow us to enlarge upon what was before known of these ruins, or of the others described by our author, and which we hasten to notice. This voyage of discovery was undertaken with peculiar advantages and facilities. Mr. Stephens was intrusted by the President of the United States with a special, confidential Mission to the Government of Central America; which, though not always an effectual

security against suspicion and assault, in the then distracted state of the country, was, in several cases, of essential service. He was also peculiarly fortunate in having engaged, as his companion and helper, Mr. Catherwood, well known as an experienced artist, and who had spent more than ten years in studying and sketching the antiquities and architectural structures of the Old world. Thus associated our travellers left New-York in October, 1839, and were absent ten months; nearly eight of which they spent in exploring the country of Central America, from the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Honduras to the Pacific Ocean, and in examining and sketching the wonderful monuments of its ancient greatness.

The report of the whole is given in these, so called, "*Incidents of Travel*." But with all due respect to the taste of our author, we must regard the title of his work a misnomer. *Incidents* it does indeed contain,—many, amusing, surprising, perplexing, and interwoven with the whole thread of his narrative. But this is not all. It brings before us substantial facts and venerable realities, by the side of which the mere incidents of a journey, however thrilling and entertaining, for the moment, are trifles soon to be forgotten. These constitute the principal value of the work.

First, we place ourselves by the side of these explorers amid the ruins of the ancient city of Copan, three hundred miles from the ocean, on the bank of a river not navigable even for canoes, except for a short time in the rainy season, and in the midst of a dense forest,—the remains of the city extending along the river more than two miles,—its front wall, of cut stone, from sixty to ninety feet high. Behind it are ranges of stone steps and pyramidal structures, rising from thirty to one hundred and forty feet high on the slope. Standing among the trees are numerous pillars of stone, each a single block, carved with the most exquisite and elaborate workmanship, exhibiting portraits of men and women, and figures of, perhaps, idols in front, and on the sides numerous hieroglyphics. These pillars are from ten to twenty feet high and from three to four in diameter, and stand upon pedestals of stone. In front of each is an altar of stone, some of which are also elaborately carved with hieroglyphics. Of these monuments, as well as of the plan of the city, accurate drawings were taken by Mr. Catherwood, which have since been engraved on steel at great expense, in the best style of the London artists, and accompany the description by Mr. Stephens in these volumes. Several other ruins of less interest are described.

The next most important ruin brought to view and illustra-

ted with engravings is that of Utalan, which, according to Spanish historians, was once the most populous city of the kingdom of Guatemala. The monuments here remaining are scarcely less interesting than those of Copan. At other places our travellers describe pyramidal structures of more than a hundred feet at the base, curiously wrought vessels, images and sacrificial altars, which are also accurately engraved. But we hasten to the only remaining ruin which we have space to notice. It is a city, the existence of which was entirely unknown until 1750, when it is said to have been discovered by some wandering Spaniards. It is not known by what name it was called, and the only appellation now given to it is Pelanque. It is in the province of Chiapas, and its ruins are spread over an extent of from eighteen to twenty-four miles. An account of these ruins, taken under a commission from the Spanish government in 1807, was published in Paris, in 1834, in a splendid and costly work illustrated with numerous engravings. But our author claims for Mr. Catherwood's drawings a decided preference, as to accuracy, over the plates contained in the above work, and adds:—"As to the most of the places visited by us, the reader will find no materials whatever except those furnished in these pages."

Any attempt here to describe the numerous monuments and immense structures at Pelanque would far exceed our limits. Many of them are very unlike those at Copan, and their design and origin are equally mysterious and wonderful. The hieroglyphics, however, are the same, indicating that this country was once inhabited by a race speaking the same language, or at least having the same written characters. But whence came they? From what tribe or lineage of the Old world were they broken off? Is not their history written upon these monuments? And will not some Champollion decipher and read it to the nations?

We are overwhelmed with the wonders disclosed in these volumes; and cannot but indulge the pleasing hope that they will be found to contain sources of veritable history concerning the antiquities of our country. But while we readily award to our author the credit of a discoverer, in some parts of his work, we are persuaded, with him, that there are yet other architectural remains embosomed in the forests of that country, hereafter to be discovered.

A Padre assured him of the existence of a city in the province of Vera Paz, deserted and desolate, and almost as perfect as when evacuated by its original occupants. He was also told of another city now occupied by its aboriginal in-

habitants in the midst of a tribe of Indians south of Chiapas, who have never yielded to the Spanish arms, and over which the government of Central America attempts no control. These, if they exist, as Mr. S. believes they do, will be found by some future traveller, who, as our author remarks, "will experience sensations which seldom fall to the lot of man." In the mean time we commend the present work to our readers, as an admirable introduction to the study of American antiquities. The printing, as well as the engravings, is executed in superior style, and it is in all respects a splendid result of individual enterprise, which will confer honor both upon the author and his country.

- 9.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*: by Henry Hallam, F. R. A. S., Corresponding Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the French Institute. In two Volumes, large 8vo. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1841. pp. 416, 462.

Hallam's "View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages" was published by the Messrs. Harpers, in 1837. About the same time the first volume of the work, whose title is given above, appeared in London, and was noticed by us in connection with Harpers' edition of the "Middle Ages," in the Repository for January, 1838. The remaining three volumes of the London edition were published in 1839, and an able and thorough review of the whole, selected from the British and Foreign Review, will be found in the American Eclectic for the present month,—No. IV,—to be concluded in the No. for September next. The American edition now before us embraces the four volumes in two, which are executed in a manner combining economy with good taste and durability; the size of the type and page, and the style of binding being the same as those of the "Middle Ages," by the same publishers.

Those who have read the former work of Mr. Hallam have cherished high expectations in respect to this new and welcome accession to critical literature. These expectations, we are now confident, will be fully answered and gratified by the appearance of the work which is the subject of our present notice. It embraces a period of rich and varied materials of literary history, and which are of special importance on account of their bearings and traceable influences upon the present state of knowledge and civilization in the nations of Europe, and, of course, among ourselves. It is within the

three centuries here explored that we are to look for the beginnings of many of the steps which have since marked the progress of improvement in some nations, and of occasional or temporary decline in others, and for many of those causes, whose results are still in the process of development. The history of this period is naturally divided from that of the Middle Ages, by the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII, in the fifteenth century. This, says our author, "was the event that first engaged the principal states of Europe in relations of alliance or hostility, which may be deduced to the present day, and is the point at which every man who traces backward its political history will be obliged to pause." (Pref. *Mid. Ages*, p. x.) Starting from this point, Mr. Hallam proceeds with his history, taking up in order, and with distinct conceptions of their influences upon each other, the several nations of Europe, and tracing, with the confidence of one deeply learned in his subject, the several departments of their literature.

To the literature of this period, as a whole, nothing like justice had before been attempted to be done in our language. On some sections of it, learned and elaborate works had been written,—the "*Bibliotheca Universalis*," by Gesner, the "*Bibliotheca Selecta*," by Possevin, the "*Prodromus Historiæ Literariæ*," by Lambecius, Morhof's "*Polyhistor*," etc. etc. These were all examined together with many later works, on parts of the numerous topics discussed by our author. On the whole a surprising amount of learning is made tributary to the elucidation of the progress of the human mind during the three centuries to whose literature we are introduced in these centuries; and the spirit of the author,—though sometimes, as we think, in his anxiety to avoid the appearance of a partisan bias, he falls into the opposite extreme, and does great injustice to such men as Luther and others, whose partisanship was bold in defence of the truth,—is nevertheless in general candid, and his judgment, worthy of confidence. An analysis of a work embracing so great a variety of topics would occupy more space than we can allot to this notice, and would be of little use, as we doubt not that all of our readers, who can, will procure and read the work.

10.—*An Argument for the Perpetuity of the Sabbath.* By Rev. A. A. Phelps. Boston: D. S. King. 1841. pp. 164.

This Argument in defence of the Christian Sabbath was occasioned by the discussions of the "Church, Ministry and Sabbath Convention," held in Boston on the 18th of Nov. 1840.

Having participated in those discussions, the author was requested to write out and publish his remarks. This he has done, introducing, however, new trains of thought, and expanding others at which he merely glanced in the hurry of debate. His main purpose has been to establish two propositions: 1, the Sabbath is coeval with our race; 2, the substitution of the first day of the week for the seventh is divinely authorized. The argument is particularly adapted to meet the more recent objections which have been brought against this institution. It is an ingenious and successful vindication of the truth.

- 11.—*Godly Meditations upon the Most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* By Christopher Sutton, D. D., late Prebend of Westminster. With a Preface by J. H. Newman, B. D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 335.
- 12.—*Disce Mori:—Learn to Die.* By Christopher Sutton, D. D., late Prebend of Westminster. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 310.

Respecting the author of these volumes, very little is known. He is supposed to have been born about 1565. He entered Oxford University in 1582; in 1587, he was ordained and presented to the vicarage of Raneham, in the county of Essex; in 1588, he became rector of Caston, in Hampshire. In 1605, James I. had made him a prebendary of the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, in consequence of his eloquence as a preacher. The only works which he published were his *Disce Vivere*, *Disce Mori* and *Godly Meditations*. These were all very popular in the 17th century. In 1677, the last of these had reached its thirteenth edition.

The two works whose titles we have given above are written in the genuine spirit of the epoch in which their author lived. With fewer defects of style than most writers of that period, he has something of their quaintness and much of their shrewdness. With less affluence of illustration and less splendor of imagery than Jeremy Taylor, he exhibits the same delightful spirit. The work on the Sacrament is practical and devotional. Its object is to assist the believer in directing his meditations before, during and after his approaches to this ordinance. Though somewhat diffuse and immethodical at times, it abounds in useful thought, and its serious perusal cannot fail to do good. The *Disce Mori*, in plan and execution, is similar to the *Godly Meditations*. Both volumes are

printed in that beautiful style of typography, which we had occasion to commend in our notice of Patrick's Hearts' Ease and Wilson's Sacra Privata.

- 13.—*The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State: An Essay towards discovering the Origin and Course of Human Improvement*, by W. Cooke Taylor, Esq. LL. D. M. R. A. S. of Trinity College, Dublin. Vols. I, II. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 332, 328.

This work, we observe, has been favorably noticed in the English Reviews. We are glad to see it so soon issued by an American publisher. It embraces a pleasing variety of curious and interesting topics; and though it is not remarkable for the originality of its views, it exhibits evidences of a commendable extent of research, and embodies many philosophical considerations and conclusions respecting the numerous and diversified facts which are here brought together both in combination and contrast. The subjects discussed in these volumes are—Characteristics and Tendencies of Barbarism and Civilization,—Social Relations, Property, Personal Security,—State of Nature,—War, Indigence,—Superstitious Customs,—Varieties of Savage Life, its Arts,—Evidences of Lost Civilization, its Remains in North and South America, Scripture Account of its Origin, described in the book of Job,—Egyptian Civilization, also Babylonian and Assyrian, Persian, Phœnician and Carthaginian, Grecian and Roman Civilization,—Polytheism,—Christianity and its Influence on Civilization,—the Overthrow of the Roman Empire, its Effects,—Progress of Civilization during the Middle Ages,—Circumstances contributing to its advancement, etc. Some of these chapters we have read with interest, particularly those on lost civilization, in which the conclusions of the author, though published before the report of the discoveries of Messrs. Stevens andatherwood in Central America, will be much strengthened by the remains of ancient art and greatness, which those enterprising travellers have brought to the consideration of the learned world. The chapters on the origin of civilization, as indicated in the Old Testament, and the influence of Christianity upon its increase and extension, are especially good. But we have no space to extend our remarks, and must close by commending the work to our readers, as well worthy of the beautiful style in which Mr. Appleton has brought it before the American public.

- 14.—*Themes for the Pulpit ; being a collection of nearly three thousand Topics with Texts, suitable for Public Discourses in the Pulpit and Lecture Room ; mostly compiled from the published Works of ancient and modern Divines.* By Abraham C. Baldwin. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1841. pp. 324.

The object and the utility of this book are obvious from the title. The compiler observes with truth that "there are few clergymen who have not at times found it more difficult to select an interesting and useful subject, than to prepare a sermon after a suitable subject has been found." To aid his brethren in such circumstances has been his design in preparing this volume. It has no affinity with books of "Skeletons," and "Outlines of Sermons." It is a naked collection of *subjects*, accompanied with texts of Scripture, and the names of the authors from whom they have been taken. For those who are young in the ministry in particular, Mr. Baldwin has performed a valuable service.

- 15.—*The Philosophy of History ; in a Course of Lectures, by Frederick von Schlegel. With a Memoir of the Author, by James B. Robertson, Esq. In two volumes.* New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 319, 302.

Every student of history will do well to read these volumes ; not that every sentiment which they contain is correct, but while many of the opinions here advanced are sound and just, even those which are questionable will reward a careful examination. With all the misdeeds of his political and literary career, it must be admitted that Schlegel had some rare qualifications for writing the *philosophy* of history. In addition to those extensive attainments which are common to the first scholars of Germany, he possessed an acquaintance with Asiatic learning, equally varied and profound. History, moreover, was his favourite study. To whatever subject his attention was directed, its bearing on the intellectual and social development of our race was diligently scrutinized. The *Philosophy of History*, it should be remembered, was undertaken in the full maturity of his vigorous and cultivated mind. Indeed these Lectures were the last production which he lived to finish. Having completed their delivery in 1828, he repaired to Dresden near the close of the year, and commenced a course on the *Philosophy of Language*. While writing the tenth Lecture, his labors were arrested, and he died Jan. 12th, 1829.

The first two Lectures of the work before us embrace the

relation of man to the earth, the division of mankind into nations, and the twofold condition of humanity in the primitive world. In the seven succeeding Lectures are considered the antiquity and institutions of China, the mental culture and philosophy of the Hindoos, the science and corruption of Egypt, the privileges and destinies of the Hebrews, the Persians with their nature-worship, manners and conquests, the Greeks with their learning and power, the Romans with their universal dominion. The next five Lectures treat of Christianity,—its consolidation and diffusion,—the emigration of the Germanic tribes, the Saracens in the brilliant age of the Caliphs, the establishment of a Christian empire in Germany, the great schism of the West, the struggles of the middle age, the Crusades, the discovery of the new world. The three following Lectures are devoted to religious wars, Illuminism, the French Revolution; and the last Lecture considers the prevailing spirit of the age and the universal regeneration of society.

The translator of these volumes is a warm admirer of Schlegel, particularly, it would seem, because of the latter's conversion to Catholicism. But his qualifications for the work he has undertaken are certainly not of the highest order.

- 15.—*Psychology ; or a View of the Human Soul, including Anthropology, adapted for the use of Colleges.* By Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, D. P., Late President of Marshall College, Penn. Second Edition, Revised and Improved. New York : M. W. Dodd. Boston : Crocker & Brewster. Philadelphia : Thomas, Coperthwait & Co. 1841. pp. 401.

By turning to our notice of the first edition of this work,—*Repository*, July, 1840,—our readers will perceive that the present edition has been enlarged by about thirty pages. The additions and changes which have been made, as far as we have been able to examine them, we regard as improvements in the style and finish of the work. They were principally made by the author's own hand ; though he had not quite completed his revision, when it pleased God to arrest his useful and important labors by the hand of death. His decease in the midst of his career is an event which we record with no ordinary feelings of sorrow. In it we have ourselves been called to mourn the loss of a personal friend and helper in our work, while the country has been deprived of one of its most thoroughly educated and accomplished scholars. The Institution over which he presided, the church, and the cause of educa-

tion and learning are deeply affected by the removal of one so highly gifted, from so wide a sphere of present and prospective usefulness. But his works will remain to perpetuate, in some degree, the influence which his living labors were beginning to exert. The present volume has been issued under the critical eye of Professor Nevin, of the same Institution, from whose preliminary notice we learn that a systematic work on *Moral Philosophy*, which was nearly prepared by Dr. Rauch, and intended to follow his *Psychology*, will probably be given to the public.

- 16.—*Remarks on the "Oxford Theology," in connection with its bearing upon the Law of Nature and the Doctrine of Justification by Faith.* By Vanbrugh Livingston. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1841. pp. 227.

The author of this little volume is a highly respectable and educated layman, and, as we understand, a member of the Episcopal church. But we have not heretofore known him as a writer on Theology. He now appears, however, as a defender of the Oxford Divines, especially against the imputations cast upon them by Bishop McIlvaine, in his work which we noticed with commendation in our No. for January last, and also against some strictures on the Oxford Divinity in a late No. of the Princeton Review. His work is a continuous discussion, without any break or division into chapters; and we have found it difficult to divide it into parts for the purpose of an analysis. Its aim is single and its argument repetitious. The writer professes not to have read the whole of the "Tracts for the Times," and disavows an entire agreement in all the views of the Oxford writers. But in respect to the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, on which Bishop McIlvaine charges them with holding the prominent error of the church of Rome, in opposition to the doctrine of the Anglican church, our author maintains that the charge is unfounded, and that, on the contrary, the views of Oxfordism on this subject are sustained by the Thirty-nine Articles. Here he takes his ground boldly with the Oxford writers. His views, however, according to our conceptions, are far from being discriminating and just. Regeneration, justification and sanctification are so confounded together, that the real difference between his positions and those which he opposes is often unintelligible; and his reasoning, though respectable, is on the whole unsatisfactory.

- 18.—*The Moral Influences, Dangers and Duties connected with Great Cities.* By John Todd. Northampton: J. H. Butler. Philadelphia: Smith & Peck. Boston: Crocker & Brewster; A. D. Phelps. 1841. pp. 267.

This little volume has been written, the author informs us, to benefit three classes of persons,—“those who reside in great cities, those who are about to come into the great city, and those who have sent, or who are about to send children and friends to reside in the great city.” The topic is one of the first importance, and we rejoice that it has fallen into hands so competent to do it justice. The acknowledged ability of Mr. Todd as a writer, in connection with his practical knowledge of the matters of which he treats, is a sufficient voucher for the character of his volume. It contains six Lectures, the subjects of which are as follows:—Importance of having Religion in great cities, Temptations and Duties peculiar to Christians in great cities, Dangers peculiar to worldly Men engaged in business, and to Young Men in great cities. We hope it will be extensively and carefully read.

- 19.—*Old Humphrey's Observations.* New-York: Robert Carter. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1841. pp. 258.
20.—*Old Humphrey's Addresses, by the author of Old Humphrey's Observations.* Published as above. pp. 252.

These volumes are “got up” in good style by the publisher. The “Observations,” as the author says in his introduction, are the “remarks of a friendly old man, who has some affection in his heart for every human being under the canopy of the skies.” They combine the utmost familiarity and simplicity with occasional elegance of style. They are all brief, amusing and instructive, and are always, in the end, turned to some profitable account for the inculcation or enforcement of lessons of prudence, morality or religion. They are on seventy distinct subjects, the remarks on each of which are extended to two, three or four pages. The following are specimens of the topics,—the prices of things, excellent ideas, hedges and ditches, duelling, a scoffer, an aged saint's departure for glory, etc. etc.

The “Addresses” are equally miscellaneous in their character and the range of their topics; and like the “Observations,” are intended, at once to amuse and to communicate important practical, moral and religious instruction. The subjects are sixty-one in number, among which are the following,—Sanc-

tified sorrow, a comfortable home, close questioning, riches, selfishness, gin-drinking, etc. etc. On the whole we do not hesitate to recommend these as very good and useful books. They are adapted to readers of every capacity, possessing a simplicity which renders them intelligible to the least informed, and sterling sense which will command the respect of the educated and refined, in the hours of leisure and relaxation. As books for amusement, how infinitely superior to the vile and useless trash which is often resorted to for that purpose.

- 21.—*The Theory of Horticulture ; or an Attempt to explain the Principal operations of Gardening, upon Physiological Principles*,—by John Lindley, Ph., D. F. R. S. Vice-Secretary of the Horticultural Society of London, and Professor of Botany in University College. First American Edition, with Notes, etc., by A. J. Downing and A. Gray. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 1841. pp. 370.

The announcement of this title-page reminds us of a certain lawyer of eminence, of whom Mr. Webster remarked, that his *statement* was an *argument*. This title, with the names of the author and editors, is sufficient to indicate the character of the work. We need only add that it enters with learning and discrimination into the principles of Horticulture, and answers in detail most of the questions which are likely to suggest themselves to the practical inquirer. It is a valuable book for the farmer as well as the gardener.

- 22.—*The Practical Spelling-Book, with Reading Lessons*. By T. H. Gallaudet, and Horace Hooker. Hartford: Belknap & Hamnersley. pp. 166.

It augurs well for the cause of education, that some of the finest intellects among us are engaged in the preparation of works for the young. To the hasty observer the making of a good spelling-book may seem a very humble employment; but contemplated in its ultimate results, it is a most laudable because a most useful vocation. We regret that we have not room to speak of the labors of the above named gentlemen as they deserve. They have proceeded in a truly philosophical spirit, and, after much pains-taking, have constructed a spelling-book that will greatly simplify the business of primary education. We hope that all who are interested in elementary instruction will examine the work and judge for themselves.

23.—*The Jubilee Memorial; being the Sermons, Meetings, Presentations, and a full account of the Jubilee, commemorating the Rev. William Jay's fifty years Ministry at Argyle Chapel, Bath.* New York: Robert Carter. 1841. pp. 179.

The title of this work explains its character. In the month of January last, Mr. Jay, as many of our readers are aware, completed the fiftieth year of his useful ministry at Bath. The last Sabbath of the month was observed by appropriate services; Mr. Jay preached in the morning and Rev. Mr. East, of Birmingham, in the evening. On the Tuesday following, a meeting was held, at which £650 were presented by the congregation to their venerable pastor, and several addresses made. The sermons preached upon the Sabbath, together with a full account of the Presentation meeting, are contained in this volume. It is seldom that a jubilee of so much interest is commemorated; and the numerous admirers of Mr. Jay in this country, we have no doubt, will read this memorial of the event with pleasure.

ARTICLE XII.

RECENT LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

Part I. of Dr. Trail's new Translation of Josephus is soon to appear, containing the Life of Josephus by himself; the principal scenes in the successive Nos. are to be illustrated by views taken by an artist who visits them for this purpose.—Mr. Fellowes' book, giving an account of his discoveries in Lycia during a second excursion to Asia Minor, is said to justify the expectations excited by the announcement of his intended revisit. It contains a description of 11 cities not upon any map, many coins hitherto unknown, a great variety of illustrations, etc.—Mr. Buckingham's "America, Historical, Statistic and Descriptive" has appeared in England. From the account given of it by the London journals, it seems to possess some of the characteristics of the Lectures on Egypt and Palestine.

Among the recent publications, we notice McKrie's Life of Knox, with numerous Additions and Corrections, and a vindication of Knox from the charge of being implicated in Rizzio's murder; Records of Female Piety, comprising Sketches of the Lives and Extracts from the Writings of Women eminent for religious excellence, by James A. Huie; a Church Dictionary by Dr. Hook, being Part IV. of the new series of Leeds Tracts; the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place, translated, with a Commentary, by Dr. Bowditch, 4 vols. 4to.; *Logicæ Artis Com-*

pendium, by Robert Sanderson ; Hon. Mrs. Damer's Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Holy Land ; a new and enlarged edition of Montgomery's Poetical Works. A new edition of Flügel's German Dictionary is in the press.

Germany.

The Nov. No. of the *Hall. Allg. Lit-Zeitung* contains a notice of Dr. George Christian Knapp's Biblical Theology. Dr. Knapp is the author of Lectures on Christian Theology, translated several years since by Pres. Woods. The Biblical Theology is published by Dr. Guericke, without alteration, from the MS. left by the author. The reviewer thinks this work will be as well received as the Lectures on Christian Theology. —A new quarterly periodical has been commenced at Leipsic, of which Drs. Rudelbach and Guericke are the editors. It is called: "*Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche.*" Each No. is to contain a running account of all the theological works which have appeared during the preceding quarter. The leading article of the first No. is on the Inspiration of the Scriptures by Rudelbach. The later opinions in Germany on this subject are reviewed. The article is unfinished.—The History of the European States, edited by Heeren and Ukert and published by Perthes, has already reached 34 volumes and 7 are in the press. It is intended to be a standard work.—Schelling has been appointed to an office in the department of Justice at Berlin, with liberty to give what lectures he pleases.—A professorship of modern Greek literature has been established at Berlin, and Dr. J. Franz has been appointed to fill it ; he has promised to aid in the continuation of Prof. Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcorum*.—The small kingdom of Saxony contains 63 printing establishments ; 46 for lithographic printing, and 9 for copper-plate. Of these Leipsic alone is said to contain 39, with 120 common presses and 10 printing machines.

By the latest accounts from Germany, we learn the number of students in the several universities. At Bonn there were 594, of whom 120 were foreigners ; 87 (foreign 41) were connected with the Protestant theological department, and 89 (foreign 1) with the Catholic theological department. At Breslau there were 631 students, of whom 7 were foreigners ; 106 (foreign 1) were attending to Protestant theology, and 114 to Catholic theology. At Enlangen there were 311 students, 18 of them foreigners ; 145 were attending to theology. At Freiburg there were 301 students, 87 were foreigners ; 95 (foreign 25) were studying theology. At Giessen there were 407 students, including 76 foreigners. At Göttingen there were 704 students, 431 being foreigners ; 167 (foreign 31) were in the department of theology. At Halle there were 682 students, 144 of them were foreigners ; 420 (foreign 92) were attending to theology. At Heidelberg the number of students was 614. At Königsberg there were 390 students, 26 of them being foreigners ; 114 (foreign 5) were in the theological department. At Leipsic there were 935 students ; 276 were foreigners and 254 were studying theology. At Marburg the number of students was 285, foreigners 49 ; 67 (foreign 10) being in the theological department. At Tübingen there were 739 students, foreigners 52 ; pursuing Protestant theology 145, Catholic theology 62.

France.

The theological faculty at Montauban is arranged as follows:—M. Jalaguier is Professor of Dogmatic Theology, M. de Felice of Evangelical Morality, M. Montet, Sen. of Ecclesiastical History, M. A. Monod of Hebrew, M. Encontre of Latin and Greek Literature, M. Nicolas of Natural and Intellectual Philosophy.—Prof. Boutriche has just published his Comparative and Historical Picture of Ancient and Modern Religions, the Principal Religious Sects and Schools of Philosophy.—M. Firmin Didot is publishing a *Bibliothèque Grecque* in 50 large volumes. It is to contain the chefs d'œuvre of the Greek poets, historians, orators, philosophers, with Josephus and the Septuagint, with a Latin translation, and *Indices Rerum et Nominum*. Some 10 to 15 vols. have already appeared; among them Homer's *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Hymns* and *Fragments* in 1 vol. price 12 fr. 50c., Xenophon complete in 1 vol. 15fr., *Aristophanes*, *Menander*, *Philemon* in 1 vol. Each vol. may be had separately.—A bill to extend the right of literary property has been rejected in the Chamber of Deputies, 158 to 108.—The *Libraire d'Education*, by Victor Boreau and L. F. Hivert, is advancing towards its completion; the *History of France* in 2 vols., by Boreau, the *History of England*, by Boreau and Lafon, the *History of Russia*, by Duchiron, the *History of Poland*, by Cynske, the *History of Italy*, by Boreau and Duchiron; and the *History of Germany*, by Boreau, have already appeared.

Africa.

A prospectus has been issued of a curious lithographic work, to be published in Nos. at Algiers. It is to consist of views of the Christian remains of the ancient African Church, with notes from the bishop lately appointed by the Pope for that colony. No. I. will contain a view of the ruins of the *Basilica of Peace*, at Hippona.

United States.

The Second Edition of Prof. Stuart's *N. Test. Grammar* is in the press; most of it has been written anew; and the remainder revised and corrected. John F. Trow has a new edition of *Edwards' Works* in the press, under the supervision of a distinguished New-England divine, based on the old Worcester edition, with additions and improvements from the English edition and other sources; to be comprised in 4 vols. and furnished at a reduced price. D. Appleton & Co. will shortly publish *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, edited by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Whittingham; *Early English Church*, by the Rev. Edward Churton, edited by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives; *Disce Viveri*,—*Learn to Live*, by Dr. Sutton; *John Angel James' Widow* directed to the *Widow's God*; also his *Happiness*,—its *Nature and Sources*; *Lectures on Spiritual Christianity*, by Isaac Taylor, author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm*; *Blunt's Family Commentary on Genesis*; *Practical Christian and Devout Penitent*, by Sherlock; *Life of Napoleon*, with 500 illustrations, 2 vols.; *Lockhart's Spanish Ballads*; *The Hannahs*, a continuation of the *Lady's Closet Library*; by Robert Philip.

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SECOND SERIES, NO. XII.—WHOLE NO. XLIV.

ARTICLE, I.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GNOSTICS:—THE MANICHEAN HERESY,
AND INFLUENCE OF GNOSTICISM ON CHRISTIANITY.

By the Rev. George B. Cheever, Pastor of the Allen-street Pres. Church, New-York.

MANES AND THE MANICHEAN HERESY.

OUR present investigation takes up the subject just at the point where it was left in the previous article on Gnosticism by Mr. Henry T. Cheever, to which the reader may refer in the number of this journal for October, 1840.

The principal authorities consulted or followed in these pages are those of Cyril, Epiphanius, Augustine, Titus of Bostra, with the Acts of Archelaus, among the ancients, and D'Herbelot, Beausobre, Lardner, Mosheim, Brucker, Michaelis, Tenneman and some others among the moderns. The greater part of ancient Christian writers have drawn their accounts of the founder of the Manichæan heresy from one and the same source,—the book of the Acts of Archelaus, bishop of Cascar in Mesopotamia, purporting to contain an account of his conference or dispute with Manes. This book Jerome makes mention of, (*De Viris Illustribus*), saying that Archelaus, in the reign of the Emperor Probus, composed it in Syriac, which was afterwards translated into Greek. Cyril, Epiphanius, Socrates, Photius and others either quote largely from it, or refer to it, and Socrates states expressly that he drew from it his own ac-

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count of the Manichæan heresy.* It was edited at Rome, by Laurentius Zacagnius, in the year 1698, in the *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum*, with a valuable preface. The reader may find it, with this and other illustrative prolegomena, in the fourth volume of Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*. The short passage in which Eusebius mentions Manes and his heresy contains no reference to this book;—a circumstance which led Beausobre to the opinion that it had not appeared in Greek, till after Eusebius composed and published his *Ecclesiastical History*. That it is of great antiquity, and in some things worthy of credit, there can be no doubt, though falsehood mingles with it. Mosheim's opinion is as follows: *Hæc Acta . . . multa continent, aut valde probabilia aut vero consentientia.*† Beausobre argues somewhat like a special pleader, and regards the book of the Acts of Archelaus as a romance, fabricated by a Greek, who had got some materials for a memoir, and published them in the name of Archelaus, in the year 330, about sixty years after the death of Manes. Nevertheless, the epistle of Manes to Marcellus, though contained in that work, Beausobre regards as authentic, and supposes it to have been written in Greek, whence he infers that Manes understood that language.

Eusebius, in his slight notice of Manes and his heresy, is pithy and severe, or, as Lardner expresses it, (whose leaning towards the heretics is always that of kindness, a thing, we admit, under such circumstances, both just and necessary in order to be impartial,) "much out of humour." So, indeed, are all the old Christian writers; and taking their account of the scheme of Manes as at all correct, they could not well be otherwise. Cyril declares that he "blended together what was bad in every heresy, and being the lowest pit of destruction, collected the doctrines of all the heretics, and wrought out and set forth a yet more novel error."‡ The reader may get a fair view of the opinions of the early church by turning to Baronius, who, in the first volume of his *Annals*, collects from Cyril, Epiphanius, Augustine and others, a black and hideous representation of the system and its author. The sum of the opinions and feelings prevalent in regard to it may be found in a passage

* Socrates Hist. Ecc. ch. 22.

† Prolegomena to the Acts, in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*. Vol. IV. p. 134.

‡ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis*, 16, § 9.

from Pope Leo, who opposed it, compounding it out of the profaneness of Paganism, the blindness of Judaism, the devilry of magic, and in fine, whatever is sacrilegious and blasphemous in all heresies.*

Beausobre, in his large and learned work, exhibits at great length, 1, the accounts of the Greek and Latin writers, drawn mostly, as we have seen, from the book of Archelaus, together with an investigation of their correctness; 2, the accounts of the Oriental writers, Persian, Syrian, Arabian. The first are Christian, the second Mohammedan, but all alike opposed to the Manichæans. The Mohammedans, who tolerate the Jews and Christians, not regarding them as excluded from the divine compassion, suppose that there is no grace possible for the Manichæans, and place them in hell next to the Atheists. As almost nothing has been preserved of the writings of Manes, the dogmas of the sect, and of its chief, as well as his history, have to be learned from opposers; and there is much truth in the remark of Beausobre, that the disposition of antiquity was to receive without examination all that rumor published to the disadvantage of the heretics, to exaggerate the absurdity of their opinions, and to put down as articles of their original faith, all the consequences which could result from their principles.†

The Oriental writers,—Persian, Syrian and Arabian,—differ so much from the Grecian writers, that it might be supposed that the Manes of the Greeks and he of the Orientals are two distinct heresiarchs, who, whatever resemblance there may have been in their opinions, had almost none in their history.‡ Beausobre adds to this remark, that, in comparing the Greeks and Latins with the Orientals, you know not with whom are to be found the worst reasonings or the most fabulous histories.

The name of this heresiarch has given rise to not a little curious and learned etymological conjecture. The Acts of Archelaus make Manes to have been purchased as a slave, at the age of seven years, under the name of Cubricus, by a woman who set him free and put him to his studies. Archelaus asserts farther that he took the name of Manes at the age of twelve years, on the death of his benefactress; but the more probable conjecture is that his mistress gave him that name when she

* Barónius, *Annales*, 277.

† Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich. Discours Préliminaire*.

‡ *Hist. du Manichæism*, Tom. I. pp. 155, 156.

set him free,—a thing not uncommon in the East on such occasions. The learned and sagacious Archbishop Usher having dropped a suggestion in his *Annals* on the similarity between the name of Menahem king of Israel, and that of Manes,* Beausobre has sought to confirm the conjecture, which indeed is unquestionably the right one. The name of Manes is nothing but that of Manaem, that is to say, the Paraclete, the Comforter, changed first into Manem, and thence by the Greeks, not admitting the termination *m*, into Manen or Manes.† It was very natural to suppose, (Paraclete being one of the Oriental significations of the name,) that Manes chose it because of his pretensions to be considered the Paraclete promised in the New Testament. We think it more likely that the name, acting with and upon his growing fanaticism, suggested to him the pretension, or rather confirmed him in it. He may have really persuaded himself that he had been thus marked and designated beforehand by a higher power, as the revealer of new truth, and the world's comforter that was to come.

According to the testimony of the Chronicle of Edessa, Manes was born in the year 239 or 240 of the Christian Era.‡ D'Herbelot§ makes him to have lived under the reigns of Sapor and Hormisdas, but to have been put to death by Varanes the son of Hormisdas, in the year 277 or 278. He is supposed by some to have been one of the Persian Magi, by others a Chaldean. He was regarded as one of the most skilful of all men in the sciences of the Persians and Babylonians. He understood the Greek language, then uncommon in the East; he

* The suggestion is thrown out by Usher in the following remark on 2 Kings 15 : 14, on the name of King Menahem.—A Sulpicio Severo, Lib. I. Hist. Pac., Manes hic appellatur; eodem quo Manes vel Manichæus hæresiarcha nomine. Utriusque vero nomen paracletum, sive consolatorem significat.—Usher, *Annales*, 47.

† Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. pp. 71, 72.—Cyril, Epiphanius and others remark upon the Greek signification of the name: "You will hate all heretics in general," says Cyril, "but especially him who takes his name from madness, *μανίας*." Cyril, *Catechesis*, VI. 12.—Titus of Bostra has the same remark:—Manichæus, qui a *barbarie* et *furore* nomen ducit. Titus Bost. Contr. Man. Bibliot. Patrum, IV. 443.

‡ Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. p. 65.

§ Bibliot. Orient. Voc. Mani.

was skilful in music, the mathematics, geography, astronomy, astrology, medicine and painting.* He believed in the spherical figure of the earth, and had himself constructed a terrestrial globe. When or how he became a Christian, we are not told; but he is said to have joined to his knowledge of the sciences an acquaintance with the Scriptures, and so great a zeal for the faith, that he was made a Christian priest at Ahvaz, a considerable city of one of the smaller Persian provinces. Here he taught and interpreted the sacred books, and disputed with the Jews, the Magi, and Pagan strangers from abroad.†

The churches of Persia‡ were in a tranquil state when Manes first broached his heresy; and there was at the head of the clergy of the East, a proud, imperious, unworthy primate, Papas by name, under whose administration a state of things had come about not unfavorable to the progress of the heretic. Under these circumstances Manes set himself up for an apostle, boasted that he had received his apostleship immediately from heaven, and alleged in proof of it, first, the perfection and plenitude of his knowledge, and second, the promise which Christ had made to the church of sending the Paraclete, the Comforter.§

Most of the Grecian writers have accused Manes of professing himself to be the Paraclete; but whether he meant that he was himself the personification of the Holy Spirit, or simply that the Holy Spirit dwelt in him, is difficult to say. Eusebius is the first writer who declares him to have pretended that he was the Paraclete.|| In the Acts of Archelaus it is said, that "as he found in the sacred books the name of Paraclete, he pretended himself to be that Paraclete."¶ The historian Socrates declares that he called himself the Paraclete, and also named

* Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. p. 158.

† Idem, Tom. I. pp. 67, 169.

‡ Lightfoot, Vol. VII., also Vol. XII. p. 574, argues that St. Peter himself had preached in Chaldea, and that when he wrote his epistles he was in Babylon, the use of the word Bosor, in 2 Pet. 2: 15, indicating the Chaldee dialect.

§ Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. p. 186.

|| Eusebius, Hist. Ecc. ch. 31.

¶ See the whole original Acta Disputationis in Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, Vol. IV. Also quoted in Beausobre, Tom. I. p. 15.

himself in his epistles an Apostle of Christ.* Cyril of Jerusalem also makes the same charge.† The Epistle of Manes to Marcellus, as given by Epiphanius and others from the book of the Acts of Archelaus, commences thus: "Manes, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the Saints and Virgins‡ with me, to Marcellus my dear son: Grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."§ Beausobre thinks the charge made against Manes of having professed himself to be the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, is not true, for how should he make this pretension, and at the same time call himself simply an Apostle of Jesus Christ? He brings Augustine to witness that Manes began all his letters with these words: MANES THE APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST.|| The assertion, however, is not made merely on the authority of the book of the Acts of Archelaus, of which Beausobre denies the authenticity, since, if Beausobre's opinion be correct, Eusebius mentions it before that book had been published; and as it is repeated by almost every writer on the subject, it seems highly probable. Mosheim is of opinion that Manes asserted himself to have been the Paraclete.¶ Titus, bishop of Bostra, a calm and apparently impartial controversialist, distinctly makes this accusation.**

A number of places may be collected from Augustine on this point, but this Father does not, that we are aware of, anywhere distinctly affirm that Manes asserted himself to be the Paraclete, but only that the Holy Ghost dwelt in him with full authority.††

The record of the blasphemous pretensions of Manes is not

* Socrates, Hist. Ecc. ch. 22.

† Cyril, Catechesis, 6, § 16.

‡ *Πάντες ἅγιοι καὶ παρθένοι*. Tillemont supposes that these saints and virgins were disciples of Manes of both sexes; but Beausobre supposes the terms saints and virgins to refer to one and the same class, viz. men who had taken the vow of celibacy and chastity. Beausobre, Vol. I. p. 93.

§ Epiphanius, Adv. Hæres. L. II.

|| Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. ch. 2. § 10.

¶ Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Vol. I. p. 234.

** Paracletum se appellavit, usu nominis quod non solum supra nomen, sed supra angelum est. Titus Bost. Præf. Contr. Manich. Lib. III. Bib. Patr. IV. 467.

†† Augustine, Confess. L.V. 8, 9.

confined to the Greek writers. "This impostor," says D'Herbelot, "having heard say that Jesus Christ had promised to send after him a Paraclete, wished to persuade the ignorant people of Persia that himself was the Paraclete, who would announce to them from God a new religion."* Continuing the history from D'Herbelot, who omits all mention of that famous dispute with Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, which figures so largely in the accounts of the earliest writers, we observe that after Manes had for some time attracted admiration by his various knowledges, he began to collect disciples, who opposed the worship and ceremonies of the Zoroastrian religion, professed hitherto by the Persians. To avoid the wrath of Sapor on this account, he fled to Turquestan, into a city or town named in Hyde and Beausobre Tchighil, where he made himself popular by adorning the temples with paintings. Here he preached his doctrine and gathered disciples. Having discovered a convenient grotto in which was a sweet fountain, he gathered provisions for a year, and in order to pass for some divinity, or more probably, if this story be true, to support his pretensions to be considered the Paraclete, told his disciples that he was going to heaven for a year, after which he should descend to earth again, and would reappear in the cave which he pointed out to them. In this retreat he perfected and arranged his scheme of philosophy and religion, and prepared a gospel for his disciples, with all the art, which as a skilful painter he was master of. At the expiration of the year they did not fail to seek him, and then he showed them that wonderful book, which he professed to have brought from heaven, bearing the name, as D'Herbelot has it, of Erzenk, or Ertenk.† It was full of wondrous images and figures, magical, astrological and prophetical, adorned and painted with such marvellous skill and beauty, that it became so celebrated in all Persia as to pass into a proverb.‡

Lardner observes that the eastern authors, quoted by Hyde and Herbelot, are not ancient but modern, being either Moham-

* *Bibl. Orient. Voc. Mani.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Kemal Esfahani, Poète Persien, pour louer l'habilité d'un Peintre, dit "que ses ouvrages faisoient plier le Livre d'Ertenk, et mépriser toutes ses figures."* *Bibl. Orient. Voc. Ertenk and Erzenk.*

medans or Christians of later times, and intimates that their account of the journey to heaven is taken from the history of Mohammed.* But this might equally have been imitated from the life of Zoroaster, who is said to have dwelt in a cavern, the sides of which he sculptured with mystical figures, and in that retirement may have written his book entitled the *Zend*, the Bible of the Zoroastrian Magi, which they called *the book of life*.† Khondemir, the Oriental historian quoted by D'Herbelot, asserted in reference to the pretension of Manes to be the Paraclete, that Manes *wished to apply to himself what Jesus Christ intended for Mohammed, who was to establish a new religion after him*. But it does not seem probable that Mohammedan writers would have taken passages from the life of their prophet, to deepen the interest of the Manichæan history.

While Manes was in Turquestan, the Emperor Sapor died, and Hormisdas his son reigned in his stead. Manes thereupon returned to Persia, and presented to the king the book of his revelations.‡ Hormisdas embraced the doctrines of the new prophet, and under his protection the sect increased rapidly in numbers.§ Beausobre observes that all religionists hated

* Lardner on the History of Mani, Works, Vol. III. p. 311.

† Ce mot de *Zend* signifie *vivant*; de sorte qu'il semble que les Mages aient qualifié leur livre qu'ils estiment sacré, du titre de *Vie*, ou *Livre de Vie*. The book of *Zend* was followed by another named *Pazend*, and both together have a commentary, which goes by the name of *Abesta* or *Avesta*, ordinarily *ZENDAVESTA*. The Magi attributed it to Abraham, whom they believed to be the same with Zoroaster; and the three volumes, the *Zend*, the *Pazend* and the *Avesta*, or commentary, taken together, comprehend the whole of their religion. Their tradition is that Abraham read these books in the midst of the fiery furnace, into which Nimrod had cast him. In all probability the book of the revelations of Manes was an imitation. Bibl. Orient. Voc. *Zend* and *Abesta*.

‡ The Persians call it *Er-Tengh-Mani*, the book of the paintings of Manes. Beausobre, Tom. I. p. 190.

§ D'Herbelot observes that this emperor "gave himself to study, but his science did only injure him, inasmuch as he fell into the errors of Manes, who pretended to have refined upon the doctrine of Zoroaster, the legislator of the Magi, in mingling it with that of the Christians." This might have proved an injury to the monarch among his people, but surely not in

Manes to such a degree that the king was obliged to build him a strong castle to serve as a retreat from his persecutors. For the Christians and the Magi on the one hand pursued him as a heretic and an apostate, and the Jews and the Pagans, on the other, as the sworn enemy of their sects.* Hormisdas died in about two years, and Varanes I., his son, succeeded him. Under Varanes, who seems at first to have favored the heresiarch, a public dispute was appointed between Manes and the most learned of the Magi; a mere artifice, according to some, to draw him from his retreat into the power of his enemies. Be this as it may, the dispute was fatal to Manes, who was forthwith condemned as a heretic, and put to death in the most fearful manner.

TENETS AND DISCIPLINE OF THE MANICHÆANS.

In gathering into one view the absurdities of the scheme of Manes, we shall avail ourselves principally of the condensation by Beausobre of what he calls the whole Manichæan theology into a system, referring, however, to other authorities, and reminding our readers that Beausobre's view is more favorable than can be found in any other writer. He enumerates, in the first place, what may be called the external principles or features of Manichæism, four in number. First, the pretended authority of the heresiarch as the apostle and prophet of Jesus Christ, inspired by the Paraclete to reform all religions, and reveal to the world those truths, which the Saviour did not think proper to commit to his first disciples.† Paul himself *knew but in part, and prophesied in part*; but for Manes was reserved to destroy what is partial, and establish what is perfect.‡ In the second place, in virtue of this pretended divine mission, Manes rejected the Old Testament, as being the work of the Principle or Deity of Evil, with innumerable blasphemous

reference to any sprinkling of Christian truth which he received, unless the monstrous mixture of the Manichæan system be regarded as worse than the simple Paganism of Zoroaster. Bibl. Orient. Voc. Hormouz.

* Hist. du Manich. Tom. I. p. 201.

† Pref. à l'Hist. du Manich. p. 10.

‡ Archelai et Manetis Disputatio. 13. Rel. Sac. Vol. IV. 174.

objections, which are detailed in the writings of Augustine and others, and may be found in Lardner's section of the Manichæan doctrine concerning the Scriptures. He pretended to receive the New Testament,* and to argue from parts of it, but rejected what he pleased, on the ground that the Evangelists were not really the apostolic men whose names they bear, or that if they were, their books had been falsified by the Christians, who were half Jews.† In the third place, having denied the inspiration and authority of the prophets of the Old Testament, he proposed, in opposition to them, and in place of the Old Testament, other false prophets, whose books the Orientals pretended to possess. Seth, Enoch and other patriarchs, having been instructed by good angels, had transmitted to their descendants the truths thus gained. These instructions were preserved either in books, or in the schools of Oriental philosophers. All nations have their own prophets, and the Christian church, being composed of the Gentiles, ought not to listen to the Hebrew prophets, who were not intended for them. In the fourth place, the Manichæans seem to have adopted certain apocryphal books, composed in the second century to sustain the heresies of the Docetæ and the Eucratites, whose principles were similar to those of the system of Manes. His own gospel, under the appellation of Erteng, Manes set up in place of the New Testament, as a revelation direct from God.

As to the dogmas of Manichæism, its theological and philosophical hypotheses were drawn, like those of Pythagorism and Platonism, from the theology and philosophy of the East. The artifice of Manes was to baptize a system so composed, into the name and authority of the Gospel of Christ. He could not conceive of the supreme God as a holy, spiritual being, but regarded him as a living, immaterial light, residing from all eternity in the supreme heavens, and always accompanied by those pure and immortal intelligences, or emanations from the Divinity, to which he gave the name of *Æons*. The luminous substance from which heaven was formed, the residence of Deity, had the same eternity as God, but the heaven so formed, and the *Æons*,

* See also on this point, Titus of Bostra. "The Manichæans merely pretend to honor the Evangelists, in order, by that pretence, to deceive others." Titus Contr. Man. L. III. Bibl. Patrum IV. 468.

† Lardner on the Manichees, § 6.

had but a second eternity, the eternity of the world, according to Plato.*

From the essence of the Father there emanated two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Since the creation of the material world, the Son resides in the sun and moon;† in the sun as power, in the moon as wisdom. The Holy Spirit resides in the air. Here they execute the orders of the Father, and here they will remain till the consummation of all things.

Manes held the Persian view of two first principles, the Light and the Darkness, and a Lord over each from eternity. One of the books of Manes is represented as commencing with this tenet: "Erat Deus et Materia, Lux et Tenebræ, Bonum et Malum, penitus sibi invicem contrariæ," etc.‡ The malignant power Manes called, in the philosophical style, matter, in the vulgar style, the demon or devil, and in the mystical style, the darkness. This malignant power would never have known the existence of the world of light, but for an insurrection in his own kingdom of darkness, in the progress of which, the troops under his command, having perceived the light, made an irruption into the kingdom of light, with intent to possess themselves of some portion of it. God opposed to them a power named *the first man*, armed with the five elements of the celestial substance. This first man being worsted in the contest, God sent a second general, *the Living Spirit*, for his assistance. Nevertheless, the powers of darkness got possession of a certain portion of the celestial substance, the light, and mingled it with the evil substance, the hyle (ὕλη) or matter.§ In order to keep possession of it, the prince of darkness formed two organized material bodies, the parents of the human race, and shut up in those bodies the portions of the celestial substance which he had plundered from the world of light. The souls, thus united to depraved matter, and involved in sensual delights, forget their celestial origin, and love their prisons, as in the Platonic scheme. It was conceived that there were two distinct souls in man, the one sensitive and concupiscent, from the prince of darkness, the

* Beausobre, Pref. 25.

† Cyril, Catech. 16. 3.

‡ Epiphanius, Adv. Hæres. L. II. 19.

§ This contest between darkness and light, and the consequent loss of the divine substance, the reader may find referred to in Augustine. Confessions, VII. 1.

other rational and immortal, from the kingdom of light. To this Augustine repeatedly refers in his writings on the Manichæan heresy. One of his works,—*De Duabus Animabus*,—was upon this subject.*

The two substances of light and darkness being thus mingled, the Living Spirit, to make the best of it, created the world for the residence of the human race thus formed by the power of evil. Out of those parts of the celestial substance which had been preserved from the contagion of matter, he formed the sun and moon. To deliver the imprisoned souls from their bondage, God, by the ministry of good angels, instructed the patriarchs, and inspired a succession of prophets and sages in all nations. At length he sent his Son to teach and deliver them, taking upon himself the appearance, but not the reality, of a body, and showing by his *mystical crucifixion*, which the Jews, instigated by the prince of darkness, accomplished, how to mortify the flesh, die to the passions, and set at liberty the soul.

Manes denied the incarnation of the Saviour, for that would have been a union with depraved matter. He denied the reality of his birth, his life, his death, his resurrection. He denied the resurrection of the flesh, because this would be to perpetuate the inherent evil of matter. He disapproved of marriage, as invented by the devil to bind souls in the flesh, and hinder their return to heaven. He recommended all sorts of austerity and maceration of the body; for the weaker it becomes, the less able it is to resist the Spirit. He divided his followers into two classes, the *elect*, or perfect ones, and the *hearers*, presenting for the first a rule of life and discipline severe and rigid in the extreme, which was somewhat relaxed for the others. The elect were to abstain not only from wine and meats, but eggs and milk, and to live upon bread, herbs and pulse, in a community of voluntary poverty, apart from all secular affairs. He permitted only the most spiritual of the pleasures of the senses, such, for

* In his Confessions, as well as in his book of heresies, Augustine speaks of those "vain talkers, who observing two wills in deliberation, affirm that there are two minds of two kinds, good and evil." L. VIII. 22. And again: "Let no man say, when he perceives two conflicting wills in the man, that the conflict is between two contrary souls, of two contrary substances, from two contrary principles, one good, and the other bad." Confess. VIII. 24. Also, De Hæres. 46.

example, as music and perfumes. His pretended aim in all this was to detach the soul from the senses, and from all terrestrial affections, because without a perfect purification it could not ascend to heaven.*

The transmigration of souls was a part of Manes' system.† He taught that they pass from one body to another for their purification; those that are not purified by a certain number of revolutions being delivered to the demons in the air to be tormented and disciplined, after which they go into other bodies, as a new school, until, having acquired sufficient purity, they traverse the region of matter, and pass into the moon. Thence they are emptied into the sun, and thence into what the Manichæans called the *column of glory*. The increase of the moon is caused by the influx of souls, or particles of celestial light ascending from the earth; it decreases by the departure of souls from the moon into the sun. The Holy Spirit, residing in the air, assists them in their purification, and the sun burns off the material particles that cling to them, and facilitates their ascension to heaven. When all souls, and all parts of the celestial substance, plundered in the first war, shall have been separated from matter, then cometh the end, the consummation. The caverns of fire will be opened, and the *Omophore*, that is, the angel who sustains and balances the world in its position, will let it fall into the flames, and will cast the whole material mass of its enclosure after it, into the place which the Scriptures call *outer darkness*. There the devils will be shut up for ever, and those lazy souls, that, by the time this catastrophe happens, shall not have finished their purification, will be set, as the punishment of their negligence, to the eternal business of keeping the devils in their dungeons, in order that they may never more attempt any thing against the kingdom of God. While the world continues, the Living Spirit keeps the demons chained in the air, and it is their rage and furious gambols that excite the tempests, thunderings, lightnings, contagious maladies and deluges of rain.‡

The worship of the Manichæans seems to have been simple

* Hist. du Manich. Pref. p. 30. Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 239.

† Idem corpora ex aliis in alia transmutari asserit, Empe-
doclis et Pythagoræ, Egyptiorumque opinionem manifeste se-
cutus. Socrates, Hist. Eccles. c. 22.

‡ Beausobre, Pref.

and plain ; so much so, that they claimed to be farther removed from Paganism than all other Christians.* They observed the Lord's day ; but observed it by fasting, supposing that the world's conflagration would happen on that day, and desirous to be found in the exercise of humiliation and repentance. They had no temples, altars, images, sacrifices, burnings of incense. The following from Faustus, the Manichæan bishop, is in a higher strain than the usual tenor of the heresy.† "The heathen think that God is to be worshipped with altars, victims, chapels, images, incense. I, if I might be worthy, would esteem myself a reasonable temple of God. Christ his Son, I receive as a living image of the living God. His altar is my mind, cultivated with care, and endowed with knowledge and just sentiments. The honors and sacrifices, which I present to the Deity, are prayers, and those pure and simple." Nevertheless, Socrates accuses them of worshipping the sun, and Augustine makes the same accusation.‡ To the same purpose is the evidence of a passage in Cyril, who had among his own hearers some converts from the Manichæan heresy.§ The Manichæans observed the anniversary of the death of Manes with great solemnity, but the memorial of Christ's death with but little devotion.|| They practised, in some measure, the ordinance of baptism. Baronius quotes Jerome blaming Hilarius as a schismatic, because he received those baptized by the Manichæans without any other baptism.¶

On the whole, the account of the system of this heresiarch may not unfairly, though severely, be summed up in the words of the learned Cave. *Dogmata quæ spargebat Manes, partim ex fœculentissimis hæresiarcharum lacunis, partim ex ineptissimis orientalium nugis, partim ex absurdis gentilium philosophorum placitis, partim denique ex ipsius Christianæ religionis*

* Mosheim and Schlegel in Annot. I. p. 239.

† Lardner, III. p. 384.

‡ Valesius in Socrates quotes a letter from Libanius to Priscian in Palestine, that they worship the sun,—are found in many places,—but everywhere few. Vales. in Soc. I. c. 22.

§ Cyril, Catechesis, 16, § 3. "Here let converts from the Manichæans gain instruction, and no longer make these lights their gods, nor impiously think that the sun, which shall be darkened, is Christ."

|| Mosheim, Beausobre, and Lardner.

¶ Baronius, Annales, 277, 687.

institutis partita sunt.* One of the strangest things connected with this perverse and prodigious mixture of heathenism and Christianity is this, that it was not attended and followed with some equally perverse form of practical immorality; but from this charge, though there have been some monstrous things alleged of the practices of the Manichæans, its historians have remarkably abstained. There is reason to believe, that, in actual manners or morals, the sect of the followers of Manes were among the purest of the ancient errorists. Such was their profession, and some strong and ardent minds were allured by it.† Manes himself may have been not wholly an impostor, perhaps not more so than Ammonius, Plotinus, or Jamblichus. His pretensions to divine visions and authority the two latter speculators share with him. A philosophical and ardent genius having led him astray in the mazes of Oriental speculation, he determined to accommodate Christianity to the Oriental philosophy, and baptize that philosophy with the semblance of Christianity. When he had finished his scheme, it was in opposition at once to Jews, Christians and Pagans.

With all its monstrous absurdities, the consideration of this, as of every Gnostic heresy,‡ is of great interest and importance in ecclesiastical history. Not that the followers of Manes were many,—some in many places, but everywhere few, according to Libanius,—but his system was the personification of an existing spirit and tendency necessary to be studied, and in its delineation forming an essential part of the history of Gnosticism. It is true that it derives no small degree of importance from the character and writings of its opponents, Augustine in particular, in whose personal experience, as well as his controversial works, we have a practical exhibition of the nature of its influence. The system itself, as well as such an exhibition of it, is interesting and instructive, were it only to show the darkness and vain struggles of the mind apart from divine truth.

* Cave. Voc. Manes. An. 277, p. 90.

† To this purpose Augustine: "Alypius was involved in the same superstition with me, loving in the Manichæans that show of continency which he supposed true and unfeigned." August. Confess. VI. 12.

‡ It was certainly of the Gnostic family. "Among the Manichæans our credulity was mocked by a promise of *certain knowledge*, and then so many most fabulous things were imposed to be believed," etc. August. Confess. c. 6, 7.

And every form of the Gnostic heresies is curious for its manifestation of the nature of that monstrous incubus, which the spirit of Pagan philosophy, so far as it prevailed, laid upon the mind of the world's early Christianity.

It is astonishing to see how destitute men's minds were, in that age, of any true spiritual conceptions, and how difficult it was to admit and entertain such conceptions. "And because," says Augustine of his own experience in the darkness of the Manichæan error, "when I wished to think on my God, I knew not what to think of but a mass of bodies, for what was not such did not seem to me to be any thing; this was the greatest and almost only cause of my inevitable error. For hence I believed evil also to be some such kind of substance. And because a piety, such as it was, constrained me to believe that the good God never created any evil nature, I conceived two masses contrary one to another, both unbounded, but the evil narrower, the good more expansive. I could not conceive of mind, unless as a subtile body, and that diffused in definite spaces. Though not under the form of the human body, yet was I constrained to conceive of thee as being in space, whether infused into the world, or diffused infinitely without it."* These passages serve to show with what despotic power the grasp of materialism had laid hold of Augustine's mind. At that time he really thought that the whole church entertained no other belief, and it was only by reading some of the writings of Plato translated into Latin, (possibly, as Milnor suggests, with some scriptural addition,) that he began first to gain any glimpse of the immateriality of the divine nature.

There were three grand difficulties in men's philosophical speculations. First, they could not form the idea of a pure spirit. Secondly, they could not admit that any thing could be created out of nothing.† The act of creation itself, by the Omnipotent, they seemed to think, needed some sort of material for its foundation. Or, if the act of creative power were exerted upon nothing apart from God, *ab extra*, the creation was drawn, in some sense, out of the divine substance, it was a part of God. Hence Pantheism, and the ancient Pythagorism, essentially the same with the Spinozism of modern times. "*From nothing nothing proceeds,*" "*from nothing nothing can be made,*" were maxims which passed for an equal, universal verity. The

* Aug. Conf. V. 19 and 20. Also VII. 1. Also V. 7.

† Hist du Manich. Tom. II. p. 163.

conception of absolute creation, like that of absolute annihilation, no Pagan philosopher ever entertained or suggested.* Thirdly, they were haunted by the belief of the inherent viciousness of matter. This sentiment is indeed the grand foundation of Gnosticism. That matter is the cause of evil was the general opinion of philosophers, whether Jewish, Pagan or Christian.† Now this proposition being admitted, men must either deny that God created matter, or say that God is the cause of evil. For the author of the cause is the author of the effect; and freedom never having been supposed an attribute of matter, if matter be the cause of evil, it is the necessary cause; so that, if God created matter out of nothing, he would be the first cause of evil, since he gave existence to a substance which is the necessary cause of it. "See here," remarks Beausobre, "the meshes, in which not only Manes but all ancient philosophers found themselves entangled, not being able to break them but by denying a proposition universally avowed, viz., that matter is the necessary cause of evil." Now if, as we have seen, a mind like Augustine's was long pressed by these difficulties, even after some acquaintance with Christianity, we may readily acknowledge the power of them in the formation of the schemes of the Gnostic heretics. It may be indeed that they were glad of so honorable a pretence for broaching their wild schemes. Nevertheless, the question *Unde Malum* was a great and real perplexity. *Fugiens fumum in ignem incidit*, one of the Fathers remarks of Manes; and the same is true of his Gnostic precursors. To avoid one difficulty they broached ten thousand absurdities.

ANTIQUITY OF THE SOURCES OF GNOSTICISM.

It was the power of this belief in the inherent malignity of matter, that gained for the Gnostic philosophy so much tolerance in the churches, making adherents to its schemes even

* Burnet goes so far as to declare that "creation and annihilation, in the sense which we attach to them, are new words, neither Hebrews, Greeks, nor Latins having had any terms to express those ideas. The opinion that matter was made out of nothing would appear to be a dogma wholly unknown to the nations and the philosophers." Burnet, *Archæology* quoted by Beausobre.

† Hist. du Manich. Tom. II. p. 268.

when they were branded as heresies. According to the maxim that every grand error must have had some phase or mixture of truth to recommend it, this was one commendatory ingredient in Gnosticism,—its professed satisfactory disposition of the *questio vexata* as to the origin of evil; this was its bright, alluring side, no matter through what profane and old wives' fables and endless genealogies of Valentinians or Manichæans the mind was led wandering. To measure and account for its power over Christianity, it is necessary to remount to its sources, and to know how long it had been gathering consistency and an admitted place in men's opinions. For it was not the exhalation of a day, but the accumulation of centuries; it was an element and an influence that had long pervaded the world's mind, in various directions, taking shape and becoming visible. We have already referred to the opinions of Vitringa,* Buddæus† and others, as to some of the original fountains of this philosophy. These learned men regard the Gnosticism of antiquity as in part the product of Jewish Christians, imbued with the dogmas of the Cabbalists; and the Gnostic theology as altogether the same with the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, as illustrated by the Cabbalists. In the use of the word *genealogies* they think Paul meant to designate the *Æons* of the Gnostics, or, what is the same thing, the *Sephiroth* of the Cabbalists; the argument both of the Gnostic and the Cabbalistic theology being one and the same,—the origin and gradations of things, and the first cause and origin of evil. The learned Grotius is of the same opinion.‡

The origin of the Cabbalistic system is placed by some no earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era, but if then already systematized, it must have been gathering for a long previous period. Tenneman characterizes the whole "as a mass of strange and exaggerated fictions, conceived under the influence of the religion of the Persians, but employed by those who advanced them to recommend to general notice the sacred history and doctrines of the Jews; especially with respect to

* Vitringa, Diss. Sec. de Sephiroth Kabbalistarum § I. c. 2.—Also, De Hæresibus Natis in Eccl. Apost. § IV. c. 9.

† Buddæus, Dissertatio de Hæresi Valentin. § 15.

‡ Grotius jam monuit, et nihil eo certius quam Theologiam Gnosticorum omnino fuisse eandem cum Philosophia Pythagorica aut Platonica, ut a Kabbalistis est illustrata. Kabbala

the creation, and the origin of evil.”* The Jews during their exile gathered from the religion and philosophy of Zoroaster some of the same materials which afterwards, in combination with certain features of Christianity, appeared in the schemes of the Gnostics; the Primitive Light, the Two Principles, the Good and the Evil, and the Demons.† The resemblance between the Essenes and the Pythagoreans (taking for truth the account of Pythagoras’s sojourn in the East) may have had the same Oriental origin.‡ From the time of the Babylonish captivity, but more especially from the period of the Alexandrian colony of Jews in Egypt, the Pagan philosophy,—both the Oriental and afterward the Grecian,—became known, and the result was a mixture of Platonic, Pythagoric, Egyptian and Oriental doctrines with the ancient faith of the Jews in their explanations of the law and the traditions. So the progress of things is traced by Brucker. This eminently learned and critical historian has exhibited at great length the formation and influence of the Pythagorico-Egyptiaco-Platonic-Oriental theology, considering it as the source both of the Jewish *arcana*, and of the Christian heresies. The practice, which prevailed in the schools of Alexandria, of clothing the doctrines of philosophy in an allegorical dress being introduced among the Jews, the Pythagorico-Platonic philosophy by degrees became familiar in the nation. The Gentile philosophy which the Jews adopted, they, like the Christian Fathers, attributed originally to their own native fountains of inspiration, and with this belief, under the cover of allegory, learned men could introduce whatever they pleased as a legitimate inference from their own sacred books. Of the philosophy so constructed,

recentior Judæorum, ut jam circa ætatem Pauli exulta est, agit potissimum de *rerum originatione et gradationibus*; sive de modo productionis aut profluxus rerum a primo ente et earundem rerum gradibus et descensu a summis ad una; at nuper vir quidem eruditus observavit. Quod idem esse Gnosticæ Theologiæ argumentum, neminem doctorem latet. Quantum has res respexi, tam Gnostici quam Kabbalistæ, circa duo potissimum fuerunt occupati. 1. Ut explicarent, quo ordine et serie res omnes sint ex Deo *tanquam ente necessario existente*. 2. Ut declararent *causam et originem primam mali*.—Vitr. Diss. Sec.

* Tenneman, *Manual Hist. Phil.* 198.

† Ibid. 196.

‡ Walchius, *De Phil. Orient. Gnost. Syst. Fonte.*

mingled with dogmas from the Oriental philosophy, the Jew Philo was a follower and teacher. The Cabbalistic philosophy was gathered into a system under the same influence.* Brucker has drawn up a minute and laborious parallelism, under twenty-two points, of the dogmas received in the Alexandrian, Oriental and Cabbalistic philosophy, showing beyond controversy that they all have the same origin.† He thinks that in the apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon, there are indications, beyond all contradiction, of the mingling of the Grecian and Egyptian philosophies, and he refers to the 17th verse of the 7th chapter especially, as containing a brief *adumbration* of the whole encyclopedia of the Alexandrian philosophy of that day.‡ Nor can it be doubted that the author of this book was a man of Grecian erudition, drawing both from the Pythagorico-Platonic school already adulterated by a mixture of Oriental dogmas, and also from the dreams of the Cabbalists themselves.§

An examination of the Valentinian and other Gnostic heresies shows the same complicated derivation for the whole of them; that of Manes, more than the rest, being avowedly Oriental. A strong additional argument is preferred from certain fragments of Theodotus, which the reader may find annexed to the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, exhibiting the Valentinian and Gnostic explanations of Scripture, and bearing the title of “*Epitomæ* of the writings of Theodotus, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, and of the doctrine called the Oriental in the time of Valentinian.”|| This witness seems at once to vindicate the assumption of the existence of a system

* Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. II. 832. Ejus contaminatæ philosophiæ Judaicæ origines in Ægypto fuisse enatas et cum allegorica methodo philosophemata Ægyptiaca, Orientalia et Pythagorico-Platonica introduxisse inter Judæos—demonstravimus.

† Tom. II. 958—968.

‡ Tom. II. 695. Habes hic, lector, et voces ex intima philosophia Græcanica maxime Platonica, desumtas, et encyclopædiæ, qualis eo tempore Alexandriæ obtinet, brevem adumbrationem, et dogmata Græcanica, consistere sapientiam in earum rerum notitia, quæ tum summo in Platoniorum scholis loco habebantur.

§ Idem, 697.

|| Tom. III. 297.

of Oriental philosophy at that early period, and the reference of the schemes of the Gnostics to that system as their grand fountain. The earliest Jewish knowledge of this system takes us back to the Babylonish captivity, and thence we remount to the philosophy of Zoroaster, and even of Oriental sects before his appearance. The Cabbalistic product, from such a filtration of philosophic mud as we have been tracing, is so simply, and with just severity, delineated by Brucker in the expression of his own opinion, that we shall give it in his own words. *Scripta Cabbalistica antiquiora, qualia sunt Soharica, Jezirah, Bahir, et similia, tant caligine densaque nocte repleta, tantaque confusione scripta esse, ut æque facile sit, album et nigrum, quadrata et rotunda, ex illis exsculpere, et eadem verisimilitudine dogmata sibi e diametro adversa effingere.**

Briefly summed up by Enfield in his abridgment of Brucker, the argument stands thus : " When the sects of the Essenes and the Therapeutæ were formed in Egypt, foreign tenets and institutions were borrowed from the Egyptians and Greeks, and, in the form of allegorical interpretations of the law, were admitted into the Jewish mysteries. These innovations chiefly consisted in certain dogmas concerning God and divine things, at this time received in the Egyptian schools, particularly at Alexandria, where the Platonic and Pythagorean doctrines, on these subjects, had undergone a material alteration, by being mixed with the Oriental philosophy. For the Alexandrian Platonists, having rejected the Dualistic system, had now, from the Orientalists, adopted the Emanative, and admitted the doctrine of various orders of divine emanations. This doctrine, which, by the help of allegory, was easily accommodated to the sacred writings, was embraced, under the notion of traditionary mystery, by Aristobulus and other founders of the sect of the Therapeutæ, and admitted into their writings, as may be seen from the works of Philo. The Jewish mysteries, thus enlarged by the accession of Pagan dogmas, were conveyed from Egypt to Palestine at the time when the Pharisees, who had been driven into Egypt under Hyrcanus, returned, and with them many other Jews, into their own country. From this time the Cabbalistic mysteries continued to be taught in the Jewish schools."†

* *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, Tom. II. p. 1058.

† Abridgment of Brucker by Enfield, Book IV. Ch. 3.

Mosheim's definition of the appellation of the Gnostics reads thus: * "Under the appellation of Gnostics are included all those in the first ages of the church, who modified the religion of Christ by joining with it the Oriental philosophy, in regard to the source of evil, and the origin of this material universe." This definition is based upon the supposition that all the Gnostic sects derived their tenets from the Oriental philosophy. And C. G. Walch remarks, that neither Greeks, Carthaginians nor Romans ever originated any of the Gnostics, although Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans, when they joined the Christian party, were wont to bring with them into their Christian tenets, the particular opinions of whatever school in philosophy they had affected to cultivate. In corroboration of Mosheim's opinion, this learned writer observes as remarkable, that all the branches of the whole family of Gnostic heresies should have been born either in Egypt, Syria or Persia, or at least were founded and formed by those who lived or were educated in those regions. Basilides, Carpocrates and Valentinus originated in Egypt, Manes in Persia, Cerinthus in Judea, Bardesanes and others in Syria. And however these heretics differed among themselves, they all held certain common and universal opinions, of which the elements are plainly discoverable in the Oriental philosophy. The question at the foundation of Gnosticism was the origin of evil. Whether the same question was agitated out of Judea among the people of the East, we have no *certain* historical testimony, but it is enough that hypotheses were adopted which served to solve it.†

There was the opinion of the two principles. There is a great difference between the hypothesis of matter in equality with the Supreme Deity from eternity, in order to avoid the supposition that the world was made out of nothing, and that of two principles, supposed in order to avoid making the Supreme Deity the author of evil. The Persians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians all held to one fountain of good, another of evil. Walchius refers to Hyde, Stanley, Buddæus, Brucker and Jablonskius. Then came the doctrine of Æons or Emanations, who built the world, as a sort of mixture of the two opinions of one fountain of all things, and of the Dualistic theory. That another

* Mosheim, Cent. I. Part II. c. 5.

† Walchius, De Phil. Orient. Gnost. Syst. Fonte. Appended to a volume of Michaelis' Syntagma, pp. 287—293.

being, different from God, built the universe, and that the spirits called Æons were substances emanating from God, were opinions prevailing in the East before the appearance of the Gnostics. That the world was built by God none believed without divine revelation. From the doctrine concerning the Æons arose the opinions concerning spirits presiding over stars and bodies, and innumerable Jewish fables of angels, and likewise the study and practice of magic. Then as to the bodily discipline and manners of the Gnostics and oriental philosophers, they arose in both cases from the same belief in the evil of matter, and manifested the same by corporeal mortifications and ascetic severity of life.

All these points of opinion between the Gnostic and the Oriental philosophy are enumerated by Walchius in a very admirable dissertation concerning the origin of the Gnostic system, affixed to the *Syntagma Commentationum* of Michaelis. Nevertheless the writer somewhat distrusts, for want of written documents, the conclusions of Mosheim and Brucker as to the existence of an Oriental *system* already formed, from which the Gnostics drew as from a fountain. Michaelis, on the other hand, thinks that there is no good ground for denying the actual existence of the Gnostic system before the Christian system, merely because there are no books previous in which it is found recorded.* He undertakes to supply the one link which is wanting in the argument, and to trace the Gnostic philosophy as early at least as the time of the Septuagint and the writings of Philo. His method is curious and ingenious. He states, as a prominent error of the Gnostic philosophy, the notion that the God of the Jews, who is said to have built the world, and who was called the Demiurge, was not the Supreme God, but a being ignorant of the future, continually in danger of mistakes, and agitated by repentance, envy and anger.† Now the interpreters of the Pentateuch, finding in Genesis some ground or seeming occasion for such an error, determined in their transla-

* Michaelis, *Gnostici ante Christianos*. § 1. Nec quod in libris ante Christianismi initia scriptis certa non apparent gnosticorum errorum vestigia, ideo erratum fuisse recte neges. Non damanda ergo aut repudianda Moshemiorum similiumque de Gnosticis ante Gnosticos Christianos opinio, sed veri potius simillima ac prope certa ducenda.

† Michaelis, *Diss. de Indiicis Gnost. Phil.* § 2.

tion to leave no possibility for such an accusation against the God of the Scriptures. Into this passage in Gen. 6: 6, instead of the idea of repentance, they have introduced that of deliberation, rendering the Hebrew, *וַיִּחְשְׁבֵם* by the Greek verb *ἐρρωμέω*; *καὶ ἐρρωμήθη ὁ θεός, et deliberavit Deus.** They have also wholly omitted translating the Hebrew phrase *and it grieved him at his heart.*† Michaelis argues, that the Greek translators would not have resorted to this forced interpretation and method of dealing with the passage in question, had there not already existed in Egypt those, who denied that the God of the Hebrews and Creator of the World was the Supreme Being, accusing him of mistakes, repentance and other like affections. In the same manner they managed the seventh verse, and Michaelis quotes Philo at a later period, arguing against his adversaries with the same labored explanation. The third Clementine homily, containing the dialogue between Peter and Simon Magus, is also adduced, showing the Gnostic heretics, after the Christian era and the application of the term Gnostic, using the same passage in Genesis, even in the Greek translation, as a *locus classicus* in defence of the imposition in regard to the Demiurge.‡ In Exodus 32: 12, 14, the idea of repentance is again, by a similar circumlocution, avoided in the Septuagint.§ The argument of Michaelis, if it does not go the length of supplying the want of documentary evidence, adds at least to the probability of the existence of Gnosticism a century or more before it became manifested and organized in profession and name.

It had then, we may safely assume, something of the power of a long established and accumulating influence, when it first, however covertly, made its way into the Church of Christ. Several philosophic tendencies, long prevalent, seem to have come to a point and been manifested in something like a system about the commencement of the Christian era.

As the mixture of Platonic, Oriental and Jewish doctrines, entitled Neoplatonism, appears in Philo the Jew, so the engrafting of Oriental principles, learned by the Jews in Egypt, upon the Jewish mysteries, entitled the Cabbalistic system, appears in some of the Gnostics. For although the Eclectic

* Michaelis, Diss. de Indiciis Gnost. Phil. § 2.

† Idem, § 7 and 8.

§ Idem, § 5.

‡ Idem, § 6.

school of philosophy was not established as a school till the time of Ammonius Saccas,* in the latter part of the second century, yet the method of Eclecticism was in vogue before the coming of Christ.† The Gnostics were in fact bold and imaginative Eclectics, some of them of the wildest class, simply and merely adopting Christianity as a part and parcel in the incongruous mixture of their materials. Some drew from the Oriental philosophy through the channel of the Cabbala, others through the Pythagorean scheme, or directly from original Oriental sources. In the first and second centuries, besides Simon Magus, there were Menander the Samaritan, and Cerinthus, probably a Jew,‡ and the Egyptians Basilides and Valentinus, in all likelihood familiar with the Cabbalistic philosophy and choosing to modify their Oriental principles in conjunction with it. They held to the Emanative scheme, and but one Principle of all things. Bardesanes, the Syrian, and afterwards Manes, the Persian, adopted the Oriental Dualistic scheme more entirely. But they were all followers or formers of that monstrous system of Egyptian Eclecticism, which, along with some things from all systems of philosophy at all in vogue, combined or professed to combine also the tenets of Christianity itself.

The stream of philosophy, down to its mixture with Christianity, would seem then to have proceeded thus,—Oriental, Alexandrian, Cabbalistic, Gnostic. In the Alexandrian there meet and mingle, first, the tides of the Oriental and the Grecian; in the Cabbalistic, the Oriental, Grecian and Jewish flow on together; and in the Gnostic philosophy an Eclecticism of all that preceded pours itself into the pure stream of Christianity, almost at its first beginnings. It is a matter of no little acuteness and difficulty to analyze and trace to their true origin these different elements. Some learned writers have thought it sufficient to trace the Jewish Cabbala to the Grecian Mythology, and the whole Gnostic theology to the same source.§ Picus, Earl of

* Tenneman, § 202.—Mosheim, Cent. I. Part II. ch. 5.

† Certiora et notiora eclecticæ sectæ fundamenta jecit Ammonius. Brucker, Hist. Crit. Tom. II. 205.

‡ C. G. F. Walch, De Gnost. etc. ut supra. Cerinthi origines subobscuræ sunt, Judeum tamen eum fuisse recte ex eo colligitur, quod contra communem Gnosticorum morem, Mosi justum tribuit honorem.

§ Gale, Court of the Gentiles, B. II. ch. 1.

Mirandula, a well known prodigy of learning, referred the origin of the Cabbalistic system to Moses, solemnly declaring that in the Cabbalistic books, which he purchased at great expense, and studied with incredible labor, he found well nigh the whole Christian system.* He was followed in the same blind enthusiasm by Reuchlin; and in England the learned Henry More was distinguished by the same veneration for the Cabbala. Gale argues that "the Cabbalistic symbolic explication of Scripture found no place in the Judaic theology, till the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy was incorporated therewith;"† and he quotes the learned Mirandula granting that hypothesis, by acknowledging the affinity of the Jewish Cabbala to the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy. Of the mixture of that philosophy with any tenets from the East there was either an entire ignorance, or it was not deemed necessary to refer to it. To the same purpose of a Pagan origin of the Gnostic heresies argues Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Sacræ*.‡

Brucker attributes the opinion of the Fathers on this point to their ignorance of Orientalism.§ They never seem to have gone beyond the Grecian philosophy in tracing the origin of heresies. When Tertullian tells us that the heresies of the Gnostics are suborned by philosophy, he has nothing else in view.|| He

* Brucker, Tom. II. p. 918, etc.

† Gale, p. 118.

‡ "From these things (the fables of the Phœnician theology) as foolish and ridiculous as they are, it is very probable the Gnostics and the several subdivisions of them might take the rise of their several *Æones* and *συγγίαι*: for here we find *Αἰὼν* and *Πρωτόγονος* made two of the number of the gods." Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacræ*, B. I. ch. 2. § 7.

§ Hist. Crit. Tom. III. p. 287. *Solius Græcanicæ philosophiæ periti nec Orientalem intelligerunt.*

|| Tertull. De Præs. Adv. Hær. The whole passage is worth quoting. "Hæ sunt doctrinæ hominum et dæmoniorum, prurientibus auribus natæ de ingenio sapientiæ secularis, quam dominus stultitiam vocans stulta mundi in confusionem etiam philosophiæ ipsius elegit. Ea est enim materia sapientiæ secularis temeraria interpret divini naturæ et dispositionis. Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia subornantur. Inde *æones* et formæ nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: Platonicus fuerat. Inde Marcionis deus melior de tranquillitate; a Stoicis venerat: et uti anima interire dicatur, Epicurus ob-

enumerates Plato, the Stoics, Epicurus, Zeno, Heraclitus, and gives, as the whole material of heresy and philosophy, the questions *Unde malum et quare?* and *Unde homo et quomodo?* It would not, however, be necessary to go any further than the Greek philosophy itself, to find all the seeds of things supposed to have sprung from the Oriental philosophy. In the time of the Asmoneans, or Maccabees, there was a decree made among the Jews *that whosoever taught his son the Grecian philosophy should be accursed.* This decree points, perhaps, to the commencement of that disposition in the Jewish theology to symbolize and allegorize after the manner of Plato and Pythagoras, which afterwards becomes so manifest in the writings of Philo. And as to the origin of the Gnostic *Æons*, says a very learned writer, in whom it may be seen that the hypothesis of an Oriental philosophy is by no means *necessary* to account for any of the vagaries of heretics or the corruptions of Christianity,—“they were taken up in imitation of the Grecian *ἑογονία*, *generation of the gods*, begun by Sanconiathon, the Phœnician mythologist, who was followed herein by Orpheus, Hesiod and Pherecydes, who was of Phœnician extract, and spent a main part of his philosophizings in explaining this *ἑογονία*; from whom we may presume Pythagoras, his scholar, learned the same, as also from the Orphic theologists, with whom he much conversed. Now the Gnostics apply the whole of this Pagan *ἑογονία*, to their *ἀἰῶνες*, *Æons*.”* To these same points Irenæus and Eusebius are quoted, without resorting to the Emanative system of the East.

Now it is literally true that whatever tenets we find in the Greek philosophy lead us, in the end, if we trace them out, to

servatur. Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium philosophorum schola sumitur. Et ubi materia cum deo æquatur, Zenonis disciplina est: et ubi aliquid de igneo deo allegatur, Heraclitus intervenit. Eædem materiæ apud hereticos et philosophos voluntantur, eædem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum et quare; et Unde homo et quomodo? Et quod proxime Valentinas proposuit, Unde Deus? . . . Hinc illæ fabulæ et genealogiæ indeterminabiles, et quæstiones infructuosæ, et sermones serpentes velut cancer, a quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere.

* Theoph. Gale, Court of the Gentiles, Part III. B. II. ch. 1.

the Oriental world; and the question of the origin of Gnosticism is not really whether it was Grecian or Oriental, but whether its Oriental origin dated in more ancient or more recent times. "You Greeks are children, and know nothing of antiquity," said the Egyptian priests to Plato; and true it is that the progress of light and knowledge was wholly from east to west; and whatever is traced to the Greeks comes at last to the Orientals.* So that, in fact, the question being simply as to the earlier or later Oriental sources of this particular scheme, one of the strongest arguments, which connects Gnosticism immediately with the Oriental philosophy, and shows its parentage, is the after prevalence of the belief in the inherent viciousness of matter. This quality is not Greek but Oriental; and this quality, this pervading feeling, the inundation of Gnostic opinions, even when it had retired, left a sort of philosophic mud upon the churches, prolific of luxuriant monstrosities, generating a growth, not of fruits and vegetables, but of rank and poisonous weeds.

In the New Testament the allusions or references to this subject, whether plain or obscure, travel no farther than to the Jews or Greeks. Paul, educated at the feet of Gamaliel, probably was well aware of the system which the Cabbalists were gathering, and of its destructive influence upon the truth; but though he refers to it†, in terms of severe reprobation, he gives no hint of its Oriental origin. Bringing together a few of his expressions, we find them to characterize so closely the traits of the Gnostic philosophy, as it afterwards grew into systems, that it is impossible not to concur in the opinions of Vitringa, Brucker, Grotius, Hammond and others, who suppose the workings of that philosophy in the churches plainly alluded to. It is noticeable that most of these allusions are found in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, with some also in the Epistle to the

* "It is well known that the most ancient and mystic learning among the Greeks was not originally their own, but borrowed of the more eastern nations by Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and many more, who travelled and traded with the priests for knowledge and philosophy." Burnet, *Theory of the Earth*, Vol. I. 19.

† Tit. 1: 14, Ἰουδαίους μύθους.

Colossians. *Ἡ γνώσις φυσιοῦ, knowledge puffeth up*, was the comprehensive characteristic of that φιλοσοφία καὶ κενὴ ἀπάτης, *philosophy and vain deceit after the traditions of men*,* the work of men, *vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind, and not holding the Head*.† Μύθοις καὶ γεγελογίαις ἀπεράντοις, *fables and endless genealogies*.‡ —*profane and old wives' fables*,§ —*profane and vain babblings*, and ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, *oppositions of science falsely so called*,|| the tendency of which was settled, *to increase unto more ungodliness*, and which should become γάγγραινα, *the gangrene of the church, their word eating as doth a canker*.||

It was a skilful pencil that drew these touches, mingled from the colors both of past and prophetic experience; no man can have the least knowledge of the vain and cankerous babblings of the Gnostics, and not be at once convinced of the intended application of these sketches, and filled with admiration of their accuracy. We need only add to this glance at the references in the New Testament, that Irenæus and Jerome both assert that John's design in his gospel was to contend against the errors of Cerinthus, the Gnostic, an opinion followed by some learned moderns, though rejected by others, admitting at the same time that there are expressions in John's Gospel which may be used against the Gnostics.** Now we think there can be scarcely any more doubt that John, in the repeated description of the creation of the world by the Logos, had in view the monstrous cosmogonies afterwards put forth systematically by the Gnostics, and the profane opinion of the world built by the Demiurge or the Æons, than that in his epistles he had in view the Gnostic heretics who denied that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh.†† Nor is it necessary in this to suppose that Gnosticism fresh from the Oriental philosophy had already appeared, (as afterwards in the Manichæan heresy,) for there were seeds and influences of it in abundance in the then prevailing corrup-

* Col. 2: 8.

† Col. 2: 18, 19.

‡ 1. Tim. 1: 4.

§ 1. Tim. 4: 7.

|| 1. Tim. 6: 20.

¶ 2. Tim. 2: 19, 17.

** Tholuck. *Introductio* to *Comment. on John*.

†† See some judicious remarks in Wiseman's *Lectures*, *Lecture eleventh*. See also Milman's *History of Christianity*, *B. II. Ch. 5*.

tions of Judaism, with which both John and Paul were doubtless acquainted.*

Whichever way we trace it, the spirit of Gnosticism was no new thing, whether from the corruptions of Judaism, or the wilderness of Oriental speculations, it passed into the Christian church. The heresy created by it arose beneath the prescriptive and long existing influence of philosophy, and with the pretence of being the most perfect of all philosophic systems, the climax of perfection in the art of eclecticism. And it found almost every person inclined to philosophize, and proud, if it could be attained, of a philosophic reputation. It found the world deluged with philosophy. This is a point of great importance in attempting to account for its influence.

CAUSES OF THE SPREAD AND POWER OF GNOSTICISM.

Perhaps there never was a period in the world's history when there prevailed such an extraordinary enthusiasm, such a rage, or madness, we might call it, in the pursuit of philosophy. And everywhere it was philosophy falsely so called. There never was a period in which so many different sects were contending together on one and the same arena. The world was

* Lightfoot, *On the Fall of Jerusalem and Condition of the Jews after*; Works, Vol. III. 403. "As the first wretched stock of heretics that rose, Simon, Cerinthus, Menander, Ebion, Basilides, &c., appeared either in Judea, or at least where there were multitudes of Jews, as Basilides at Alexandria; so the most of those damnable opinions that they sowed, and which grew for a long while after, had some root or other in Judaism, or received some cursed moisture from thence to nourish them. By Judaism I here understand the body of the Jews' religions, though differing within itself, yet all contrary to Christianity. Look upon Palestine, and you have it thus stocked, in the times that we are upon, with Pharisees of seven sorts, with Sadducees at the least of two sorts, if not more, with Samaritans, with Essenes. Baithuseans you may reckon with Sadducees or Samaritans, whichever you will. Now this variety, nay contrariety of opinions, that was among this mixture, would afford nourishment to any evil word of doctrine that could be sowed; these being as Manasseh against Ephraim, and Ephraim against Manasseh, but all against the Gospel."

a hubbub of philosophers; every thing intellectual, every thing moral, every thing religious took that turn. There was very little light, and what there was, was fast becoming darkness. The culminating point of light in the world's intellect, apart from revelation, had probably been reached in Plato, and every step after him was a retrograde one. Every new mixture in the cauldron of Alexandrian Eclecticism produced only a thicker scum of error. Every turn in the wild medley of philosophic opinions only made "confusion worse confounded." Yet philosophy was the fashion; it was learning, it was education, it was refinement, it was *γνῶσις*, the knowledge of God and of creation, of good and of evil, and every religionist must be a philosopher.

Now it was into the midst of this boiling chaos of society, this fermentation of the world's mind, that the first disciples of Christ were thrown to begin their spiritual conflict. We may find in the state of things around them reason enough why illiterate men, so called, were chosen; if any had been taken from the schools, a constant miracle must have been exerted all along the course of inspiration, to preserve them from perpetually mingling the fanaticism and the folly of philosophic speculation, with the theory and truth of Christianity. Amidst these strong tendencies, with not only the Greeks, but the whole world agape after "wisdom," they were set down, simply to preach the gospel. It was a miracle that they preached it, that they did not instantly, on the death of Christ, set up a school of philosophy. But there they stood, simple disciples of an atoning Saviour, and preached *the cross*, knowing nothing but that, and *determined* to know nothing among men, save Christ and him crucified. Thus they stood, through one generation at least, simple preachers and not philosophers, and so the doctrines of Christianity were fairly and fully excogitated, put before the world in freshness and simplicity. It was a wonderful spectacle, a sublime sight,—this light amidst darkness, this simplicity amidst error, this order amidst confusion, these twelve men going about like little children, and talking truth as simple as the daylight, as blessed and as easy to be understood, amidst such a hubbub of pretensions and noises, such universal distortion of mind, such a troop of babbling novelties of error, such admiration and worship of philosophic darkness.

They were faithful to *the cross*, and so the canon of the New

Testament was fixed, the truths of the cross fully and eternally revealed, without mixture or sanction of human error. The orb of Light was hung up, whatever error darkened men's horizon beneath it. But in the multitude, those philosophic tendencies remained, and Christianity had to meet them; and some minds were speedily brought into her bosom deeply tinctured with them, and soon many were beguiled from the ἀπλόητος, the simplicity of Christ. Heresy entered with philosophy. Learned converts from Paganism brought with them, from their schools, the habit of subtle speculation; Gnostic, Cabbalistic, Neoplatonic allegory began to be in fashion; professedly Christian teachers contended with unbaptized Pagans for the palm of philosophy; that is, they claimed it for Christianity as a thing to be desired, and the Christian fathers sought to maintain a philosophic reputation.

Some, indeed, opposed this tendency; in the view of Irenæus and Tertullian it was hazardous to combine philosophy with Christianity;* Arnobius and Lactantius also deemed philosophy a superfluous study, and adverse to Christianity.† *Omnem hæresim a philosophia subornari*, was the declaration of Tertullian;‡ but notwithstanding the repeated and remarkably earnest warnings of the apostles, especially of Paul, on this subject, the prevalent and increasing opinion was very different. The combination of philosophy with Christianity was deemed by the Alexandrian fathers both salutary and necessary. They held, indeed, that both were derived from the same divine source, Justin Martyr affirming that the Logos, previously to his incarnation, had revealed himself to the philosophers of antiquity.§ To study the philosophy of the Greeks, and to avail themselves of it, was, in their opinion, simply to collect the treasures of divine wisdom scattered through the world, either from the light of revelation or the inspiration of the Logos, and to offer them again at the altar from which they had been stolen.||

For this and other reasons, Clement of Alexandria even considered the Pagan philosophy as an introduction to Christianity.

* Muenscher, Elements of Dogmatic History, § 17.

† Tenneman, Manual Hist. Phil. § 225.

‡ Vitringa De Hæresibus Natis, L. IV. c. 9.

§ Tenneman, § 224, 226.

|| Brucker, Hist. Crit. de Philos. Veterum Christianor. Tom. III. pp. 303—366.

His sentiments on this point may be gathered from the following declaration. "As the husbandman first waters the soil, and then casts in his seed, so the notions, which I derive out of the writings of the Gentiles, serve first to water and soften the earthy parts of the soul, that the spiritual seed may be the better cast in, and take vital root in the minds of men."* In this passage, we may measure something of the influence of philosophy over the Christianity of the early ages; and it is by the prevalence of such a spirit, that we account partly for the manner in which the Gnostic heresies sprung up. A strange preparation indeed,—this baptism of the soul in the troubled waters of Epicurean, Pythagorean, Aristotelian and Platonic mysteries. A strange and monstrous preparation for the severe and simple verities of the gospel! What should we think, nowadays, of preparing for the effective study of Christianity by getting the mind imbued with the puerilities of the same philosophy † This Alexandrian Eclecticism was pursued and cultivated, not only in the porch of the temple, but in the sanctuary; not only in the schools but in the bosom of the church. And to such a degree did they carry this disposition, in the mistaken view of recommending Christianity to the heathen world, by showing its supposed affinities with heathen philosophy, which they asserted to have been originally derived from it, that it would not be strange if they themselves merited the accusation, which Clemens Alexandrinus brings against the heretics, of being far more anxious to appear to be philosophers than really and truly to philosophize; more desirous to gain the reputation of philosophy than the reality. *Inani ergo sapientiæ opinione elati, perpetuo litigant, aperte ostendentes se magis curare ut videantur philosophi, quam ut philosophantur.*‡

* Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I.

† See the excellent remarks of Milner on Pantænus and Clemens Alexandrinus. *Church History*, Cent. III. ch. 3, 4.

‡ Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, Lib. VII. 16. The passage contains a vigorous delineation of the compounded mental and moral obliquity of the Gnostic heresiarchs. We give merely the Latin translation. *Semper enim id potius sumunt quod eis visum fuerit esse evidentius quam quod dictum est a Domino per prophetas, et ab Evangelis quodque Apostolorum testimonio comprobatum est et confirmatum. Cum viderent ergo sibi imminere periculum, non de uno dogmate, sed de*

Now in considering and accounting for the influence of Gnosticism upon Christianity, our point of view is of the greatest importance. We are not asking what it would have been upon men accustomed to the doctrines of the gospel, and imbued with its spirit, but what it was upon men to whom those doctrines themselves were new, and the books in which they were taught new also. The various errors of the Gnostics appear to us, in the light of the whole New Testament, so wicked, so absurd, so monstrous, some of their systems are such complicated and incredible mixtures of Paganism, Philosophy, Christianity and Oriental fiction, that we are at a loss to conceive how they could have commended themselves to any minds that had once known the truth as it is in Jesus. But variety hath ever been more to the taste of men than simplicity. In that age men were so accustomed to form their religious schemes for themselves, that they could not resist the inclination to attach the fungi of their own speculations to the system of gospel truth. The New Testament form of Christianity was too unadorned, severe, simple, casting down imaginations, to suit their diseased habits of thought and feeling. It was too independent of their own opinions, too absolute and careless in the rejection of their own wisdom. They would not have a revelation which should speak from the mind of the Supreme Being alone, but one which should at least have passed through the cloud and sea of their own wild theories and suppositions.

There was a great difference between the authority of revelation then and now; and this we must take distinctly into view, in attempting to measure and account for the influence of Gnosticism upon Christianity. That "there must be heresies among you" was inevitable from the habits of philosophy, falsely so called, unchecked by the powerful resistance, presented for us in the complete and acknowledged canon of the New Testament. The parable of our Lord gives us the history of the whole matter. The Gnostic heresies were sowed along with the good seed of the gospel, and in the midst of it. Heresy and truth therefore sprung up together; whereas, if the doctrines of the gospel had had time to grow up first and get

conservanda hæresi, non veritatem invenire, (nam cum ea quæ sunt in medio posita et in promptu apud nos legerunt, tanquam vilia ea contempserunt,) sed quod est commune in fide superare contententes, excesserunt a veritate.

strongly rooted; and vigorous, then such seeds of error would never have come up at all, or else would have proved only a puny and stunted growth of underweeds. As it was, they grew up into a great and strong crop, and the corn and the vetches were bound in the same sheaves, and sent to the same mill, and ground up together for the food of the Christian church; so that the poisons and the medicines of the soul were at once digested and circulated, and produced their appropriate hereditary consequences in a diseased and spurious Christianity for many generations.

We are to remember, that however monstrous the systems of the Gnostics appear to us, they presented to the mind of the ancient world, common or philosophic, no greater absurdities, crudities, or puerilities, than all men were accustomed to from childhood, in the various forms of Paganism and Pagan philosophy in which they had been educated. At the same time the genius of Gnosticism was bold and free in its excursions into the spiritual world, giving play to the imagination, and presenting, altogether, such an array of gorgeous attraction as could not but be alluring to minds of a contemplative cast. The want of proof of its dogmas, Mr. Taylor has with a good deal of truth remarked, constitutes one of its peculiar charms.

INFLUENCE OF GNOSTICISM ON CHRISTIANITY.

The method of the fathers in the defence and exposition of Christianity contributed not a little to the growth of error. They were much in the habit of answering objections and making apologies, instead of so preaching Christ and his cross, as to have a great multitude of principles considered as granted. There is, in this respect, a prodigious difference between the aspect of Christianity in the New Testament, and in the writings of the chosen expositors of the Christian scheme, after the age of the apostles. And this constitutes also a great difference between their position and ours. Principles were doubtfully fixed; the world was steeped in Paganism and Pagan philosophy; and into this same darkness the early Christian writers seem themselves to have retired backward, from the very foot of the cross, from the very blaze of inspiration. To step out from the New Testament into the writings of the fathers, is to step from a region of light, order, certainty and beauty, into a region of dim, disastrous twilight, where, as the

shades of evening gather, the forms of superstition thicken, and the common sense, and the simple spiritual sense, so rich and full in the pages of the New Testament, almost cease from existence. The forms of divine truth, that is, of truth revealed through the medium of the cross, are dim and indistinct. In proof of this let any one look through the writings of the fathers to trace the great doctrine of justification by faith, so early lost, and at length so profoundly, in the Romish system, and so late discovered in the glorious Reformation, after more than a thousand years. Let any sound-minded Christian take up any work of any Christian father, the most evangelical, and compare it with any treatise, practical or speculative, of Baxter, Howe, Leighton, or other modern Christian writers, and he will be sensible of the vast inferiority of the first to these last ages of Christianity, in the knowledge and possession of the truth and spirit of the Scriptures. There is, it may be, quite as strong a contrast as between the books of the Jewish prophets and those of the fathers, a contrast depicted with very great power and beauty by Mr. Taylor. "It must be acknowledged," he observes, "that the writers of the ancient dispensation were such as those should be, who were looking onward towards the bright day of gospel splendor; while the early Christian doctors were just such as one might well expect to find those who were looking onward toward that deep night of superstition which covered Europe during the middle ages. The dawn is seen to be gleaming upon the foreheads of the one class of writers; while a sullen gloom overshadows the brows of the other."*

We can add nothing to the power of this picture, though we might add much for the corroboration of its truth. The errors of the fathers, and their mode of philosophizing must doubtless be regarded both as cause and consequence of the prevalence of the Gnostic heresy and the Gnostic sentiment. Here, however, we do not limit our declaration to the spread of heresies, declared as such by the church, but refer likewise to the tincture of Gnosticism, or rather the baptism into it, received by some of the fathers, independent of the Gnostic heretics, from the same original sources, from which those heretics gathered their monstrous schemes. From Justin Martyr down to Origen, there appears a series of Platonizing and sometimes Orientalizing

* Ancient Christianity, p. 230.

Christian writers and teachers, not excepting even Irenæus himself, who, at the same time that he was employing the whole energies of his mind, and the stores of his learning to refute and confound the crowd of Gnostic heretics, adopted in some respects the ideas and language of the Alexandrian Platonists.*

Next after Justin Martyr comes Tatian, his faithful disciple, whom Brucker denominates one of the Christian fathers, although after the martyrdom of Justin, he fell into such a variety of absurd opinions. His system was full of the Oriental philosophy, manifested even in his apology for Christianity, entitled *Oratio ad Græcos*, which his contemporaries greatly admired. He founded the heresy of the Encratitæ, and in him, it would seem, there was a nearer alliance of Christianity and Gnosticism, than ever elsewhere came to a practical focus in the Christian church,—except, perhaps, in Origen,—for he condemned the use of wine, denied the lawfulness of marriage, disbelieved the reality of Christ's sufferings, embraced the Æons of Valentinus, and even, it is said, asserted with Marcion that there are two Gods.† He was a Syrian, and derived his sentiments from the Egyptian and Cabbalistic philosophy. Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus follow in the Platonizing train. Clemens Alexandrinus, by being the successor of his master, Pantænus, over the old Eclectic school of philosophy in Alexandria, as well as by his great ability and erudition, exerted a prodigious influence over all Christian antiquity, and not merely for good, but, by his Gnostic and Platonic tendencies, an influence for evil inferior only to that of his celebrated pupil, Origen. He was the last of the Christian Eclectics, previous to the new establishment of the school of Alexandria under Ammonius. "I espoused not," he says, "this or that philosophy, Stoic, Platonic, Epicurean or Aristotelian, but whatsoever any of these sects had said that was fit and just, and taught righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, *τοῦτο σὺμπαρ τὸ ἐκλεκτικόν*, all that being selected, I call philosophy."‡

Ammonius was born of Christian parents, and instructed in Alexandria under Athenagoras, Pantænus and Clemens Alexandrinus. Brucker supposes that Porphyry's relation is true in

* Brucker, Tom. III. 408. Tenneman, 177, 202.

† Lardner, Credib. Part II. 148.

‡ Cave, Life of Clemens, § 3. Brucker, Tom. III. 414.

regard to his apostatizing from the Christian faith, and as a proof of it urges his acceptance of the chair of philosophy in a Pagan school, and the crowd of disciples opposed to Christianity, who followed him. He had eminent followers, both Pagan and Christian, Longinus and Plotinus among the first, and Origen of the last. In the seminary of Ammonius, Origen completed his theological education. What an anomaly it exhibits! A student of Christianity, preparing for the Christian ministry under the instructions of a heathen philosopher! For aught we can see, however, the seminary of Ammonius was as truly a theological seminary, as that of Pantænus and Clemens; the difference seems to have consisted simply in the different sides from which each made his advances, and perfected his Eclecticism, towards the other system. The Christian philosophers and theologians took their stand in Christianity, and *eclecticised* from heathenism; the Pagan philosophers and theologians took their stand in heathenism and *eclecticised* from Christianity; and the last claimed to be the most perfect, finished and universal form of Eclecticism, and, therefore, the most enlightened and liberal school of theology; for it comprehended Christianity, as well as all other theological and philosophical systems. Here, at any rate, Origen seems to have finished his preparation for the ministry.

The philosophic enthusiasm reached its height in Origen, after the establishment of the school of Ammonius, and, through him,—by means of that allegorizing method of interpretation learned from the Orientals, adopted by the Cabbalists and Alexandrian Platonists, and applied to the Scriptures,—poured like a deluge into the Christian church. The followers and disciples of Origen, and those, in the language of Brucker, *quos doctrina sua pascebat*, were almost innumerable, and some of them of great celebrity. The errors and evils, with which the principles and modes of interpretation and teaching, adopted by this father, afflicted the Christian church, form an important material in ecclesiastical history. Origen took the charge of the Christian catechetical school in Alexandria, after the death of Clemens, and, like Clemens, taught philosophy as an introduction to Christianity, among a great multitude of pupils, who, according to the testimony of Gregory Thaumaturgus, day and night hung upon his lips. In this way he had great opportunity for diffusing his peculiar sentiments,—an opportunity enjoyed up to the close of his life in Cesarea, where also, as be-

fore in Alexandria, he taught philosophy, sacred and profane, to numerous pupils. A thorough compendium of the tenets of Origen may be found in Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, with some computation of the wide-spread and long-continued evils consequent upon them. They are to be traced to the schools of Alexandrian philosophy, and to that same Oriental system of emanations adopted by the Gnostics and the Jewish Cabbalists.*

After the period of Origen, from the third century down to the sixth, and onward almost indefinitely, a succession of Christian Platonists is traced in the history of theology and philosophy, till all distinctive forms of both are merged and lost in the superstitions and ignorance of the Romish hierarchy. A survey of the history of philosophy, during these six centuries, will do more than any thing else towards solving the question as to the causes and extent of the influence of Gnosticism on Christianity. Nor is it possible for any man to consult the pages of such a historian as Brucker, and not be astonished at that worship of the Christian fathers, which of late, as a part of the singular ascetic outburst in the English church, and for the sake of supporting the detestable tenet, that tradition from the fathers, and not private opinion, is to be the interpreter of Scripture, some men of Popish affinity have attempted to revive. It were easy to illustrate by examples their weak and far-fetched reasonings, their interpretations contrary to all laws of hermeneutics;† the innumerable supposititious books admitted by them for true and genuine,‡ and their ignorance of that critical art and acumen by which to distinguish what is genuine from what is spurious;§ their affected and allegorical style, loaded with false ornaments; their entire ignorance of natural philosophy and physical science; their belief in the divine inspiration of the Septuagint translation,|| and the errors and false reasonings consequent thereon; their absurd and superstitious rigor in some details of moral discipline, their looseness, at the same time, in important matters of moral principle,—holding for instance that

* Brucker, Tom. III. 338, 458. Ita vero novo exemplo docendi lectorem occasionem nacti sumus, quos pestilentes fructus Orientalis illa philosophia in Ægypto Platonismo adaptata tulerit, et quam gravia inde damna in Ecclesiam profecta sint.

† Brucker, Vol. III. p. 349.

‡ Idem, 354.

§ Idem, 359.

|| Idem, Tom. III. 362.

it is lawful to defend the truth by deceit and fraud ;* their inculcation of a holiness diverse from, and arrogantly pretending to be supererogatory above, that which is commanded in the Scriptures, and all the evil consequences flowing from it in monasticism, celibacy, and the whole train of connected Roman Catholic monstrosities.† These weaknesses and errors are common to the best of them. We may hear Lactantius arguing against idolatry, "because God dwells in the regions above and not beneath, whereas idols are made out of stones dug from the earth, and, therefore, cannot be proper objects of worship."‡ We may hear Chrysostom arguing that "second marriages are public fornication, licensed and permitted by God."§ We may hear Clemens Alexandrinus forbidding the use of mirrors to females, and not blushing *eas meretrices vocare*, if they form an image of their countenance, "because they violate the law of Moses, not to make any image of any thing in heaven above or earth beneath."|| We may see Augustine offering up prayers for the souls of his dead parents,¶ and we may hear the same father declaring that "it is an infinitely smaller crime to return drunk from celebrating the memories of the martyrs, than to sacrifice to them while fasting!"** These, however, are mere details. If any of our readers wish for a farther and more powerful elucidation of the preaching and teaching of the fathers in its spirit and tenor, they have but to peruse a few chapters in the recent publication of Mr. Taylor's exposition of Ancient Christianity.

* Brucker, Tom. III. 362. † Idem, 363. ‡ Idem, 351.

§ Idem, 360. || Idem, 361.

¶ Aug. Confessions, L. IX. 32-37.

** Beausobre, Hist. du Manichæisme, Tom. II. 687. In Augustine's Confessions, in the account of the offerings of his mother, Monica, at the tombs of the martyrs, the Roman Catholic worship of saints may be seen in progress. Augustine and his mother seem both to have supposed that wine, placed upon the tomb of a martyr, communicated grace to him who should drink it. Augustine praises the piety of his mother, in visiting all these sacred shrines, but as, if she had swallowed a glass of wine at each of them, after getting it sanctified by contact with the tomb, and had done this for all the martyrs in Milan, she "would have run the risk of getting drunk with wine rather than with grace," Augustine praises her watchfulness and sobriety in taking but a very little swallow at each altar. Aug. Conf. L. VI. 3, as quoted by Beausobre.

The author of this able and admirable work, in answer to the Oxford tracts, has traced the influence of Gnosticism in the church, and of "that awful mistress of the ancient world, the *Oriental theosophy*," with more discernment and acuteness than any other writer on the subject. It is the knowledge of Gnosticism, not as a heresy, but as a feeling, with which he investigates the labyrinth, and traces the progress of that "*Gnostic sentiment*," which, even when the Gnostic heresies were the most strenuously resisted, held possession of the religious mind, almost universally, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and during a full seven hundred years." "It is to this Gnostic feeling, preoccupying all minds religiously disposed, that we must trace most of those peculiarities of sentiment and practice, which make up the striking contrast between the apostolic and the Nicene church."

GNOSTICISM IN THE ROMISH CHURCH.

A more severe yet just delineation of the Romish system never was penned in so short a compass as the following sentence. "*Gnosticism surviving in principle, and polytheism in ritual, make up together the bastard religion of the middle ages, otherwise called Popery.*" It would not be difficult to prove this in detail, by tracing the extent and influence of the errors of the Gnostics as adopted and canonized in the mighty kingdom of the MAN OF SIN. They deserve also to be traced and noted as, in essence, the same with the systems of modern Unitarianism and Antinomianism. Not unfrequently modern heresies are nothing but the old ones cobbled and vamped, or put together with more ingenuity and refinement.

The first and grandest in the combination of error and iniquity, in the monstrosities of Gnosticism, was its utter annihilation of the doctrine of the atonement. This was practical and pervading. And whatever influence Gnosticism, in the mass, exerted upon Christianity, this feature of its errors must have been powerful. One would think there had never been any spiritual idea of an atonement for sin developed in the minds of the authors of some of these systems, that they had never formed a conception of this as the grand truth of Christianity. And we doubt if they ever had. There must, otherwise, have been some little care taken to preserve something like an avowal of this doctrine, some little appearance of regard for it. And we

are compelled to draw an inference, very unfavorable to the prevalent mode of preaching, or of expounding the Christian doctrine, when systems, destitute of this truth, could be palmed upon the world, for a moment, as the exhibition of Christianity.

The ruling principle of Gnosticism, which was the essential evil of matter, forbade the acknowledgment of an atonement for sin by the sufferings and death of Christ, had this doctrine been ever so clearly understood or conceived of by the Gnostics. It implied, of necessity, a real existence of Christ in the flesh, and this the Gnostics denied, if on no other ground, on that of the inherent malignity of matter. The whole created universe, and all material forms or mediums of existence in it, they asserted to have been the work of a malicious being, who had linked men themselves with matter, from the bondage of which Christ had come to deliver them. While, therefore, they "confessed not that Christ Jesus had come in the flesh," denying his bodily death, resurrection and ascension, they maintained a form of belief in him as a Saviour, that is, a deliverer from the dominion of matter, and thus preserved, in this direction, the appearance of a link attaching their system to Christianity. The expiatory sacrifice of Christ they must deny; because, if that had been admitted, their whole system must fail. But they must, in some way or other, retain a Saviour in their system, and profess to derive authority from him, because, without this, their system, pretending to be the Christian system, must equally fail also.

There is a striking resemblance here between the Gnostics and that sect, which, in modern times, professing a similar regard to Jesus Christ as a teacher and deliverer by precept and example, and thus retaining the word Christian for their scheme, does yet reject wholly the distinguishing tenet of Christianity, the expiatory sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the world. The Gnostics did this because the admission of that tenet supposed the union of Christ, a spiritual being, with a base material body; the Unitarians do this, because its admission supposes a higher nature for the Redeemer of the world, than they are inclined to grant him. The Gnostics denied the atonement, because it degraded Christ to the level of a man; the Unitarians deny it, because it elevates him to an equality with God. On other points, as their treatment of the Scriptures, and their salvation by a system of morality, there is an equally striking similarity. Extremes meet.

The Roman Catholic church, while abjuring in form this

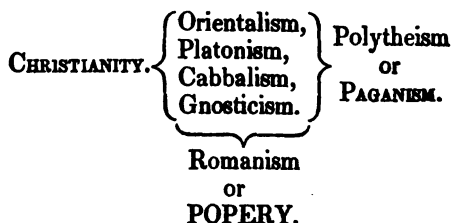
heresy of the denial of the atonement, has as effectually, in practice, abolished the doctrine. Her daily sacrifice of the mass does this in one direction; her system of penances and works of self-righteousness does it in another. And in this latter direction the influence of Gnosticism becomes visible. It was apparent long before the church was named *Roman Catholic*. "The Catholic church," remarks Mr. Taylor, "while vigorously repelling the openly pronounced and more distinct forms of the Gnostic delusion, too soon yielded itself to the undefined and the more seductive Gnostic principle, which made the conditions of animal life, and the common alliances of man in the social system, the antithesis of the divine perfections, and so to be escaped from and decried by all who panted after the highest excellence. It was this Gnostic leaven, which, through the medium of some ardent minds, gained at length a firm hold of the Christian community, and became the germinating cause of so much of the ascetic institution, as was not expiatory, as well as of many of those superstitions which have continued to oppress Christianity, even to the present time."* "The existence at any time, or in any community, of penitential and expiatory ascetic sacrifices, affords a sufficient and unquestionable proof of a corresponding compromise of that first principle of Christianity,—the full and free pardon of sin through the expiatory and vicarious sufferings of him, who was made a sin-offering for us." The last of the apostles had not departed from the world, when already this compromise began to take place. That it wholly and exclusively originated in the Oriental philosophy, we are not prepared to assert; on the contrary, we believe it would, at some period or other, have been manifested, if the Oriental belief of the sinfulness of matter had never existed. That belief passing into the Christian church, through the medium of Gnosticism, sustained and fostered an original disposition of human depravity, till it usurped the place of the whole Christian system.

The same belief in the inherent turpitude of matter, which led the Gnostics to reject the atonement, and to deny that Christ had come in the flesh, was likewise the parent of a monstrous Antinomianism. This belief led them to regard all evil as of the body only, the soul not participating in it. From this to the

* Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts, p. 215.

tenet that whatever pollution of sensuality the body is guilty of, the soul is superior to it, and unaffected by it, the passage was plain and easy. Where the consequences of this feature of the Oriental philosophy did not make their appearance in actual Antinomianism, it was not less fatal to religion in preventing and weakening the conviction of spiritual wickedness, the conception of that carnal mind which is enmity against God. We doubt if the nature of sin was any better understood, or any more faithfully expounded, as a spiritual evil, than the nature of the atonement. This all-prevailing, all-powerful Gnostic tenet of the turpitude of matter led to corporeal flagellations and mortifications, asceticism and penance in all its forms; and "bodily exercises" innumerable, which the apostle condemns, filled the church as the means and essence of righteousness; but of that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, there was as little true spiritual conception, as there was of the meaning of *the blood of Jesus Christ, which cleanseth from all sin.*

Here we must close our discussion of this deeply interesting and important subject, as involved, and intricate, in some respects, as it is important. We might, indeed, carry it down clear through the scholastic philosophy and theology, and the Roman Catholic idolatry and morality of the middle ages. The investigation legitimately demands this; nor can any man understand the middle ages, without viewing them in the light, or rather in the darkness, of the Oriental-Platonic-Gnostic philosophy and religion that preceded them. The following diagram may be taken as a condensation, not only of the course of our present discussion, but of the entire result of all ecclesiastical history down to the Reformation. Christianity married to Polytheism, through the medium of Philosophy in Orientalism, Platonism and Gnosticism, and then in the Romish hierarchy, canonized as Popery and Antichrist.



ARTICLE II.

REVIEW OF CLARK'S SERMONS.

By the Rev. George Shepard, Prof. of Sac. Rhet. in the Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.

Sermons ; by Rev. Daniel A. Clark, Author of "Conference Sermons," "Church Safe," &c. &c. In three volumes.
New-York : John S. Taylor. 1836, 1837. pp. 323, 328, 324.

REV. DANIEL A. CLARK deservedly takes a place in the first rank among American preachers. We are glad that, though dead, he is speaking so eloquently and so extensively through the press. We wish the volumes contained more sermons of the spirit and stamp of those before us. There is very little reason to fear that too many good sermons will be published from the press. It is admitted that the appetite for printed sermons in the community is not very keen. The majority prefer something lighter and more frothy. Yet there are many who keep up the taste of the olden time, who love to read well constructed sermons; and they are intellectually the sounder and more solid part of the community. Indeed it takes a good mind to compass and relish a good sermon; and the reading and relishing of one makes the mind stronger, clearer and better. It is profitable reading, mentally as well as spiritually. The reasoning power is improved by studying well arranged and well reasoned sermons. The rhetorical perception becomes quicker and truer, from dwelling upon those that bear the simple elegance of a Nevins, or the more splendid combinations of a Hall. We do not remember to have heard an individual declare that he took pleasure in perusing discourses, at once close, argumentative and eloquent, but we found out, upon acquaintance, that that person had a mind, in many respects, far above the common level.

We might remark upon the spiritual benefit,—the amount of biblical and doctrinal knowledge gained by this species of reading. But we pass these topics, that we may come at once to other things.

It is proposed to give, in the first place, a rapid sketch of

Mr. Clark's history ; secondly, an estimate of his powers and influence as a sermonizer and a preacher.

Mr. Clark was born in Rahway, N. J., March 1, 1779. His father, David Clark, was a devoted patriot of the revolution ; and his allegiance to his country often brought his property and his family into peril ; so that our author was accustomed to say, "that he was cradled in a whirlwind." He was blessed from earliest years with the prayers and instructions of an eminently pious mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth More. In his own language, descriptive of her influence,

A child of prayer, he knew a mother's worth,
Knew well the silken cords she round him flung,
To hold him back from crime, and wo, and death.

There seems to have been a peculiarly vigilant and austere faithfulness on the part of his mother. The son, in his youth, was rebellious and headstrong, and hated the restraint, the mother so rigidly imposed. He wished to be indulged in his favorite amusements, particularly that of dancing, of which he was very fond. His mother was inexorable in her prohibition. He would get away by stealth and engage in it with the merry company, and then go home to suffer all the agonies of remorse. After one of these seasons of stolen indulgence, he says : "I felt a part of hell in my bosom. I could not sleep ; my whole system was so agitated, that at length the bedstead shook ; I began to think that God would bear with me no longer, but would cut me off in my sins." He was often in like distress ; and it was his mother's counsels and prayers that kept him in this trouble, while he persisted in sin. At length a mother's prayers were hopefully answered. In 1795, there was some attention to religion in Elizabethtown, N. J., in connection with the labors of that eccentric minister, Rev. David Austin. On the first day of May, he attended worship in Elizabethtown, where a number were to be received to the church by profession. He went with no purpose or desire to get good. Being fatigued by a long walk, he fixed himself in a position for repose. But as soon as Mr. Austin commenced his sermon, he was arrested and interested. He did not *mean* to hear, but he did ; the truth took sudden and strong hold of him. In the progress of the sermon he was melted down, and all his feelings toward God and his people seemed to be changed. He retired to pray and meditate ; it was the first Sabbath that he

ever tried to keep, or enjoyed as a Sabbath. This day was succeeded by months of conflict, doubt, and sometimes despair. His circumstances were unfavorable; his trials many. His mind seemed dark, stubborn, stormy, and, in his own phrase, "gloomy as death." He manifestly had not, as yet, seen clearly the way of salvation through the cross of Christ. One Sabbath morning in April, he walked the fields in extremest agony, and several times fell on his face in utter despair of mercy, and in that attitude tried to pray, but could not. In connection with the privileges and instructions of the day, he obtained relief. He gained a sweet view of Christ, and peace sprang up in his breast. He says: "I had a charming evening and night, almost all of which I spent in the same fields." Thus the same fields were trodden at morning in misery, at evening with joy. Such is the power of Christ seen by faith. On the first of May, 1796, just one year from the memorable Sabbath referred to above, Mr. Clark joined the church, and took his seat among the followers of the Lamb.

He soon formed the purpose of preparing for the ministry; and, in 1802, commenced his academical studies under the care of Rev. Dr. Finley of Baskinridge. He entered Princeton College in 1805, and graduated in 1808, with so high a reputation for scholarship, that the offer of a tutorship was made to him. He however declined it, that he might enter at once upon his professional studies; which he did, under the direction of the Presbytery of New-York. In May, 1809, he left Newark in company with Dr. Griffin for Andover; the latter to be a teacher in that infant Seminary, the former a student. His residence at Andover was from one to two years. In the course of it, the place was favored with a revival of religion, in which Mr. Clark was very deeply interested, and for the promotion of which he labored with great zeal and success. In October, 1810, before finally leaving Andover, he was examined and licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of New-Jersey. On January 1, 1812, he was ordained a minister of the gospel, and installed pastor of the congregational Union Church of Braintree and Weymouth. In June of the same year, he was married at Portland, to Miss Eliza Barker, daughter of Dr. Jeremiah Barker, of Gorham. The field, in which Mr. Clark commenced his ministry, was a somewhat difficult and rugged one. He seems to have entered and continued in it with many trials. Here he remained, strongly and

pointedly proclaiming the great truths of the Bible, till the fall of 1815, when the state of his wife's health, which demanded a milder atmosphere, together with the opposition arrayed against him, induced him to seek a dismissal. This he obtained and removed to New-Jersey, and labored through the winter at Hanover, amid scenes of religious interest. After a brief ministry of three or four years in Southbury, Connecticut, of which there are no records at hand, Mr. Clark accepted a call from the first church and society in Amherst, Mass., and was installed Jan. 26, 1820; Rev. Mr. Porter of Farmington preaching on the occasion.

At this time Mr. Clark was in the maturity and full strength of his faculties; and it was here that he prepared and preached some of his ablest sermons. Amongst those listened to with peculiar interest, was a series on the text: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle;" which, with many more of his best discourses, were unfortunately lost, by being lent to a clerical friend. There was one season of special religious interest, during his ministry in Amherst, which he watched over with great solicitude, and labored most abundantly to promote. There was also a revival in college, which acquired impulse and purity from his bold and fervid preaching. The college owes much to Mr. Clark, for his eloquent pleadings and generous efforts in its behalf, during its precarious infancy.

Mr. Clark had trials in this field. There sat upon his case one of the ablest and most imposing councils we have ever witnessed. There were thronged assemblies, and eloquent advocates, and venerable judges. The result was altogether favorable to the pastor. "With full confidence in his ability and disposition to be highly useful, the council cordially tendered to their brother and friend their affectionate salutations."

Soon after this, Mr. Clark withdrew from Amherst, in acceptance of a call to the church in Bennington, Vermont, where he was installed June 14, 1826. His early friend and teacher, Dr. Griffin, was a member of the Council, and preached the sermon on the occasion. It was a peculiar satisfaction to him, to be in the vicinity of that venerable man, to whom he owed so much, and whom he loved so well. Dr. Griffin was often at his house, and in pleasant familiarity would pat him on his shoulder and call him his boy.

His ministry here was a laborious and successful one. As

heretofore, he proclaimed the truth and assailed wickedness with great faithfulness and boldness: and the Spirit gave it efficacy, and stubborn wills were bowed beneath it. But while some submitted, others were more malignantly aroused. One instance is related of threatening hostility, which resulted in a very remarkable way. A few fellows, in their desperation, banded together violently to break up an inquiry-meeting, held at the court-house. They armed themselves with stones and proceeded to the place. When they came in sight of the house, they were met by a power they had not thought of. The stones fell from their hands, and the greater part of them went reverently in, and submitted their minds to the instructions and influences, which just before, in their hatred, they meant to abolish. Neither the particulars of this work, nor of his ministry in this place, are now at hand.

He received a dismissal from his charge here, and in the fall of 1830 went to Troy, N. Y., to supply the pulpit of Dr. Beman, who found it necessary to travel to the South on account of his health. He seems to have entered upon this field with great earnestness, and performed, during his stay, a vast amount of labor. He adventured, in concurrence with the session, upon what was altogether a new thing in that region, "a four days' meeting." He felt the responsibility of the measure; he called in the assistance of his brethren, and called upon the church to pray. Many were convicted and brought to the knowledge of the Saviour, and a powerful revival extended throughout the city and to many places in the vicinity. Mr. Clark's labors in this place were highly appreciated, and will be remembered by many, with joyful interest, to the ages of eternity. He subsequently labored in Utica and vicinity, in places where God was pouring out his Spirit. His preaching was much sought after, and very highly prized in these scenes of hallowed interest.

On July 17, 1832, Mr. Clark was installed over the Presbyterian church in Adams, Jefferson Co., N. Y. This was his last charge, and his labors here were brief, being obliged, by the state of his health, to withdraw at the end of little more than a year. His iron constitution, which had stood firm under the hardest labors and most heaving emotions, now gave way. On Saturday, he poured out his fervid eloquence and searching appeals to assembled and listening minds, at Sackett's Harbor. On the Sabbath, he preached to his own people. On

Monday he was requested to return to the Harbor, as the truths of Saturday were taking effect. To the surprise of his friends, he refused. On the same day, he attempted to write the skeleton of a sermon, which he handed to his wife, and said, with great emotion: "I am done. I cannot read that paper. I leave you a widow, and my children orphans." "Never to my dying day," says one of his sons, "shall I forget the manner, in which my father received the unwelcome evidence, that his disease had laid hold upon his vitals." From that moment his great strength was gone. He took leave of his people, and, in the fall of 1833, removed to New-York, where, after a few weeks, he was attacked with his first stroke of paralysis. Various means were resorted to, to arrest the progress of the disease, but in vain. In the fall of 1834, he went to the South, and spent the winter at Charleston, S. C. Here he preached occasionally, and contributed to the New-York Observer his "First Impressions of Charleston," with the signature, "A bird in the air." Subsequently he resided for a season in New-Haven, where he preached his last sermon. He employed himself, in the intervals of comparative strength, in writing for different periodicals, and prominently in preparing for the press, and superintending the publication of the three volumes of sermons, which came out in 1836 and 1837, and which we have placed at the head of this article.

His disease at length came upon him in renewed and severer attacks, till it broke down the strong texture of his mind. He often expressed the wish, that he might die in the possession of his faculties, and with his hopes of heaven firm and bright. While he was favored with some seasons, such as he desired, it was often his lot to lie, both mentally and spiritually, under a cloud. During these seasons, there were occasionally decisive indications of the strong religious habit of his mind, and of his warm attachment to the cause of Christ. After he had lost the power of speech and even of consciousness, as it was thought, a friend related in his room the particulars of a work of grace in Broadway Tabernacle where he loved to attend church. He received the intelligence, and it seemed to thrill his bosom, for he cast forth, at the close, a beaming glance, and then burst into tears. Zion, for whose welfare he labored in life, he loved in death. On March 3, 1840, without a struggle or a groan, he calmly fell asleep in Jesus.

In the *social character* of Mr. Clark, there was much sim-

plicity and frankness. He was ever ready to declare his sentiments with a free, bold independence. This trait, existing in connection with a deficiency of worldly tact and management, not unfrequently brought him into circumstances of trial and difficulty. Hence it was, that wherever he went, he had many very warm friends, and some as warm enemies.

In his *religious character*, Mr. Clark seems not to have been characterized by the cheerful and hopeful. In the fine language of Robert Hall, he did not so much "soar to the heights, as sound the depths of Christian piety." Instead of "regaling himself with fruit from the tree of life, he was often on the waves of an impetuous sea, doing business in the mighty waters." With all his experience of human depravity, and his profound estimate of its malignant and dreadful energies, he had firm confidence in the greatness of the atonement, and the greater energies, already pledged and soon to be put forth, in the subjugation of a world to Christ.

He loved to contemplate God as on the throne, the Almighty Sovereign in the kingdom of nature and of grace, achieving his benignant purposes, bringing into service the wrath of his foes, securing the redemption of unnumbered souls, and the glory of his own great name. He loved revivals of religion, and ever deemed it a privilege, and was prompt to labor in the midst of them. It was a gratification to him, if, by his efforts, he could benefit the sinner or the disciple. When an obscure woman, in the interior of New-York, pressed through the crowd, that she might grasp the hand that wrote "The Church Safe," and express her gratitude for the benefits she had received, he replied to her, with strongly gushing emotions: "My good woman, I am thankful to the Lord if my poor labors have been useful to you."

Mr. Clark prayed like a man who was accustomed to the exercise. He prayed in the sanctuary with great fervor, often, with a surprising richness and scope of sentiment. His range and variety were indeed remarkable. He was loth to cease praying with others, when his faculties had become exceedingly impaired. He prayed with his family, after he had so far lost the power of articulation, that they could not understand him. In his clearer moments, he would call them around his bed, that he might again commend them to God. He attached, also, the highest importance to the intercessions of the church. He was the first that proposed the observance of the first Monday of

January, as a day of prayer for the conversion of the world. He proposed it to the Presbytery of Watertown, N. Y., and as chairman of their committee, he drafted the memorial to the General Assembly, requesting that body to take order in favor of that concert. They did so, and recommended the observance of it to the churches.

In his *professional career*, Mr. Clark was hearty and laborious. He loved to preach; and he gratified this affection by preaching a great deal, both in season and out of season. Sometimes, when on a journey, as he stopped for a night in a village, he would make his arrangements, issue a notice, cause the bell to be rung, and preach to those who might assemble and in the morning go on his way. He performed a great amount of neighborhood preaching. It was not uncommon for him to preach nine times a week. His constitution was a strong one, as it must have been, to sustain the earnest labors of twenty-one years, with the loss of but a single Sabbath from ill health.

The intellectual features of Mr. Clark will be brought out in connection with our examination of his Sermons. It will appear that he had strong powers, which, at almost any time, he could put under the highest pressure of feeling. We shall see that he was not remarkable for the acute, the refined, the wire-drawn; that in him the reasoning faculty was of the practical, common sense sort; the imagination, within certain limits, was vigorous and good; the power of language, original and striking.

We will proceed at once, then, to view Mr. Clark as a sermonizer. We have before us fifty-eight of his Sermons; without doubt, judiciously selected, and constituting a fair representation of his powers in this chief department of ministerial duty.

It is proposed, in our remarks on Mr. Clark's sermons, to look at them rather homiletically than theologically. We shall consider not so much the sentiments contained in them, as their style, structure and spirit as sermons.

In opening the volumes of Mr. Clark at the beginning, we find the distinctive features of the man, even in the table of contents. Many of them are graphic and striking. They excite attention for their strangeness or oddness; and a few for their unintelligibility. An instance of the latter is the following: "A Likeness taken in the Field." This title is objectionable for this reason, that no one could gather from it the subject of the sermon. For explanation, they must

resort to the sermon itself; and on going there we find that the object of the sermon is to "show how the Christian is to act out the spirit of his Master, in efforts to promote the conversion and salvation of the world." The title, being far-fetched and obscure, is not a good one. Some of the others are objectionable on account of an affected peculiarity; for example: "The Bridgeless Gulf," "The Two Champions Contrasted," "The Index Sure," "Perdition a Dark Spot on the Moral Landscape." The practice of embodying the sentiment of a sermon in a brief and graphic title is a very commendable one. The attempt to do it brings, at once, to a sure test the unity and definiteness of the discourse. The title should be both concise and clear; it should be a key to the sermon, and not an enigma which the sermon alone can decipher.

The subjects of these sermons are of a general and permanent interest; and there is a very good degree of variety. They are not, on the whole, strictly, interiorly experimental. Mr. Clark seems not so much at home on topics which lead to a nice analysis of the spiritual man, as upon those which are connected with the security, and the certain triumph of the Christian on the one hand; with the depravity, the madness, the impotence, the sure defeat and the utter shame and ruin of the enemy of God on the other. The two contrasted subjects, "The Church Safe," and, "Nothing Safe but the Church," furnish the field, over which he ranged the most adroitly and powerfully. Mr. Clark takes pleasure in accompanying the church through her conflicts, and in developing the stability of her basis, and the invincible might of her Protector. He loves to group together and accumulate on his pages the perfect evidence of her safety.

Whilst all the subjects are important, it is obvious that they were not, as a general thing, chosen with a view to immediate and visible results. Most readers would infer, that the author, when preparing these sermons, had not so directly in mind the purpose of immediately accomplishing, with God's help, the conversion of sinners, as had Payson, when preparing the valuable sermons of his which have been given to the public. We do not intend to imply, however, that all sermons, in order to be useful, should be constructed with this pointed design and adaptation. The great principles, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are to be defended and established, as well as illustrated and applied, to the conscience and the heart; and

those sermons, in which this permanent service is ably done, are amongst the most honored and useful, both as proclaimed from the desk, and published from the press.

We find all the great doctrines of the Christian system brought out in the sermons of Mr. Clark, with the utmost distinctness. The trumpet, in no place, gives an uncertain sound. We do not read far to learn, that the author is a firm believer in the doctrines of the Trinity, of the atonement, total depravity, regeneration, election, the saints' perseverance, and eternal reward and punishment.

Whilst the sermons are not formally, dryly doctrinal, in them all we have discussions of great truths and principles, which give them a solid and instructive character. On one page, the attributes and glory of God meet and awe us; on another, the love and offices of Christ attract and give us peace; from another, the Comforter offers to come into our hearts; in this discourse, a picture of human vileness pains and humbles us; in that, the law draws upon us its two-edged sword; in the other, mercy points to the place of refuge from the avenging stroke. The whole gospel is here strongly and discriminately presented. Mr. Clark contended earnestly for the faith and the order of the gospel. His arguments and efforts were rather with the semi-Christian, who professedly received the gospel, but rejected its great doctrines, than with those, who rejected the Bible and all that was in it; or with brethren, who differed from him in some minor shades of sentiment.

In the general arrangement and structure of his sermons, Mr. Clark exhibits a good degree of simplicity. They never appear so elaborately studied, or curiously drawn out, as to cause perplexity to the mind; or as to lead us to the bones for the most striking part of the structure. He frequently adopts the textual mode; and where it is not a breaking up of the words of the text into the heads of the sermon, which he sometimes does, there is a very free statement of topics, one after the other, as they are naturally suggested by the passage chosen as the basis of the discourse. Take for instance the 36th sermon,—“*The honest and faithful ministry*,”—on 2. Cor. 4: 1, 2: “Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not,” etc. 1. “The mercy of God qualifies men to be his ministers.” 2. “The ministry of reconciliation is an office big with trials.” 3. “This same ministry furnishes an antidote to the wo it generates.” 4. “The text

prescribes that open and ingenuous conduct, which it is the duty of Christ's ministers on all occasions to exhibit." 5. "The text instructs Christ's ministers how they may best commend themselves to the consciences of men,—by manifestation of the truth." 6. "The apostle and his brethren felt themselves urged to faithfulness, by the consideration that God was present." Whoever reads this performance will be satisfied, that a sermon on the textual plan may be replete with interest and power.

The textual division has this advantage; the preacher has an opportunity to bring out the full and rich meaning of the passage in hand. The sermon grows out of the text; separate from the text, it can have no existence; it is biblical and authoritative. We ought not to despise the textual style of proceeding, though some seem to do it, as not being so scholarlike, so conformable to rule, so favorable to unity, and to a logical and symmetrical discourse as some other. It is the style which the heart often inclines to, in its earnest desire to bring forth and make effective the simple gospel upon the souls of men. We have thought, sometimes, that when we have the least disposition to preach ourselves, we have the strongest inclination to arrange our matter in the humble, unpretending textual way.

This more biblical mode, in the hands of Mr. Clark, is admirably vindicated. Few men have the power he exhibits of building striking and interesting paragraphs upon very common-place heads. The plan may be almost stupidly textual; but in the filling up, there will be original and vigorous thoughts, in very cogent language. Perhaps there is no better test of real power than this. The preacher, who will take the common subjects and the common topics of discourse, and imbue them with a more energetic spirit, and invest them with a deeper and more commanding interest, has the very best power and qualification for his work, and will secure the best kind of popularity.

Mr. Clark is not at all a hortatory preacher; he furnishes a good proportion of clear and weighty discussion. He does not assail us with fierce, unbased appeals; never attempts to carry the heart by hurling against it volleys of rattling words. He first packs together a solid body of truth, and then brings that body in contact, either as fire to melt, or as a hammer to break the rock in pieces.

Our author invariably employs the popular and rhetorical

style of reasoning. His arguments are remarkable for a reliance upon Scripture facts to give them force and conclusiveness. In some of his best efforts, there is no other reasoning than a logical adducing and linking together of scriptural facts. The sermon, entitled "The Church with all her Interests Safe," is a fine example of this. Assurance of the proposition is made out, 1, "from the firmness and stability of the divine operations." Under this head, expectation is excited. It is strengthened, 2, by a view of "what God has done for his Church." Under this head, the prominent divine interpositions in favor of Zion's interests are graphically and rapidly sketched. 3. "God is doing *now* just such things as he has done." 4. "The expectation is consummated by a glance at the *promises* and the *prophecies*." As a specimen of the graphic and condensed style with which Mr. Clark proceeds in this kind of writing, we adduce a paragraph or two. In his sketch of what God has done for the church, he says :

"Let us retrace, for a moment, a few pages of her history, and we shall see that when the church was low, he raised her ; when she was in danger, he saved her. Amid all the moral desolations of the old world, the church never became extinct. And he at length held the winds in his fist, and barred the fountains of the deep, till Noah could build the ark, and the church could be housed from the storm. How wonderful were his interpositions when the church was embodied in the family of Abraham ! In redeeming her from Egyptian bondage, how did he open upon that guilty land all the embrasures of heaven, till they thrust out his people ! And he conducted them to Canaan by the same masterly hand. The sea divided, and Jordan rolled back its waters ; the rock became a pool, and the heavens rained them bread, till they drank at the fountains and ate of the fruits of the land of promise. . . . When the church diminished, and her prospects clouded over, he raised up reformers. Such were Samuel, and David, and Hezekiah, and Josiah, and Daniel, and Ezra, and Nehemiah : such were all the prophets. Each in his turn became a master builder, and the temple arose, opposition notwithstanding. . . . Again, under the apostles, how did her prospects brighten ! In three thousand hearts, under a single sermon, commenced the process of sanctification. The very cross proved an engine to erect her pillars ; the flames lighted her apartments, and the blood of the martyrs cemented the walls of her temple, and contributed to its strength and beauty.

Every dying groan alarmed the prince of hell, and shook the pillars of his dreary domain." Vol. III. pp. 139, 140.

We set down "The Church Safe" as, on the whole, the most admirable production of its author. Few sermons have made a stronger sensation on their publication. It was extensively sought and read, and contributed not a little to awaken the benevolent energies of the church, to the enterprise before her. The writer vividly remembers the evening when the village, where he resided, were summoned together to the reading of this sermon, by a young man who had brought it in from abroad. It is no small achievement to have prepared and put forth to the world one such discourse.

The sermon, entitled "The Enemies of the Church made to promote her Interests," is another fine specimen of argumentation from facts. Here, as in the preceding, they are marshalled in the most admirable order. There is a quick and strong movement; at once, rhetorical beauty and flow, and argumentative clenching. The sermon is a good example of a discourse, in which unpalatable truths are set forth and firmly established by the simple force of facts. The facts are so employed as to hedge up the hearer to the conclusion he hates to come to. The obnoxious point is God's sovereignty in the use and disposal, the award and punishment of his rebellious creatures,—a point kindred with that which our Saviour, in a similar way, fixed incontrovertibly upon his hearers, in the village where he had been brought up. It is an example worthy of imitation, whenever we are to propound truths in the face of strong prejudices and passions; let the preacher keep to the ground of God's simple sayings, and the admitted facts of his Providence, and the deep unsilenced monitions of conscience, and if he does not produce conviction and belief of the truth, he will do something toward checking cavils and silencing objections.

Mr. Clark bears some resemblance to President Edwards in his manner of reasoning and discussion. Neither of them falls into the gratuitous blunder of attempting to shore up the divine affirmation of a doctrine, by their own arguments. The doctrine is received upon the divine testimony. This perfectly establishes it. The main object of the argument or illustration is indirectly to do away objections and prejudices, and directly to commend the truth to the hearer's conscience; to make it real, vivid,

convicting, arousing to the sinner's mind. It is the blindness of men which constitutes the grand barrier to the progress and the redeeming results of truth. If the preacher can but give to truth breadth and body, and impart reality to its disclosures men will see it ; and the next thing with many will be, they will feel it ; finally, the Spirit helping, they will receive it.

The *reductio ad absurdum* is a form of argument, in which our author seems to be much at home. He wields it now and then with terrible, almost annihilating power. In connection with it, there occasionally appears a little spice of satire ; and a disposition to confound his opponent and cover him with shame, instead of satisfying and recovering him to the path of truth. In some instances, he runs, in the first place, the erroneous position to its legitimate results, and holds up the glaring absurdities of the case, and then breaks out in a strain of the most vehement reprobation of the obnoxious point. For example, on the error that Christ is a finite created being :

He indebted to another for his own existence, but we must trust in him for eternal life ; he our shield, and still he has no power of his own to protect ; he our guide, but another must enlighten and guide him ; he our intercessor, and still he cannot know when we pray. . . . If there is a scheme, which, rather than any other, charges God foolishly, makes the plainest truth a mystery, and the whole Bible a bundle of absurdities, and proudly conducts all its votaries to death, it is that which thus quenches the light of Israel. Must I choose between it and open infidelity, I would be an infidel. By the same dash with which I blot the name of the Redeemer, I would obliterate the Father, and believe the grave the end of me. I would not waste my time and strength, and torture my conscience, to mutilate the book of God ; but would believe the whole a lie, and warm myself in its blaze, and wish I were a brute. Then I would calmly expect one day to be a supper for the worms, free from dread of the worm that shall never die." Vol. III. pp. 176, 177.

There is a similar strain in another sermon, in which the same low views of Christ as above are opposed. Our author is speaking of the incalculable injury, which even a doubt of the proper divinity of Christ would be to the believer :

"That doubt would mar their creed ; for they must yield

other doctrines, when their Redeemer has become a creature. That atonement, which he only could make ; that ruin of our nature, which he only can repair ; that ever-enduring hell, from which he only can rescue us ; that Sabbath, which his rising made ; that Comforter, whom he kindly sent ; and that plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, which establishes his divinity, must be all plucked from their creed, and it would stand then, like a pine, lightning-smitten, scorched in its every leaf, and rived to its deepest roots, to be the haunt of the owl and the curse of the forest. When you shall blast my creed like this, you may have, for a farthing, the remnant of my poor, mutilated Bible, and I will sit down and weep life away, over this benighted world, to which is reserved the blackness of darkness forever." Vol. III. p. 88.

These passages are exceedingly powerful and striking ; they were written, unquestionably, under a mighty tide of emotion. Mr. Clark we think often wrote in this mood ; and in the rush of feeling and strength of expression dictated thereby, now and then there would escape from him a sentiment, very nearly transcending the bounds of truth and propriety. We cannot but doubt the correctness and wisdom of declaring or implying, in any connection, that absolute infidelity is rather to be chosen, than that form of Christianity, which denies the divinity of its author.

The style of Mr. Clark is throughout very decisively characterized by strength. It is manifest that he aimed chiefly at this ; that to this he was willing to sacrifice the light and winning graces of language. In his preface, he expresses the conviction, "that writings are often spoiled by too much smoothing and polishing. Hence the present volumes are permitted to go forth with those occasional roughnesses, which, it is hoped, may not give offence, but simply stir up thought and rouse proper feeling." Mr. Clark's prominent faults and excellencies, both in language and spirit, are to be traced to the reaching forth of a fervid and powerful mind for great strength of thought and diction. There is uncommon compactness and condensation in our author's style. There are but few words which can be safely blotted out ; nor, by recasting, can we diminish the space a thought occupies. There is a very sparing use of epithets and qualifying terms. The principal words are selected with so much precision generally, that he succeeds in conveying his idea without the aid of thronging

expletives and adjuncts. When reading him, we are constrained sometimes to pause and admire the amount and pungent force of meaning, conveyed by some single word, or brief combination of words. This is one of the very highest excellencies of style,—every word fraught with meaning. It takes some a long time to get weaned from their love of the jingle of adjectives and adjuncts, though assured, from every quarter, that no other single thing does more to encumber and enfeeble the style. One of the great rhetorical sins in preaching, it seems to us, is overdoing, saying too much on the topics introduced, and especially taking up altogether too much time in saying what we do say.

Mr. Clark has not only strength, he has frequently a simple elegance and harmony. This harmony indeed is very common, when it is not disturbed by a bold and startling harshness. The following is a fair specimen of the often easy and musical flow of the sentences. "Individuals may prosper most when they are nearest destruction. The old world and the devoted cities were never more prosperous, than when their last sun was rising. Men may be ripe for the scythe of death, their cup of iniquity full, while yet their fields wave with the abundant harvests, and the atmosphere is fragrant with the odors of the ripened fruits and flowers, and echoes with the song of the cheerful laborers."

Another attribute for which Mr. C.'s style is remarkable is vivacity. There is nothing about it dry, abstract, dead. Every thing is living, moving. He is almost constantly giving us vivid pictures. He shows great skill in gathering and grouping the interesting circumstances of a scene or case. It is this skilful touching of some characteristic circumstance, which brings before the mind the picture of a whole scene: "How many, once as rich as you, are now poor; or as healthy as you, are now in the grave; had a home as you have, but it burned down; had children, as, it may be, you have, but the cold blast came over them and they died. And was it not kindness in God that saved you what you have?" Another example: "Where had we been if the hand of God had not been under us? To what world had we fled, when some friend was closing our eyes? How employed on the day of our funeral solemnities?" Once more: "Were Christ to come again and put himself in the power of sinners, would not many of our communicants leave the sacrament, and go away to crucify him?"

It is very obvious that nearly all the peculiar freshness and force of these passages is owing to the striking pictures brought before us. Mr. Clark abounds in examples of what Campbell calls "speciality" in the use of terms; that is, the seizing upon those which are particular and determinate, which, of course, present a more vivid image. Our author, we think, is more remarkably characterized by the use of this figure, if it may be called a figure, than any preacher of our acquaintance. We perceive it in every paragraph, almost in every sentence. Everywhere we are met with the specific stroke. Speaking of the rumseller: "He has the heart of a tiger, and blood is his legitimate prey." In another somewhat rough extract from the same discourse: "If the article must be sold for the use, and ruin, and utter damnation of men, I would place at the *top* the same lying serpent, that handed Eve the apple, that it might appear the very infernal commerce it is." Again, "the lips of profaneness touch the symbols of a dying Christ." Again, "This institution is connected intimately with all that is interesting in the rescue of the idolater from his gods, the papist from his relics and his saints; the Jew from his Talmud; the Mohammedan from his Koran; the African from his chains, and the assassin from his pistol and his knife."

To speak of a property kindred with the above, we may add, that Mr. Clark's style is enlivened and strengthened with a great deal of rapid and bold metaphor. It is everywhere a leading characteristic. He speaks of "reining in the passions;" of "cradling the corrupt passions;" of "feeding the appetite;" "blunting the reason;" "killing the keenness of conscience;" of "hewing down men in the prime of life;" of "being harnessed for the divine service;" of "digging after comforts;" of "fencing the truth from the sinner's dying pillow;" of "wading to the grave in tears." These are specimens; and some of them manifestly border, to say no more, upon a visitation of good taste; but the book abounds with the like, and many of them are very fine and forcible. "When I heard of this fact, [that ministers were called for, and could not be had,] it had on my ear the effect of a dying groan, and stole through the heart like the cold stream of death." Speaking of a mild, forgiving, unresisting spirit, he says: "thus, by wrestling with the blast, we are liable to be discomfited; when, had we lain down and been quiet, the storm would have beat upon us a little and passed over, and we should have seen the sun again in all his

brightness." Mr. Clark often uses Scripture facts metaphorically and with good effect. "Paul had gone to lay waste that very church, which, a few days after, it was his honor and joy to edify. The devourer was caught with the prey in his teeth and made a lamb." Again, "The gospel may produce wrath and still be a savor of life. The tenant of the tombs raved and then believed." The writer has a vivid recollection of an instance of this sort in hearing him some eighteen years since. The simple stroke did in his mind the work of a dozen sermons. Mr. Clark was addressing Christians at the Lord's table. The sentiment was in substance this: 'Perhaps some are in a luminous, happy frame, and in it they feel confident that they shall no more betray the interests of Jesus, as they have done. Beware of this confidence, Peter thought just so once; yet he went directly down from the scenes of Tabor, and swore that he never knew him.'

It may be remarked in this connection, that our author generally derives his figures and illustrations from obvious and common sources. There is no going out for pretty, and fragrant, and sunny things. There are no singing birds, nor silvery lakes, nor glistening dew-drops to charm us; nothing here of *the fringes of the north star*; nothing of *nature's becoming unnatural*; nothing of the *down of angels' wings*, or the beautiful locks of cherubims; no starched similitudes, introduced with a "thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion," and the like. Such things are not fit for the pulpit; they seem profane in so sacred a place. They certainly have no power there. The truly drastic men have nothing to do with them. They are not afraid nor ashamed to lay hands on familiar objects. These are understood, they are felt by the hearer. "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down." What can exceed this in strength and impressiveness? The Bible is full of the most cogent figures; cogent from the commonness of the objects. In this way Mr. Clark attained to a startling power in many of his illustrations. "The truth exhibits impenitent men as playing the fool with their own best interests. A madman in a paroxysm of his disease, has butchered his family, and half despatched himself, and has waked to consciousness in the very act of suicide, is scarcely a sorer picture of wretchedness and ruin, than the sinner upon whose conscience there has been suddenly poured the light of truth." The following is singularly coarse, and huge, and

strong : "One might almost as well attempt to silence the opinion of heaven as hell. The murmurs of that dark world, against the man who casts its burning sentiments behind his back, will be like the distant roar of a thousand cataracts, or like the dashing of as many icebergs, conflicting with each other in some boundless polar sea." Our author in reaching after strength, not unfrequently, borders upon extravagance in his illustrations. Speaking of the fact, that the wicked are occasionally strangely spared, while the righteous are cut down, he says : "the basest of human beings have sometimes measured out a hundred years, have attended the funeral of every pious contemporary, and have even blown the trumpet of revolt in three centuries."

And here we may remark, that this love of strength not only runs into extravagance sometimes but into harshness. On the passage, "Christ gave himself for us, &c." he says : "How easily could he have blighted all our hopes in that dark hour. Had he sent Judas to his own place, or rendered him an honest man, when he came to steal the betraying kiss ; or had he struck lifeless that midnight band which came to apprehend him ; or had he let down into hell that senate chamber with its mass of hypocrisy, and paralyzed the sinews of the soldiery that crucified him ; then had there been none to betray, arrest, or murder the son of God." One other instance : "No error seems too gross to forbid its circulation ; the Swedenborgian and the Shaker, who could have collected their creeds nowhere but from the reveries of bedlam, have not failed to gather around them a community of madmen."

This harshness of expression, which is one of Mr. Clark's prominent faults, is kept up and increased by certain offensive terms and phrases, which he uses rather frequently. The sinner is termed a "culprit," a "wretch," a "miscreant ;" and our author sometimes puts a halter about his neck as a sign of his state of condemnation. He speaks of the "ravings" and the ragings of the sinner ; of the "whole herd of evil-doers ;" the "whole gang of gospel opposers." The word scowl appears occasionally, and in one instance in an unfortunate connection. "When the church rose upon the theatre, and joined with decency to scowl it out of use, it became from that moment a sinking concern."

When speaking of the sinner's perdition, our author sets it forth commonly in the most terrific imagery of the Bible. We

see too often the unquenchable fire, and hear too often the gnashing teeth. Mr. Clark sometimes speaks of all that is unholy in the world and opposed to God apparently in a spirit of recklessness, as though all were worthless and must perish as a matter of course. He sets forth the divine character, occasionally, in an aspect of such terrific, consuming severity, that we hardly dare approach him, even through a mediator. Our author appears in some of his discourses, as though he were wanting in a spirit of deep and holy compassion for sinners; sometimes he speaks of them as though they were his enemies, and as such doomed to an inevitable overthrow. In some of the discourses the truth is presented as against the opposite error; which fact gives the pages in question a harsh and belligerent character. The severity and harshness which mark parts of these discourses are a serious obstacle to their usefulness. Some will be repelled who otherwise would read with delight and profit. We grieve to see this deformity,—and even this had its use,—on so admirable performances. Had there been a little more of the mild, the gentle, the winning, had there been a less frequent appeal to the terrible motives of truth, more of the imbuing of that love which bled on Calvary, Mr. Clark would have stood as a preacher, pre-eminent and complete. But we may not leave what we have to say upon the general strain and spirit of these sermons without adding, that, with all his sternness, and hard, unbending fidelity, Mr. Clark has the power of the pathetic to a very considerable degree. This power grows out of another we have ascribed to him, namely, the power of moral painting. Some parts of the "Church Safe" are fine specimens of the pathetic. The entire sermon, entitled: "The industrious young Prophets," is throughout graphic and tender, and must have strongly and deeply moved the feelings of the auditors. Speaking of Christians who have gone from abounding privileges, and are now living far away in regions of moral desolation, he says:

"They cannot educate for themselves a ministry and build in the wilderness the unnumbered conveniences they left behind. They have turned their eyes to us, and if we refuse them help we cover them with unmingled despair. . . . The mother who had devoted her children to God, and has gone with them into the western wilds; must die crushed with the tremendous thought, that she became a mother merely that she might people the realms of death. Already she has hung

her harp upon the willows, and there it must hang, till some kind missionary enter the door of her cabin, and wipes away her tears; and this missionary *we* must educate. Ten long years must still roll away before he arrives, and she in the mean time, bleached by the frosts of age, trembles on the brink of the grave, but dares not die, till her hopes are accomplished and her children saved." Vol. III. p. 268.

We might find some fault with the manner in which Mr. Clark concludes some of his sermons. The conclusion is a very important part of a sermon, more important perhaps, than of any other kind of discourse. Dr. Payson, when asked what constituted a good sermon, is said to have replied: "A good ending." In a good ending the interest is sustained to the last; there are some new things in it. Throughout the discourse the preacher should have a regard to the end, and should reserve some of his best thoughts for that important place. Mr. Clark did not always practise this species of economy, but used up his best thoughts in the previous parts; consequently there is now and then a falling off in the interest as we approach the close. He manifestly lays himself out the most on the body of his discourse. Sometimes he closes very abruptly, without giving any notice, so that we may gather up our ears for the last words. In other instances, where there is enough in length, there is not enough of application. He makes good reflections; draws appropriate inferences; but he does not, so often as we could wish, crowd the conscience of the sinner with the truth he has established and illustrated. And in the appeals which he does make, we think he sometimes employs too prominently the class of motives which are addressed to the instinctive and selfish feelings,—to our hopes and fears, to our love of happiness and dread of misery. The transgressor is shown the good which he may obtain, the misery which he may avoid, by a course of pious obedience. The matter we think should generally be put on the higher ground of obligation,—the intrinsic, unalterable, eternal claims of law, and love, and duty.

On the whole, we must be permitted to reaffirm the opinion we opened with, that Mr. Clark deserves to hold a very high rank as a preparer of sermons. With some peculiar and obtrusive faults, he possessed rare and substantial merits. He was not an imitator; there appears nowhere upon him the marks of any other man's stamp. As a student of Dr. Griffin, he was probably incited and influenced by that gigantic model. Yet

his style is not Griffin's, nor does it bear any resemblance, except in a bold, rough, independent power. Every thing our author said came forth with his own characteristic impress.

Having now examined the instruments our author employed, their material and their structure, it seems necessary to the completeness of our estimate, that we look at our author's style of wielding the instrument; in other words, that we view him *as a preacher of his sermons*. His smiting was generally with a blade which he had previously fabricated and furbished, though he could make a good one at the time when it was necessary; in other words, he ordinarily preached on the Sabbath sermons which had been written carefully and in full.

And here we wish to say, that in Mr. Clark we have an example of interest and power in manuscript preaching. He did not read; he *preached* from his manuscript. He took not the matter from his memory, he took it from his paper, and preached it. It was as really a specimen of preaching, and good preaching, as any improviser can give. He showed that written preaching need not be dull preaching; that it may be warm and stirring to the highest degree. Why may it not be as frequently as the off-hand? Why need a man be so much of an animal, that he can get warm only in a room with other animals? Why may he not grow warm in the solitude of his closet, in the company of quickening truth and of his own glowing thoughts and conceptions? If he has got a soul, why not enkindle it by its own intrinsic life into quick and impassioned movement? This has been done. As matter of fact, the most vivid, pointed and heated appeals, that ever went from human heart or lips, were most considerably, yea, elaborately prepared in solitude. Most will concede that Mr. Clark is sufficiently pungent and heated. We love to meet with new instances of stirring power in the use of the pen. We are grateful to our author for these warm-hearted specimens. We deprecate the coming of a time, when ministers shall lay aside the pen in their pulpit preparations. With it they would lay aside one half of their power. There will then be an end to extemporaneous preaching of the highest order. We very much doubt, whether there ever was or ever will be a first rate extemporaneous speaker, who was not, at the same time, a good writer. The discipline of the writing is necessary to impart order and richness to the speaking. Let all writing be done with, and the extemporaneous product grows diffuse and com-

paratively empty. The preacher but rarely leads "into the green pastures;" but more commonly, while under his feeding, are we doomed to be drawn over an arid acre, to gather a gaunt and husky dinner. It is the curse and condemnation of a vast deal of extemporaneous preaching, that it is without beginning, middle, or end, subject or object. "I never write my sermons," said Rowland Hill, "I always trust to the gospel. The gospel is an excellent milch cow, which always gives plenty of milk and of the best quality. I first pull at sanctification; then give a plug at adoption; and afterwards a tit at sanctification; and so on till I have filled my pail with gospel milk." We say decidedly, it is far better to write sermons, than to proceed in this scattering way. The man, who writes in part vigorously and well, will proceed with closeness and order in the sermons he does not write. He may make his written sermons warm, searching, effective; and the unwritten will catch from the written a thorough imbuing and seasoning of the same sterling qualities.

Mr. Clark was an arresting preacher, with all the alleged disadvantages of his paper before him. He had a remarkable power of seizing and holding the attention. If he did not awaken spiritually the auditor, he kept him awake physically. From what we have said of his style, it would be inferred that the house in which he preached would not be much infested with sleepy hearers. They might disbelieve the preacher, they might execrate his sentiments. They could not but hear them if in the house. He must have been a doubly stupid boor, who, by any opiate or any magnetism, could get to sleep under some of the discourses and parts of discourses which proceeded from our author. Whoever, at such a time, might attempt to sink into repose, would not proceed far, before some crashing thunderbolt would compel him to open his eyes, and see what was happening. The roughnesses and rugged points of Mr. Clark's style were admirably adapted to keep the mind well spurred and jogged. Sometimes a sentence or paragraph would come suddenly like a great rasp across the audience. It is admitted, we have repeatedly said, there was an excess of roughness and harshness; but better this than an excess of smoothness. A sermon may be adjusted, and harmonized, and polished into perfect tameness and insipidity; the whole moves off, in a gentle, uniform, mellifluous flow, which reaches and stirs nobody, and which nobody cares for. "The words of the wise are as

goads." Such should be a portion, at least, of the words of the preacher. He must, in a world so spiritually stupid and lazy as this, employ thoughts and words which now and then will prick men: and men must be thankful for the spear, and be docile when it touches them, and never retaliate and kick against the salutary goad.

Mr. Clark's person, voice, and entire manner were in perfect keeping with his style;—a large masculine frame; a voice harsh, strong, capable of great volume, though not very flexible; an action, for the most part, ungraceful, but significant and natural; a countenance bearing bold, strongly marked features, at every opening of which the waked and working passions would look intensely out; then, thoughts and sentences such as we find in these volumes coming forth;—all together gave the idea of huge, gigantic power. We were reminded often of some great ordnance, throwing terribly its heavy shots. Who could, who dared go into unconsciousness before such an engine?

Mr. Clark had an unusual power of impressing the memory. Perhaps in nothing do preachers differ more than in this. We hear one deliver a sermon, and are very well pleased with it. It is made up of substantial and important matter. We endeavor at the time to give earnest heed to the things which we hear, lest we should let them slip. But somehow, do all we can, they will slip; soon the whole is utterly gone, and all that we can say about it is, that at such a time, we heard such a minister preach a sermon. We hear another; we give no closer attention; we are in no better mood. But the sermon inheres; parts of it, at least, are lodged within us too deeply and firmly to be thrown out by the rudest jostlings of amusement or business. Mr. Clark had this prime excellence of preaching to an unusual degree. Those who listened to his preaching, a score of years back, find that they can remember a great deal that he said. They retain, doubtless, clear conceptions of entire discourses, which on their delivery ploughed deeply into their minds. The power of condensed, graphic enunciation, by which light, strength and beauty were combined and concentrated, in part enabled Mr. Clark to sink these fixtures in the memory. The power of moral painting, also of graphic presentation, which has been referred to, did much to give the adhesiveness in question. The truth, which we are made to see, we cannot forget, as we do the truth we only hear.

The value of this power upon the memory in a preacher is not soon estimated. It helps him to insert the good seed beneath the surface, where the birds will not eat it up, nor the winds blow it away. Truth so inserted will often rise up and be thought of; conscience will reiterate the sermon in far future years. The Spirit may give it power; so that it shall result in the conversion of the soul, after the voice, that originally preached it, shall be still in death.

Mr. Clark frequently exhibited in his preaching the ability to make very strong religious impressions. His sermons were not in the strict sense revival sermons. They were never vaguely, loosely declamatory. There were no tricks of eloquence, no play upon the passions. There was, perhaps, too much sentiment, too much solid, searching truth in them for the greatest immediate movement and effect. His were not the right sort of loading and aim to do the most execution in a flock. His preaching was adapted rather to impress deeply a few minds than more slightly many minds. He did not operate upon the surface; he struck heavy and shook the very foundations of the character.

It is sometimes said of a preacher that there is a great deal of Christ in his sermons. This is deemed, and it is, a high commendation. It was a commendatory trait in Mr. Clark's preaching, that there was a great deal of God in it. We think, as we have said, that his exhibition of the divine character, at times, was not sufficiently mitigated. Still there is often placed before us, God, the great Sovereign and Agent, the subduer or the punisher of his foes, the unfailing protector of his people and his cause. God in his awful glory and purity, man in the moral baseness of his character,—in the black and stormy elements of his depravity,—were placed clearly and terribly side by side. The effect produced was, in some instances, awful and overwhelming. Says one, formerly a hearer of Mr. Clark, now a preacher of the same gospel: "While he was preaching on the text, 'Behold, thou hast spoken and done evil things as thou couldst,' such was the view of depravity which he gave, and such was the sense I had of my own native depravity, that a faintness came over me, and I verily believe, but for the hope I had in the atonement of Jesus, I should have sunk to the floor." A lady remarked, that "at one time his eloquence had such an overpowering effect upon her, that she felt afraid she should die if he proceeded farther." Others speak of the

same sort of impression. The effect on the mass, we think, would have been more immediate and benign, had there been some abatement of the awful and the irritating. As it was, the work done was thorough, and by no means inconsiderable in extent. Mr. Clark's preaching searched and incited the true disciple, pressing him up to a higher standard; it agitated and cut down the sinner, convincing him that there was no help in himself; it stripped and laid bare the hypocrite, bringing to his own view his own ugliness. Many of all classes, we doubt not, were persuaded by him to flee for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them, some of whom are now amid the conflicts of time, others amid the glories of eternity.

Subordinate to the spiritual results, and quite inferior in worth, yet highly valuable, was another effect of Mr. Clark's preaching. It wrought powerfully upon the intellect. It waked up the mind and set it to work. It was bracing; it made the hearer feel stronger than he felt before; he went out ready for achievement. We happen to be acquainted with those who acknowledge an indebtedness to Mr. Clark, in this respect, beyond what they owe to any other living mind, they ever came in contact with. They met him in their vernal and forming period. He interested them, he seized them, and bore them forward in a quickened and more robust growth. It is always, in some respects, an original and ascendent mind, that thus stimulates, and moulds, and makes stronger, other minds.

Mr. Clark's printed sermons have much of the same power. They read well; and when read once, they are apt to create an interest, which brings the individual back to read them again. This is a test of their excellence; they bear repeated readings. Some sermons lose almost every thing when separated from the living voice and manner. These preserve to a high degree their freshness and raciness in type. We love to recur to them, and feel that we are stirred and benefited by the perusal.

These sermons are fitted to exert a wholesome influence upon the pulpit; we deem them good sermons for preachers to have intercourse with. While they are not to be regarded altogether as models, they will aid ministers in advancing the style and strength of their own sermons. If any have fallen into a miserable, mincing way of writing or speaking, let them read these sermons. If any have come so under the dominion of false or excessive taste, that they cannot say a thing out, clear, strong and straight, let them read these sermons. If any are affected with languor

and tameness, as they stand in the pulpit, and afflict their hearers with the same oppressive qualities, let them read these sermons. If any are given to exquisitely fine spinning, or extravagantly high soaring, more in love with the sublimated than the sublunary, let them take in hand these coarser, rougher and weightier productions. They will do good by their astringency and their impulsiveness. They will help to make closer, warmer, manlier preaching. We trust the friends of Mr. Clark will continue to perpetuate his works in a convenient form, and an important service will be rendered thereby to the cause of truth and of God.

ARTICLE III.

PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGY, VIEWED IN ITS CONNECTION WITH THE RELIGIOUS EMOTIONS.

By Samuel Adams, M. D. Prof. of Chemistry, etc., Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois.

In a previous article,* we attempted to give a brief sketch of the connection between the body and the mind, and to classify and explain some of the phenomena, that result from that mysterious union. After a brief explanation of the laws of psycho-physiological sympathy, we dwelt principally upon the action of the mind upon the body; and we noticed more particularly the influence of certain mental states, in disordering or suspending the action of the organs of sense. We beg leave to refer the reader to the above-named article, for the principles there laid down and illustrated, while we proceed to unfold, somewhat more fully than was there done, the connection of the mind with muscular action, and to make a direct application of our principles to the subject of the religious emotions. But while we shall principally restrict our inquiries to the relations of the religious emotions to the bodily functions, we shall be free to adduce parallel illustrations from the whole range of mental excitement; for we regard the religious emotions as peculiar only in the nature and magnitude of the objects which

* *Biblical Repository*, April, 1839, Vol. I. p. 362.

excite them, and in the solemnity of the occasions, on which they arise. They do not differ physiologically from the other emotions of the mind.

If, in the remarks that we shall make upon the topics that fall within our path, we should seem to any to deal roughly with subjects, which are endeared by hallowed associations to many pious minds, we beg leave to assure all such that we are actuated by no fault-finding disposition, by no secret pleasure in exposing the weaknesses of any sect or party. Far be it from us to cast any censure upon religious excitement as such, though it rise to the loftiest pitch of emotion, of which the human mind is capable. If there be any motives within the range of human contemplation, which ought to stir up the inmost depths of the soul, and rouse to action all its powers of feeling, surely religion furnishes those motives. We have no sympathy with those cold critics, who sneeringly characterize as "animal excitement" every degree of religious emotion, that does not flourish within the narrow polar circle of their own feelings. Depth and intensity of religious excitement are not to be complained of, so long as that excitement is characterized by a solemn grandeur, befitting the themes of religious contemplation.

There are, however, certain "bodily exercises," sometimes connected with religious excitements, which have been regarded by some, both as the evidences and the effects of the best and most powerful operations of the divine spirit. These phenomena we propose to examine, and to show that *some* of them at least *may* be derived from a less exalted source; that they *may* result from the action and reaction of the powers of the human constitution, without the intervention of any supernatural agency. And if this be true, they may be no more the result of divine agency, than the ordinary functions of the body. We shall not attempt to decide, in any particular instances which we may adduce, whether the phenomena in question are from above, or from beneath. We shall, however, endeavor to make it apparent, that the functions of the nervous system, embracing the operations of the mind, present a wide field for philosophical inquiry, which ought to be carefully surveyed, before we resort to miraculous power, for an explanation of this class of phenomena. We hope thus to suggest some cautions against attributing to the agency of the Holy Spirit effects, which may not do much honor to that heavenly messenger.

Before entering upon the direct object of our inquiries, we are to examine the connection of the mental operations with muscular action. It is scarcely necessary to refer to voluntary motion as a standing illustration of the influence of the mind over the muscles. Every voluntary movement of the body depends upon a direct physiological connection between the mind and the muscles. Sever this connection, and voluntary motion ceases. The will may issue its mandates, but the muscles are beyond the reach of its control. Thus the fact of a connection between the mind and the action of the muscles is established. But no reason can be given, *a priori*, why other mental states, as well as volition, may not give rise to muscular contraction, or why the peculiar condition of the muscles may not react upon the mind, so as to affect its operations. Both of these points, we propose briefly to examine.

In looking at the effects of the various mental operations upon the muscular system, the physiology of expression presents itself as a subject of peculiar interest. It is a fact, familiar to all, that the strong and lively emotions of the mind are accompanied by a natural expression, distinctly marking the character of each. Who does not know that the lights and shadows, that vary the aspect of the "human face divine," are but glimpses of the serenity and gloom that alternate within? Even the habitual states of the feelings are strongly marked in the countenance. So true is this, that an attempt to mask the real feelings under a forced expression is not entirely successful. Even the practised dissembler carries a mystery in his countenance, which, while it perplexes, awakens a suspicion of his real character. A few examples will illustrate this point.

A peculiar emotion of pleasure, acting through the brain and nerves upon the muscles of the face, imprints a smile upon the countenance. A stronger emotion, but similar in kind, not only affects the features, but throws the muscles of respiration into violent convulsions, giving rise to loud laughter. Grief is not limited in its expression to a simple effusion of tears; it acts upon the muscles more or less extensively, from a slight depression of the angles of the mouth, to an entire distortion of the features, and even convulses the respiratory muscles, causing sobbing and loud weeping. In the same manner we account for the elastic step and bounding pulse of overflowing joy, the clenched fist and compressed lip of stifled anger, the knitted brow of frowning wrath, the fixed eye and curled lip of

indignant scorn, the trembling and agitation of fear and terror.

The grace, dignity and ease, in the attitudes and gestures of an accomplished orator, are not so much the result of artificial rules, as the natural result of his own emotions. It is true, the rules of elocution are useful in correcting those habits and tendencies, which embarrass the free operation of psycho-physiological sympathy. But where the rules of elocution become the prominent characteristic of the style of oratory, where there is evidently a studied effort to apply these rules, the tendency is rather to prejudice than to win, rather to disgust than to please. He is the best orator who speaks without the embarrassment of a voluntary effort to apply the rules of his art, but yields himself freely to the spontaneous inspiration of his subject. Rules may assist in removing the impediments to a free operation of the sympathy between the body and the mind; but they can never create that sympathy; it is a part of the constitution with which man is endowed by his Creator. The ever-varying contour of the brow, the expressive glance, the fitful flashing of the eye, the playful turn of the lip, the changing attitudes of the whole frame, the harmonizing of all in one combined effect—these are not the offspring of art, but rise spontaneously from the emotions that, for the time, fill the mind of the orator.

But if the mind acts upon the muscles, why may not they, in their turn, react upon the mind so as to affect its states? This hypothesis is borne out by the analogies of the functions in health and disease, as well as by specific facts.

It is a law of our constitution, familiar to those who are conversant with the practice of medicine, that when two phenomena, either in the healthy or diseased states of the body, are connected together as cause and effect, or at least follow each other as antecedent and sequent, the order of antecedence and sequence is frequently reversed; so that sometimes one and sometimes the other is the first to show itself, or that which is ordinarily the antecedent may occasionally become the sequent. For example, the brain and liver are linked together by an intimate sympathy. Disease commencing in the brain is speedily followed by disorder of the liver. Disease commencing in the liver is followed by disorder of the functions of the brain. The same intimate sympathy exists between the brain and stomach, and any disorder in one speedily disturbs the functions of the other. Thus gloom and despondency are frequently the

consequence of indigestion ; indigestion is frèquently caused by mental depression. Cheerfulness promotes healthy digestion ; healthy digestion promotes cheerfulness. It would not be difficult to multiply examples of this kind, all supporting an analogy which favors the supposition that, in the relations between the mind and the muscles, action and reaction are reciprocal ; that is, if the mind acts upon the muscles, the relation of causation may be reversed, so that the muscles may react upon the mind.

Sir David Brewster in discussing the subject of apparitions,* after speaking of the images of past perceptions, and spectral illusions, as existing in the mind's eye, goes on to remark : " I purpose . . . to show that the mind's eye is actually the body's eye, and that the retina is the common tablet, on which both classes of impressions are painted, and by means of which they receive their visual existence, according to the same optical laws." Although Sir David makes no distinction between a colored image painted upon the retina and the sentient state of that organ produced by such an image, we presume that nothing more is meant by him, than that the retina is in the same state of functional activity, when the mind is occupied in the contemplation of some spectre, or recollected image of past perceptions, as when it is actually observing an external object, whose image is really depicted upon the retina. We are disposed to take up this hint, and construct upon it the hypothesis, that, whenever any part of the nervous system is, by any cause, thrown into a state of functional activity, all the other parts, which co-operate in the same function, will be brought into a corresponding state of activity. Thus, an excited imagination or some morbid agent may act upon that part of the brain, which belongs to the apparatus of vision ; the optic nerve and retina will be simultaneously brought into a corresponding state, giving rise to a spectral illusion. Again, let the optic nerve or retina be brought into a morbid state, the brain will at once respond, and spectres, *muscæ volitantes*, etc., will be the result. Suppose now the muscles of expression, by an act of the will or any other cause, to be brought into action, the nerves connected with these muscles will partake of the new condition, and propagate a corresponding state to the brain ; the mind, sympathizing with the brain, will enter into a corresponding state of emotion.

* See Letters on Natural Magic, Letter III.

Mental exhilaration is known to give a sort of elastic energy to the action of the muscles; nor is it less certain, that muscular action exhilarates the mind. The application of our hypothesis to this last case is obvious; its truth is rendered highly probable by the quick sympathy, which is known to exist between all parts of the nervous system, especially those which are united in the performance of the same function, by the records of pathology, and by its ready application to the explanation of psycho-physiological phenomena.

Burke has some observations that bear upon this point, in his *Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful*. He remarks (Part IV. § 3.): "It appears very clearly to me, that when the body is disposed, by any means whatsoever, to such emotions as it would acquire by the means of a certain passion, it will of itself excite something very like that passion in the mind." He goes on in the next section to illustrate the same point by reference to an account, given by Spon, of the celebrated physiognomist, Campanella. He thus speaks of him: "This man, it seems, had not only made very accurate observations on human faces, but was very expert in mimicking such as were in any way remarkable. When he had a mind to penetrate into the inclinations of those he had to deal with, he composed his face, his gesture and his whole body, as nearly as he could, into the exact similitude of the person he intended to examine; and then carefully observe what turn of mind he seemed to acquire by the change; "so that," says my author, "he was able to enter into the dispositions and thoughts of people as effectually, as if he had been changed into the very men." Without giving full credence to the statements here made with regard to the powers of Campanella,* we seem to be legitimately led to the conclusion, that the varying states of the muscles of expression produce a corresponding variation in the states of the mind.

Burke proceeds to remark on this point: "I have often observed that in mimicking the looks and gestures of angry, or placid, or frightened, or daring men, I have involuntarily found my mind turned to that passion whose appearance I endeavored to imitate; nay, I am convinced it is hard to avoid it, though one strove to separate the passion from its corresponding ges-

* For some interesting remarks upon this singular individual, see Dugald Stewart's chapter on Sympathetic Imitation, Note A.

tures." We are persuaded that any one, who will repeat the experiments of Burke, will be convinced of the correctness of his observations. Let him, for example, by a voluntary effort, work the features into a smile; or, what is the same thing, let him bring the muscles of his face into a given state of contraction, and he will be immediately conscious of that agreeable mental emotion, which ordinarily corresponds to that position of the features. Again, let any one voluntarily express in his countenance a frown, and he will perceive, that the tone of the mind simultaneously assumes a corresponding sternness and severity.

There are other facts, which tend strongly to confirm the view we are taking of the effects of muscular action upon the states of the mind. We presume none will be disposed to deny that laughter, excited by tickling, is accompanied by the same hilarity of mind, that attends laughter on ordinary occasions. Now only two explanations can be given of this phenomenon. It may be said that the external impression produces a state of mind similar to that which ordinarily gives rise to laughter, and that consequently laughter ensues, as if the mental state had resulted from any other cause. Or it may be explained by saying, that the titillation acts directly upon the muscles of expression and respiration, and that the state of the mind results from the violent agitation of these muscles. In favor of the last explanation it may be said, that it accords well with the analogy of other cases in which the natural expression of an emotion becomes the cause which excites it. Besides, though the emotion attendant upon laughter is allied to pleasure, yet the sensation caused by tickling is decidedly disagreeable. It is anticipated with dread, and experienced with dislike. Thus, to make the sensation produced by tickling the direct cause of the attendant hilarity of mind, is to make it, at the same moment, the direct cause of two emotions, one of pleasure, and the other of pain. It is, therefore, difficult to account for this agreeable state of mind under circumstances decidedly painful, except by supposing that the muscular agitation, caused by the tickling, reacts so strongly upon the mind, as to impress upon it an agreeable emotion in opposition to the other disagreeable circumstances. The physiology (if we may be allowed the expression) of the government and control of the passions tends strongly to confirm our view of this subject. For example, by refraining from expressing a rising passion, the emotion is checked and

soon subsides. But let the muscles of expression yield to the impulse of passion, instead of submitting to the rational control of the will, and all is lost. One angry look, one passionate word opens at once the flood-gates of angry excitement, and the torrent flows forth unchecked; so true is it that "the *beginning* of strife is as when one letteth out water." But he who, under the influence of rising anger, can compose his countenance to a calm and placid expression, may say with authority to the surging elements of passion: "Peace, be still." There can be no doubt that in both these instances, the state of the muscles of expression reacts strongly upon the mind. In the first instance, by an angry expression, the passion is kindled into a ten-fold fury; in the second, a placid exterior, like a rock-bound barrier, resists and turns back the rushing torrent, that is struggling to pour itself forth with resistless power.

This point is illustrated by a change, which not unfrequently takes place in the temper of an individual by a change of circumstances. Let us suppose that a person has been trained to habits of self-government, and grown up in a community, where to disregard an insult, or overlook an injury is universally regarded as a mark of magnanimity. Let him change his residence, and attach himself to a community where the laws of honor require him to be quick to resent and prompt to chastise the most trifling insult or injury. At first, he does not find his feelings in harmony with things around him. But, yielding to the force of circumstances, he feels himself obliged sometimes to make at least a show of resentment, in order to sustain his character as a man of honor. This mere show of resentment, which at first does violence to old habits and feelings, will speedily stir up the combustible elements of his nature, and kindle in his breast a passion, which is liable to be roused to a flame by every breeze of circumstance. The same view is sustained by facts connected with the moral treatment of the insane. There is a species of insanity characterized by the most wild and frantic ravings. A successful mode of treating this frightful symptom is to encourage the patient to resist the impulse of madness, by a voluntary effort to preserve his calmness and composure, and by refraining from any expression of the passion by which he is agitated.

A rational view of the relation between the will and the emotions confirms us in the views we are taking on this point. What then is the relation of the will to the whole class of the

emotive states of the mind ? Does the will produce them by direct action ? Does desire spring up in obedience to volition, as the hand rises to the head ? Can a man suddenly reverse the whole current of his feelings by a mere act of the will, as he could turn on his heel ? It is too obvious to require argument, that the emotions, the desires, the passions, the affections are not voluntary states of the mind. They all spring from causes without the mind ; desire is excited in view of some object ; passion has its exterior exciting cause. No effort of the will can call into exercise the affections without directing the mind to their proper objects. And yet, every well balanced mind feels that the desires and the passions are not entirely free from the wholesome discipline of the will. To suppose otherwise is to reduce the mind to a humiliating bondage to matter, to render man the slave of desire, the sport of passion. A simple appeal to consciousness is sufficient to convince any one, that, though the will cannot directly excite or check the passions or the affections, it does still possess some kind of prompting and controlling power over them. If then this prompting and controlling power be not direct in its action, it must be traced to the empire which the will exercises over the muscles of expression, and the reaction of those muscles upon the states of the mind. We may add under this head the power which the mind has of choosing its objects of attention, and thus, by that choice, of determining the character of its emotive states.

Let us now suppose an individual under the influence of some turbulent and exciting passion, which glares out in the expression of the countenance, and shows itself in corresponding gestures and attitudes of the body. How can this passion be controlled ? It may be *checked* by an effort of the will to calm the muscular agitation, and assume an opposite expression of countenance ; it may be *supplanted* by directing the mind to objects and views which are tranquilizing in their influence. Let it not be supposed in this case that the voluntary state of the muscles of expression has no influence in controlling the passion. It would be impossible to turn the attention to new objects, while the mind is raging with excited passion. The muscular reaction, then, is necessary to quell the insurrection that has broken out among the faculties of the soul, before they can be brought to listen to the salutary voice of reason and conscience. But let us suppose that some state of the affections, which the mind does not enjoy, is desirable. How shall it ar-

rive at that enjoyment? This question is best answered by an example. A person has acquired a habit of looking at things through a false and gloomy medium. His countenance is habitually clouded with gloom and despondency; his heart is corroded with the gnawings of envy and misanthropy. How shall he come to the enjoyment of that happiness, which flows from a more kindly estimate of his fellow-men? Let him, by a voluntary effort, light up in his countenance the smile of cheerfulness. This state of the features, by its reaction upon the brain, disposes the mind to more happy emotions. Then let the thoughts be steadily turned to those objects, and to those views of Providence, which tend to tranquilize the soul, and shed upon its darkness the light of joy and hope.

We are persuaded that a few experiments will convince any one of the correctness of the views we are presenting. Let one try to feel cheerful, with an expression of gloom on his countenance, or to feel gloomy, while a smile is playing on his features; and he will be convinced that the only way to change the current of the feelings is to lead the way by the expression of the countenance. He will also find, that a vacant indifference of expression is incompatible with any considerable movement of the emotions. In a voluntary effort to call up an emotion, by assuming its expression, something like the following phenomena seem to be observable. 1. The mind is thrown into a state corresponding to the external expression. 2. The imagination is simultaneously roused to action, and seems struggling to call up some object or image, suited to sustain the emotion, which has been forced, as it were, upon the mind. 3. If the imagination speedily seizes upon some object calculated to perpetuate the given emotion, the countenance continues settled and expressive, and the emotion acquires a certain degree of steadiness and permanency. 4. But if, on the contrary, the imagination fails to call up an object suited to give permanency to the mental state, the result will differ according to the nature and strength of the emotion. If the emotion expressed be a placid one, and no object or image spring up before the mind to sustain it, the expression of the countenance will soon subside into vacancy, and the mental emotion into momentary fatuity. But if the passion expressed be strong and turbulent in its character, and its expression require a strong muscular effort, without any object before the mind to preserve its equilibrium, the countenance becomes discomposed and expres-

sive of an unnatural frenzy, and the mind runs wild into a momentary delirious excitement.

If the views which we have presented be correct, it is evident that no passion or emotion of the mind can be voluntarily called up without assuming its expression; and that when the countenance is made to express a passion, and thus to awaken it in the mind, no healthy emotion can be kept up, without having before the mind the appropriate exciting object. We see, then, the folly of those public speakers, who depend more, on public occasions, upon their own voluntary efforts to excite their emotions, than upon the spontaneous inspiration of the subject they discuss.

Thus far, in discussing the effects of muscular action upon the mental states, we have limited our inquiries to the muscles of expression. But nothing can be more evident, than that muscular action, which has no connection with the physiology of expression, is capable of powerfully modifying the operations of the mind. The following experiment is a satisfactory illustration of this proposition, as well as a proof of its truth. When an individual finds the action of his mind growing languid and sluggish, and experiences a difficulty in mental exertion, let him suddenly throw all the muscles of the body into a state of strong tension, and every faculty of the mind will receive a momentary impulse, and all its actions will be quickened. Nothing is more common than for a person to rouse himself from a state of mental lethargy, by vigorous muscular exertion. There can be no doubt that those public speakers, whose principle characteristics are strength of voice, and a sort of grotesque violence of gesture, do, by their muscular exertions, engender in themselves a corresponding wildness of mental excitement.

We wish not to be understood, in the above discussion, as pretending to be able, in all instances, to trace out with certainty the exact relations between cause and effect. We only claim to be able, in a series of psycho-physiological phenomena, to point out, with a high degree of probability, the first link in the chain of connection by which they are bound together. Whenever the mind acts upon the body, a corresponding state is produced in the latter, which in its turn reacts upon the mind; and thus it is by a sort of reflex sympathy or reciprocal action of body and mind, that the effect rises to its maximum; so that it would be hardly philosophical to refer the ultimate result to

the first link in the chain of causation, without taking into consideration the intermediate connection. The same is true when a peculiar state of the body acts upon the mind. It is also important to remark that the effects depend very much upon the constitution of the individual, being the most intense in those of a highly nervous temperament.

Those, who have treated of the action of the mind upon the functions of the body, have generally done so under the heads of imagination and sympathy. To these we propose to add another, *overstrained or perverted action of the will*. Hope or fear, or any other strong emotion may concur with either or all of the above causes, in disturbing the nervous functions. By the *overstrained* action of the will, we mean a high-wrought and prolonged voluntary effort to produce or perpetuate a given state of the body or mind. By the *perverted* action of the will, we mean the same kind of effort to force the will out of its proper sphere, or to exercise over the functions of the body or operations of the mind a control which does not fall within the province of the legitimate power of the will.

As an illustration of the *overstrained* action of the will, we may mention the intense and prolonged effort, sometimes made by a patient under a painful surgical operation, to preserve a fixed and motionless posture of the body, and to refrain from exhibiting any signs of distress. Such an effort is frequently followed by a dangerous collapse of the vital powers, leading to a fatal termination of an operation by no means dangerous; so that the most skilful surgeons encourage their patients, while enduring a painful operation, to indulge freely any disposition they may have to give vent to cries and groans. The *perverted* action of the will is illustrated by the efforts, that persons sometimes make to subject themselves to the supposed influence of animal magnetism. For instances of this kind, see Biblical Repository, April, 1839, Vol. I. pp. 372, 379, etc. The writer of this article is acquainted with an individual of a nervous temperament, who brought on an attack of convulsions, by a prolonged voluntary effort to accelerate the functions of respiration, which seemed to him too slow and languid for the exigencies of health. A similar case, which fell under the observation of the writer, was attended with considerable disturbance of the nervous system.

In the light of the facts, and principles, which we have passed in review, let us turn our attention to *religious* excitement,

and the physical phenomena that sometimes attend it. Let us notice how these "bodily exercises" may originate in the peculiar temperament, or character of religious teachers.

Let us suppose, in the first place, that the preacher possesses all the qualifications that can be expected in a chosen minister of Christ,—a sober and rational piety, a deep experimental knowledge of the mysteries of religion, a thorough insight into human character, and the motives from which human actions spring, an extent of learning which enables him to draw materials for his work from every field of nature and from every walk of science and art; and let us suppose that all these qualifications are enlivened and sanctified by a strong and ardent desire for the salvation of souls. With such an individual before our minds, it would not be difficult to anticipate the character of his preaching and the nature of the effects produced by it. He would come before his audience, imbued with a thorough knowledge of his subject, and with a clear comprehension of its relations and bearings, and a deep sense of the wants of those he is to address; confident, not in his own strength, but in him who has said: "My grace is sufficient for thee." The preacher would become excited; but not by the reflex action of his own will, chafing and irritating his nervous system. His excitement would be deep and solemn, springing from the inspiration of his subject, and from circumstances around him. His hearers would become excited; but not by a wild sympathy with a frantic raver. Their excitement would be characterized by a deep solemnity, arising from a presentation of lofty and thrilling views of truth, and would be very unlikely to be attended by jerks and spasms, trances and swoons.

Let us now contemplate a preacher of a different character,—one possessing but few of the qualifications which we have supposed to belong to the minister of Christ, who is thoroughly furnished for his work. His whole power over his hearers consists in exciting the feelings, without enlightening and convincing the intellect; and his ability to excite the feelings consists in becoming excited himself, and thus communicating the contagion by sympathy. Such a minister is not likely to be very laborious in preparing for his public ministrations. He overlooks the fact that there can be no healthy excitement of the emotions, without a clear intellectual conception of those objects and truths which naturally produce them. Hence his main object, when he comes before his audience, is to work himself up into

a frenzy of excitement. But, inspired by no lofty sentiments, having before his mind no glowing views of truth to enliven his emotions, he attempts to do it by mere dint of volition. In other words, he makes a huge, voluntary effort to *feel*. His muscular system is thus thrown into a state of violent tension; his voice becomes strained and unnatural; his gestures forced and violent; his eye and countenance wild and discomposed. Such a speaker could not fail to make a strong impression upon any nervous individual, who might be sitting within the glance of his eye and sound of his voice. But soon the torrent of excitement, becoming swelled by the sympathy of numbers, would be irresistible, bearing down every thing in its course, producing "bodily exercises" of various kinds and degrees, according to the nervous susceptibilities of different individuals.

We need not say how little exercise of the intellect, or of healthy emotion, there would be in all this excitement. We read of a German fanatic who drew together vast crowds, and produced immense excitement wherever he went, though he preached in Latin, a language which not one in a thousand of his hearers understood. His strained and unnatural voice, his frantic countenance and wild gesticulation, without one intelligible idea, kindled and spread the flame of excitement wherever he appeared.*

We have seen that to assume the expression of any passion or emotion, and to attempt to prolong that expression, without bringing up before the imagination some exciting object of the emotion, is to throw the mind into a whirl of delirious excitement. We have also seen that the over-strained and perverted action of the will may produce very marked effects upon the functions of the body. It is easy to see, in the light of these two principles, that our preacher's voluntary effort to *feel intensely* could have had no very desirable effect upon the functions of his body or operations of his mind.

But it may be said, that we have not yet accounted for those agitations of body, those trances and swoons, that have sometimes occurred in the secret retirement of the closet, and in the midst of the solemn stillness of the Quaker meeting. This leads us, in the second place, to bring out a little more prominently, than we have yet done in this article, a *false principle* and *mistaken practice* which prevail extensively in religious devo-

* See Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales, Article, Voix.

tions, both public and private, and is the fruitful source of many physical phenomena, which are not well explained in those works which treat of the influence of the imagination and sympathy over the functions of the body. The *false principle*, to which we allude, is the belief that the religious affections may be called into exercise by a direct effort of the will to rouse them to action. The *mistaken practice* is the perverted and over-strained action of the will, in which individuals endeavor to engender directly, by a voluntary effort, that affection or emotion which, in any case, may seem desirable.

That this is a false principle and mistaken practice will be at once allowed by all, who admit the justness of our remarks upon the connection of the will with the emotive states of the mind. We need only appeal to common sense to show, that to exercise right affections towards God, without a clear conception of his attributes and character, is an absurdity, an impossibility. Even if one supposes he loves and adores God, while he has no consistent view of his character and attributes, God is not the object of his affection, but a creature of his own imagination. The same absurdity is involved in an attempt to exercise right feelings towards our fellow-men, without a consistent view of their character and relations to us, and our common relation to God and a future destiny. Equally vain is it to think of feeling rightly towards ourselves, without knowing our own hearts and our relations to time and eternity. The will, it is true, can form a purpose to study the attributes of God; it may execute that purpose; and, by the blessing of God, a consistent view of his character thus obtained, may lead to right affections towards him. But to endeavor to love and adore God, without any consistent idea of him, would be more vain, than for a man, destitute of a spark of imagination, to endeavor, in the darkest midnight, to thrill with emotions of beauty and sublimity in view of some splendid landscape.

The first step, then, towards exercising right affections towards God, is to become acquainted with his character, as he has revealed it in his word, his works and his providence. Hence, one object in the plan of redemption, seems to have been, to draw forth the affections of God's rational offspring towards him, by presenting his character in a more interesting light, than any in which it had yet appeared before the world.

In order to understand more clearly the operation of the *false principle* to which we have alluded, let us examine the subject

a little more in detail. Let us suppose, first, that an individual has embraced the hypothesis that those bodies, usually called opaque, are only relatively so; that all material substances transmit some light, and that a sufficiently intense and prolonged effort of the will would enable us to discern objects through them. Now let us suppose that this dreamer attempts to carry his theory into practice. He seats himself opposite to a thick wall, strains to the utmost all his power of volition to look through it, and continues this effort for hours, and even days. Under these circumstances, his nervous system could not fail to lose its equilibrium, and fall into some variety of abnormal action; or its high-wrought tension would be followed by a collapse more or less marked. If, moreover, our experimenter believes that eternal consequences depend upon the success of his effort, the nervous system will be subjected to an additional disturbing influence. Again, let an individual be given to understand that he is under the influence of some mysterious agent, as animal magnetism,* and that certain effects will result from this agency, provided all the power of his will is exerted to procure the result. He endeavors to perform his part as instructed, and if he be "susceptible of the magnetic influence," he at length experiences the expected result in the form of spasms, a swoon, or magnetic sleep. Let us take another case. A person believes he can obtain a sensible communication with the Deity, by a sufficiently intense concentration of all the powers of the soul to that one point. He makes the effort, and at length falls into a trance, basks in the light of celestial glory, and enjoys social intercourse with God and the pure spirits of heaven.† In both these last instances, the perverted action of the will is aided in its influence on the nervous system, by the agency of a bewildered imagination. Let us now look into a religious meeting, where the preaching is one fervent and almost constant strain of exhortation, calling upon sinners to "repent and believe," to "submit to Christ," to "give their hearts to God," etc., exhorting Christians to "feel more," to "agonize in prayer." Now we ask, what must be the effect of such preaching? Could it fail to lead the hearers to believe, that what is required of them may be accomplished instantaneously, by a mere act of the will, and to stimulate them to nerve themselves

* See *Biblical Repository*, April, 1839, Vol. I. pp. 379, etc.

† *Ibid.* pp. 372, etc.

up to some mighty voluntary effort to comply with the exhortation? Can they do directly, by mere volition, what they are exhorted to do? We answer decidedly, No. If the question of human ability be, whether a man can, by a direct act of the will, instantaneously reverse the whole current of his feelings, and set them to flowing in the right direction, and in the right channels, we give our voice for the doctrine of human *inability*, both *natural* and *moral*.

But let us not be understood as advocating the ultra doctrine of human inability. Though a man, exposed to a chilling atmosphere, cannot feel warm by standing still, and merely *willing* to be warm, yet he *can* approach a fire, and expose himself to its action, and thus change the state of his sensations. A mere volition cannot engender the taste of sweet, nor any other savor; and yet every one, if he chooses, may enjoy those savors, by bringing the organs of taste in contact with the appropriate substances; provided the substances are within his reach. No one can maintain the healthy action of his bodily functions, by merely *willing* to do so, while he refuses to take his daily food; and yet every one can take that food, when it is within his reach. No more can man's moral sensibilities enjoy a healthy excitement, without exposing the mind to the action of the appropriate stimulants; and yet every one has power, by an act of choice, to bring the mind in contact with religious truth and objects of moral approbation. Neither can the soul enjoy moral health, without receiving the nutriment which has been provided for its sustenance. And how abundant is the provision! God has spread out a "feast of fat things," which is at all times accessible to every hungry soul; and whoever will may come and take of the water of life freely. Thus it will be seen, that the first step in human guilt is the wrong choice which the mind makes of its objects of attention. The heathen were regarded as guilty by the apostle, "because, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God." They *chose* to give their attention to the deformed offspring of their own vain imaginations, instead of attending to the character and claims of God. The Psalmist recognizes the principle that *attention* is needful, in order to come to right views of God and right affections towards him. "Whoso is wise, and will *observe* these things, even he shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord." It follows, moreover, from the above remarks, that the turning point of man's salvation, so far as it

depends on human agency, is the right choice which the mind makes of its future objects of attention, including the future course of moral action. This act of choice is the strong purpose of the soul, for all coming time, to know and act up to the claims of duty and its own high destiny. At this point the sinner first enters upon the path of duty, and his whole intellectual and moral nature begins to move in a new direction, and towards new objects. But let it be remarked, that this purpose of the mind is not a struggle of the will to call up emotion, but an intelligent decision upon a plan for future life. Hence, all that exhortation, which tends to push the mind up to a voluntary effort to *feel*, fails of the great object at which religious teaching should aim. The sinner must be brought *intelligently* to a decision of the great question, that his decision may be final. He must count the cost. In order that the purpose of a new life should be formed, the desirableness of the ends at which it aims must be felt, and the tendency of the new course of action to reach those ends must also be seen. Thus the very existence of the voluntary purpose implies an antecedent action of the intellect and the feelings, without which it could never have existed. Again, a purpose formed is of no avail unless executed; and a constant view of the objects in pursuit is necessary to insure its execution. Thus we see that the will is not the only faculty of the mind, which is to be addressed in leading sinners to repentance.

But let us return to the point from which we digressed. A sinner, ignorant of his own heart, ignorant of the character of God, is exhorted, in the manner which we have mentioned above, to repent, to give his heart to God, to submit to Christ. He understands these expressions to refer to a sudden, voluntary change in the state of his affections, and summons all the power of the will, and puts every faculty of soul and body upon the stretch, in the mighty effort which he makes to repent. He repeats the effort again and again, without success. He truly attempts to "take a leap in the dark," but is arrested and thrown back by an impenetrable wall that meets him on every side. For how can one believe on him of whom he has not heard? Or how can he believe on him, of whom he has not *learned*, though he may have heard? Again, as the Christian is exhorted to feel more, to agonize in prayer, he nerves himself up to that effort, he throws his whole nervous and muscular systems into a state of the most violent tension, in his mighty struggle to

make his breast heave with emotion,—to strain out his vast desires to God in prayer. Yet the only effect is to make his emotions more turbulent, his desires more wild and unstable, by the chafing influence of the will upon the nerves.

But what must be the effects of such perverted and overstrained action of the will, on the nervous habits of those who indulge in it? Certainly they could not be very salutary. We might expect that such individuals would be subject to bodily agitations, trances and swoons, even in the retirement of their closets, much more in public assemblies.

But if we object to that mode of religious teaching, which is fraught with such results, we may be called upon to point out a more excellent way. We trust that a review of the religious experience of many devout Christians, will at once suggest the truth on this point. We doubt not that the following is the history of the experience of many Christians; we know it is of some. Through guilty neglect of the means of grace and knowledge, they have grown up ignorant of their own hearts and of the divine character; and, in the mean time, they have become confirmed in habits of sin. Yet the unsatisfied longings of their souls, and an instinctive dread of future retribution have rendered them uneasy; and they have fancied that the bliss for which they sigh can only be found in the Christian religion. Hence, when they have been again and again exhorted to give up the world, and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, they have as often made a desperate voluntary effort to repent, and embrace the truth as it is in Jesus, and have as often failed. All this time the Bible is neglected, and with it all of those means which require any effort of the intellect, or which tend to lay open the moral corruption of the heart to the light of God's holy law. At length the individual concludes to take another way of seeking the kingdom of God and his righteousness. He enters upon the irksome task (as he has hitherto regarded it) of prayerfully studying the word of God, and listens as for his life to the preaching of the gospel. The mysteries of iniquity in his own heart are revealed to him. He recognizes the justice of God's requirements, and his own guilt, and just condemnation. He is now brought into a position to feel the burden of his sins and his need of a Saviour,—the only state of mind, in which he can understand the character of Christ, as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," and consequently the only state of mind in which he can embrace Christ

in that character. It should then be the object of the preacher to lead sinners to that state of mind, and then to portray to them the character of Christ, as the Redeemer, the atoning sacrifice, the Saviour whom they need, and invite them to accept him as such.

We repeat it, repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ do not result from any spasmodic efforts of the will, however intense, and however often repeated, but from the blessing of God upon a clear and candid intellectual and moral view of the facts in the case, and a rational course of action based upon that view. Let the sinner then be induced, by appeals to reason and conscience, to exert his powers within some sphere of voluntary action. Let him go to the word of God, and solemnly examine his own character and conduct in the light of that word; let him contemplate his relations to God and the duties that grow out of these relations; let him study the divine character as exhibited in his word, his works and his providence; and let him obey the suggestions of conscience, and the divine Spirit, which would most assuredly attend a candid and solemn inquiry for the path of duty, and surely the blessing of God will rest upon his efforts, and crown them with the forgiveness of his sins and a good hope in Christ. "For every one that seeketh, findeth, and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened."

We shall close this article by reviewing some instances of religious excitement, which have been attended with disorder of the bodily functions. We shall notice only a few cases, which will serve as specimens of the whole class; and leave the reader to make his own application of the principles, which we have developed, to any other facts which may be within his knowledge.

Most who are acquainted with the religious history of our country, know something of the great revival of Kentucky, which was at its height about the year 1801. It is well known that this revival was characterized by very extraordinary bodily affections, consisting of an entire prostration of the physical frame, or of the most violent spasmodic action of the muscles, such as involuntary leaping, jerking and convulsions.* It is not difficult to explain these phenomena in a general way, by referring them to the intense religious excitement, which is known

* New-York Evangelist, Dec. 14, 1839.

to have prevailed at that time. Nor does it affect the correctness of this explanation, whether the excitement resulted from the influence of the Holy Spirit and the healthy operation of truth upon the mind, or was the offspring of a heated imagination and disordered sympathy. Intense and prolonged excitement will produce such effects, however it may originate. But the accounts of this revival, which we have read, do not enable us to decide definitely, whether the perverted or over-strained action of the will had any thing to do with originating the physical phenomena; yet some incidental remarks lead us to believe, that this must be taken into consideration in accounting for the effects.

It is a circumstance worthy of remark in this revival, that scoffers and blasphemers were seized with the spasmodic affections, as well as the penitent and believing; while, as the eccentric Lorenzo Dow remarks,* "those naturalists, who wished and tried to get the affection in order to philosophize upon it," were not affected by it. Thus those who entered into the magic circle of excitement, whether in opposing or favoring the movement, were the subjects of the nervous spasms, while the calm and tranquil were unaffected.

The Rev. Dr. Baxter, late President of the Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, who visited the scene of excitement, remarks: "Persons who fall are generally such as have manifested symptoms of the deepest impressions, for some time previous to the event." It can hardly be doubted that the persons spoken of, while under the influence of deep religious impressions, in the midst of such moving scenes, would be led to make intense and repeated efforts of the will, to throw off the burden that oppressed them, and to force their way through the impenetrable wall that seemed to obstruct their entrance into the regions of light and joy. We have seen that such efforts must prove unavailing for the attainment of the desired end, and must tend powerfully to subvert the healthy action of the nervous system. So also with reference to scoffers and opposers, the constant tension in which they kept the nervous and muscular systems, by efforts to brace up against the influence which they hated and feared, would strongly co-operate with their excited emotions to hasten the crisis which they dreaded.

* Essay upon the Influence of the Imagination on the Nervous System, by Rev. Grant Powers.

The Rev. John Wesley, in his "Journal," and in his "Short Account of those People, called Methodists," mentions phenomena similar to those of the Kentucky revival, as occurring under his own ministration and that of his immediate associates. We shall quote only one instance from his Journal of June 15, 1739. We select this instance, not because it is more striking than a multitude of others, which might be chosen, but because the circumstances are detailed which enable us to form a fair judgment of the case. Mr. Wesley arrives at Wapping in the evening, "weary in body and faint in spirit." Before rising to preach, he finds that his ideas have failed him on the text upon which he had designed to speak. He opens the Bible for a text, and his eyes fall upon Hebrews 10: 19, and he discourses from that passage. He remarks: "While I was earnestly inviting all sinners to enter into the holiest by this new and living way, many of those who heard began to call upon God with strong cries and tears. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently, that four or five persons could not hold one of them." It seems that in this case, one raving opposer fell into the spasms with the rest.

We shall not deny, in this case, that the mental excitement, which caused the prostration of strength and the convulsions, might have resulted from the operation of truth and the Spirit of God upon the mind. But we wish to suggest the inquiry, whether this *earnest invitation*, "to enter into the holiest by the new and living way," would not naturally have stimulated some to put forth those abnormal voluntary efforts, which we have characterized as an over-strained and perverted action of the will, and which, as we have clearly shown, tend directly to produce the phenomena above described? Until this question is fairly answered, no one can, with any justice, ascribe the effects to the especial influence of the Holy Spirit.

President Edwards, in his account of the revivals which occurred in New-England between the years 1734 and 1744, speaks of "extraordinary views of divine things, and religious affections, being frequently attended with very great effects on the body, nature often sinking under the weight of divine discoveries, the strength of the body taken away, so as to deprive of all ability to stand or speak; sometimes the hands clenched, and the flesh cold, but senses still remaining; animal nature

often in a great emotion and agitation, and the soul very often, of late, so overcome with great admiration, and a kind of omnipotent joy, as to cause the person (wholly unavoidably) to leap with all the might, with joy and mighty exultation of soul."

President Edwards, in remarking upon "these effects on the body," says, they "did not begin now at this wonderful season, that they should be owing to the influence of the example of the times, but about seven years ago; and began in a much higher degree and greater frequency, near three years ago, when there was no such enthusiastical season, as many account this; but it was a very dead time through the land; they arose from no distemper caught from Mr. Whitefield or Mr. Tennant, because they began before either of them came into the country; they began, as I said, near three years ago, in a great increase, upon an extraordinary *self-dedication*, and *renunciation* of the world, and *resignation* of all to God;... and began in a yet higher degree and greater frequency, about a year and a half ago, upon another new *resignation* of all to God;... and began in a much higher degree still, the last winter, upon another *resignation* and acceptance of God, as the only portion and happiness of the soul."

We wish to direct particular attention to the words, which we have italicized above; for they are highly important in analyzing the phenomena in question. Let us turn our attention to the "dead time through the land," mentioned in the quotation above; and let us inquire also by what probable instrumentality the "*self-dedication*," "*renunciation* of the world," and "*resignation* of all to God," which succeeded, were brought about. It would not be very unnatural to suppose, that some of the faithful ministers of Christ, witnessing the low state of religion in the land, and becoming deeply sensible of the importance of rousing the church from its lethargy, "should give all their energies" to such an effort. We should expect to hear, under such circumstances, fervent exhortations to Christians to *dedicate* themselves anew to Christ, to *renounce* the world and all its vanities, and to *resign* all to God, and to do it immediately. Now if President Edwards had represented himself and others as actually having addressed such exhortations to the churches, no one would be able to detect any want of verisimilitude in his statements. They would perfectly accord with what any one may observe in the religious movements of the present

day. Indeed, he does admit, in speaking of addresses to the understanding, that "it is very probable, that these things have been of late too much neglected by many ministers ;" and we think he more than hints at the existence of injudicious exhorting. Besides, the view, which President Edwards takes of the relation of the will to the affections, would be likely to lead to errors in practice. He says, in the work quoted above, page 122: "All acts of the affections of the soul are, in some sense, acts of the will, and all acts of the will are acts of the affections." Now if affections are voluntary acts, it is as proper to exhort men to feel, as to act, for it is the same thing.

Now we shall not undertake to condemn the kind of exhortation, which we have characterized above ; but we must express our conviction, that unless carefully guarded, it could not fail to lead some into error. Feeling, as they naturally would, that this "self-dedication," "renunciation of the world," "resignation of all to God," consisted in a state of the affections, they would understand themselves called upon by their ministers to enter at once into that state, by putting forth some mighty voluntary effort. Such efforts would be nothing more nor less than an over-strained and perverted action of the will, tending to chafe the nervous system, and bringing it into an irritable state, well fitted to exhibit the phenomena described by President Edwards. And even where there is no tendency in religious teaching to lead the mind astray on this point, such is the perversity of human character, that man is ever prone to leave the plain path, which would conduct him to a knowledge of the truth, and to strain his voluntary powers to seize some gaudy phantom of his own imagination. Hence, in most revivals of religion, there is a tendency to disturbance of the nervous functions, arising from mistaken efforts of those under conviction of sin, to produce in the soul by mere dint of volition, a change which can alone be effected by the operation of truth and the Spirit of God.

Mr. Barclay,* in his apology for the Quakers, in speaking of the beneficial effects of their silent meetings, says: "Sometimes the power of God will break forth into a whole meeting, and there will be such an inward *travail*, while each is *seeking* to overcome the evil in themselves, that by the strong working of

* Works of Dugald Stewart, chapter on Sympathetic Imitation.

these opposite powers, (the evil and the good,) like the going of two contrary tides, every individual will be strongly exercised as in a day of battle, and thereby trembling and a motion of the body will be upon most, if not all of them."

It is difficult to attach any intelligible idea to the phrase, "inward travail, while each is seeking to overcome the evil in themselves," unless Mr. Barclay has characterized by it that vague and indefinite straining of the will, to which we have often alluded in this article. And surely it is philosophical to expect the same effects upon the body, from this strong reaction of the will upon the nervous system, whether it consists in straining to produce in one's self the effects of animal magnetism, to penetrate the veil which hides from mortal sight the presence-chamber of the Most High, to engender holy emotions in the soul, or to overcome the evil within.

We may have overrated the extent of the habit of overtasking the will, and trying to force it out of its proper sphere of action, in religious exercises; but we are strongly convinced that the evil is much more extensive than is generally supposed. If then it be admitted, that this mode of chafing and irritating the nervous system prevails somewhat extensively in the religious world, it would be natural to ascribe to it some of those minor effects upon the body, which do not go to the extent of entire prostration and general convulsions. We apprehend that it would not be difficult to distinguish the man, who is in the habit of calling in the efforts of the will to give intensity to his desires and emotions, while engaged in the exercise of public prayer. We observe the convulsive clenching of the fist or clasping of the hands, the distortion and twitching of the features, the hurried and convulsive respiration, the over-strained voice, an occasional shudder pervading the whole frame, as if caused by a sudden thrill. The same phenomena, though in a less degree, may be observed in those who silently join in public prayer, and endeavor to second every petition that is offered by all the intensity of volition they can call into exercise. In this latter case the voluntary effort, by partially suppressing the respiration, produces a feeling of distress in the region of the præcordia, which is very naturally and very *frequently* relieved by a groan.

The habit of trying to stimulate the desires and emotions, by the direct action of the will, cannot fail to render the nervous system highly irritable, its functions fluctuating and unstable,

and strongly to predispose the constitution to all kinds of anomalous nervous affections. But there are evils attendant upon this habit which are more serious than those which affect the physical constitution; we mean, the unbalancing of man's moral nature, by leading to distorted views of human inability. We have already alluded to the proneness of man to try to comply with the claims of duty, by voluntary efforts, to engender feeling, when those claims require action. It is true that a course of obedient action always implies a corresponding state of the affections; and that state of the affections is frequently adduced in Scripture as a test of character. But then voluntary action is constantly appealed to as a test of the genuineness of the affection, and is the *experimentum crucis* by which hypocrisy is made to assume its own coloring. "If ye love me, *keep my commandments*." "Whoso *keepeth his word*, in him verily is the love of God perfected." The sinner, in thinking of returning to God, is constantly led by the tendencies of his depraved mind, and perhaps by erroneous instructions, to exert the power of the will, in trying to engender right affections in the soul. He repeats the effort again and again, and summons all the energies of body and mind to the mighty struggle. He at length learns, by bitter experience, the important truth, that the affections are not voluntary states of the mind, that the feelings and emotions do not rise and fall at the direct bidding of the will. But at the same time, he falls into an error fearfully dangerous in its consequences. From the failure of his efforts to *feel right*, he concludes he can do nothing to secure his own salvation. If fortunately, the individual is at last brought by the blessing of God to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, he soon forgets the plain path by which he has been led, while every circumstance connected with the sore struggle and bitter agonies, through which he passed, in trying by a direct effort of the will to change the state of his affections, is recollected with painful exactness, and dwelt upon with melancholy interest, as the sad proof of man's *entire inability*. His views are seized upon by the impenitent, and perverted to their own destruction. They conclude that their salvation depends upon an arbitrary fatality, and in no sense upon their own voluntary obedience; and they settle down to a hardened indifference to their own immortal interests. Or perhaps the sinner, often straining his faculties to the utmost to rectify his *feelings* by some instantaneous effort of the will, concludes at last that his case is hopeless, that his

doom is already sealed in the counsels of eternity, and dismisses all further concern or effort for his own salvation. Or, perchance, he comes to the still more fearful conclusion, that religion is a delusion, immortality but a dream of the imagination. Again, the sinner, by straining the will in the manner above described, unsettles the functions of the nervous system, and thus subjects himself to strange bodily sensations, spectral illusions, etc. And we apprehend the cases are not few, in which the mind, under such circumstances, seizes upon some thrilling sensation pervading the body, or some phantom of a disordered brain, as the evidence of acceptance with God, and rests satisfied with a false and delusive hope.

We have discussed the connection between the will and the emotive states of the mind at greater length, than we intended in commencing this article. But we could not well say upon that point what was necessary to the elucidation of the main subject of this discussion, without subjecting ourselves to the danger of misapprehension, unless we were more full and explicit than we had at first designed. On the other hand, to have answered every objection which might possibly arise in the mind of any, against the views which we have presented, would have been inconsistent with the main design of the discussion, and would have swelled this article to an immoderate length. We shall therefore hold ourselves in readiness to answer objections when they are offered, or to confess our errors when they are pointed out. We have expressed our views with freedom, but, we trust, candor. However our opinions may be regarded, we trust a candid public will accord to us the merit of calling attention to a subject of vital importance to the cause of truth and piety.

ARTICLE IV.

THE *A POSTERIORI* ARGUMENT FOR THE BEING OF GOD.

By Rev. L. P. Hickok, Prof. of Theol., West. Res. College, Ohio.

IN a former article* we examined the nature and application of the *a priori* argument to the proof of the being of God; and it is the object of the present, to give a similar attention to the *a posteriori* argument. We thus follow out our primary design of investigating the nature and validity of all logical proof for the existence of God. Much the same order of investigation will be pursued in this as in the former case,—an examination of the nature of the argument, the methods of its application, and the amount of proof which it affords.

I. *The nature of the a posteriori argument for the being of God.*

In general it may be said, that it is directly the reverse of the *a priori* form of argument. Instead of deducing logical consequences from their grounds or causes, it begins with consequences, and reasons upwards to their grounds or causes. It is thus an argument from effect to cause. It necessarily presupposes experience, inasmuch as its *data* are all empirical. The ultimate principles and absolute truths, which are the elements of an *a priori* argument for the being of God, are of no use as the materials of an *a posteriori* argument; but facts of observation, events, changes, phenomena, *effects* of all kinds are assumed as the *data* for finding both the existence and the characteristics of their remote origin, ground, or cause. These are all acquired from external nature through the senses, or from our own inward experience through consciousness, and thus belong entirely to our sensitive cognitions; while the whole field of rational cognition, with its intuitions of universal and necessary truth, lies within the domain of the *a priori* form of argument alone.

But while all the materials which form the data for an *a posteriori* argument are given by experience, the principle by which valid conclusions are deduced from these data is itself a rational intuition, and independent of all experience. The *vin-*

* Biblical Repository, April, 1841, p. 273.

culum which is to bind every conclusion to its premise is the axiom that "*every event must have an adequate cause.*" No matter what are the facts or events which we assume, they must be utterly useless for all the purposes of an a posteriori argument, except upon the clear recognition of the necessary truth of this axiom. If events may take place absolutely uncaused and fortuitous, if any thing may spring into being from absolute nihility of both essence and efficiency, then of course no deduction from any event upwards to the cause of that event can be valid; since, instead of its having any cause, it may have come into being with no agency whatever, and thus be evolved from utter emptiness and vacuity. We are then obliged, in order to feel the validity of any a posteriori argument, to obtain settled and clear convictions of the law of causation, which is the only principle by which deductions can be made from facts to their sources.

In the world of both matter and mind we find one event followed by another, and among these cases of succession, the mind recognizes some peculiarity in the case of some of the antecedents, as other than a mere casual succession in their connection with their consequents; and, to mark this peculiarity, the antecedent is called the *cause*, and the consequent the *effect*. That which secures the perpetuity of this order of sequences is called *power*. The main inquiry is in relation to this idea of power. Whence is it derived? What is the ground of conviction that, in like circumstances of the antecedent, this power will secure the consequent? How can we verify the conviction which we feel, that like causes will always produce like effects? These inquiries, which are each of a similar nature, go to the basis of all our confidence in an a posteriori argument.

That philosophy which derives all its ideas from sense and reflection upon the ideas given by sense, has given different answers, and adopted different theories to account for our conviction that there is some *necessary* connection between a cause and its effect. As experience is the origin of all its ideas, so the idea of *power*, or necessary connection between cause and effect, must be gained from experience. But as sense or experience can give us nothing but the simple fact of succession, there are found considerable difficulty and diversity, in accounting for the idea of something called power, which is the origin of the expectation or conviction, that whenever we see the antecedent or cause, we shall also always see it accompanied by

its consequent or effect. Sense certainly can never find any thing in the cause which we call power ; it can never verify that there is any thing there which makes the effect necessary ; it can only recognize the simple fact, that when and where the antecedent is then and there the consequent is.

We can take the theory of Hume, and say that the mind gets this idea of necessary connection by the frequent experience of the repetition of the sequences. The transition of the thought and attention from the antecedent to the consequent gives a peculiar "*impression*," exceedingly faint at first, but by repetition growing stronger, until it arises to a definite conviction, a full "*belief*" that this connection will be invariable : "Belief being only a more vivid, forcible and steady conception of an object, than what the imagination alone can attain." There is thus in reality no *necessary* connection. It is only an imagination at first, and this strengthened to "belief" by frequent repetition. When we reason from effect to cause, therefore, there is only "belief" which has grown out of imagination, as the connecting principle, and which can never verify itself by any proof. It consists with real skepticism as to the fact, though the mind has received by mere repetition "*a vivid impression*" which it calls "*belief*."

The theory of Brown is but a modification of the above. There is nothing but mere antecedent and consequent ; still the mind of man is so formed that it believes, even from one experience, that the connection will be invariable, and expects it accordingly. But it is all resolved into the nature of the human mind. There is no truth in reality which can by any means be verified ; but we are so made as to expect that what has been once seen as an antecedent, will henceforth invariably continue so.

Or it may be assumed that we get the idea from *induction*. We have found by experience so many facts which imply that there is something in the cause making the effect necessary, that, from this wide induction, we at length feel warranted in deducing a general law, and affirming that all causes are necessarily connected with their effects. All our reasoning from effect to cause can be demonstration, therefore, only in such cases as we can verify by experiment ; and as no experience can bring the cause of the universe under human cognition, so we can never reason otherwise than to a probable conclusion, when we attempt, a posteriori, to find the author of the universe.

Lastly, it may be supposed that we get the idea of power, and

thus of cause and effect, from the conscious operation of our own minds. We *think*, and *will*, and feel conscious of an energy exerted; and thus learn to consider ourselves as causes of those effects, which follow our conscious energizing of some appropriate faculty. We then transfer this conscious energizing of the faculty in our minds to produce a given result to all external antecedents and consequents, and conceive them, as causes and effects, to be connected by some such energizing of power in the cause. From *analogy* therefore we conclude that all causes exert an efficient power which secures the existence of the effect. But while it may be admitted that this last has more plausibility than the former, it is still only an argument of analogy and can only be conclusive to this extent, that if all causes and effects are connected to each other as the mind is to the effects which it produces, then it is safe reasoning from effects to the existence of a cause; but all its conclusiveness rests upon the conviction, that what is true of the mind as a cause must be true of all causes. This last however is what experience can never verify; and thus if we have nothing more conclusive than our own consciousness applied to all causation by experiments, we must fail of demonstration beyond those very causes and effects which take place on the field of our own consciousness.

If then we know nothing of the law of causation but that which sense and experience can give us, we can never use an a posteriori form of argument to the proof of the being of God with any valid force and conclusiveness. At the highest point it will leave full place for the most incorrigible skepticism.

But, as was noticed in the former article, man is endowed with a far higher and nobler faculty than any thing which is indicated by sense and reflection. He has the power of rational intuition, and can thus see absolute and universal truths in their own light alone, and unhesitatingly affirm what *is* and eternally *must be*, independent of all deductions from experience. And in this very position the whole principle of causation, with its power to produce effects and its connection with its effects, is viewed by the mind. Empirical facts have no connection with it, and give no support to it. The mind intuitively and *a priori* sees the truth as necessarily and universally existing.

Nothing cannot produce *something*; *ex nihilo nihil fit*. This is a truth seen by the mind to be as necessary and as universal as that "*the whole is greater than any of its parts.*" It

is an absurdity and an impossibility to conceive the opposite. And thus every event must have some adequate cause. We need only to postulate any event whatsoever, and the deduction is valid and necessary, its cause or ground of being also exists. And into this idea of cause there enters necessarily the possession of *efficient power*. It is not essential that we determine how the cause receives its efficiency, whether by an impartation from some constant external agency, or from the possession of a nature in which there is the perpetuated property of efficiency; but it is essential to the very idea of a cause that it have in some way efficient power. No matter how intimate or certain the connection of antecedent and consequent; if the mind does not recognize something in the antecedent as the efficient producer of the consequent, it never recognizes the antecedent as the *cause* of the consequent. The truth is ultimate and necessary, that the cause must possess this inherent efficiency or it is no cause. We never suppose the day to be the cause of the night in consequence of its being the invariable antecedent, nor do we give to any casual antecedent the name of a cause; but, in order to the mind's apprehending anything as a cause, it must invest it with efficiency to produce the effect. There must be something in it which is not in any thing else to connect it with the effect, as the efficient producer of that effect.

The mind may not be able, before all experience, to affirm of any thing that it possesses an efficiency to produce a given effect; but no mind will ever recognize it as a cause, until it is conceived as possessed of this efficiency. This is the essential point in the idea of causation, not as antecedent merely, but as efficient producer. We may conceive of the loadstone as a simple entity; but when we contemplate it as the antecedent to the peculiar phenomena of magnetism, it is no longer as a simple entity, but as possessing an inherent efficiency to produce these phenomena as the effects of its action. Nothing can be a substitute or an equivalent for the inherent property of efficiency in our idea of causation; there can be no idea of cause without it.

By this rational intuition of the ultimate and necessary truth, that "*every event has its adequate cause*," and that this cause is connected to the effect as *its efficient producer*, we are prepared to take any event that may offer, as a datum for a valid deduction of the existence of its cause. On this ground an *a posteriori* argument logically applied is a demonstration. Its

conclusions are not matters of mere belief and probability, but of science and certainty.

In the nature of an *a posteriori* argument we have then its *data*, which are purely empirical, and its principle, as the *vinculum* of all its deductions, which is purely an intuition of reason.

II. *Some of the methods of applying the a posteriori argument to the proof of the being of God.*

1. The argument from effect to cause simply. That something does exist is a fact to which our senses and our consciousness bear witness. Changes take place within and around us. Events are occurring, and phenomena manifesting themselves on every hand. We may take any or all of these as our materials for an argument. They have all been produced by some adequate cause, and are, therefore, effects which may be traced upwards to their sources. That which is found to have been the cause of a present event is, when found, seen itself to have been an effect of some previous causation; and thus the series may be pursued upward, by sure and necessary deductions from effect to cause indefinitely. It is abundantly manifest that in tracing up these effects to causes, there is a constant convergency towards unity. Effects run up into common causes, and these again are effects of more general causes; and it is thus manifest that, as we pursue this retrogression, the number of acting causes constantly diminishes, and would thus indicate that at last they all terminate in one grand first cause of all. It is, we believe, quite manifest, if not from the action of all causes in their own nature, yet from experience and observation, that of the great mass of acting causes very few are to be considered as efficient for one effect only. They put in operation, as the effects of their action, many more causes; and thus efficient agents augment, and the branches expand incalculably as the lengthened series of causes and effects move onward. By an *a posteriori* argument from simple effect to cause, we necessarily approach towards the point of unity in all causation; and thus we have the highest probability that all does in fact depend upon one grand, original source of all efficiency. Thus far we can go safely by an *a posteriori* argument from simple effect to cause; but this is the end of our discoveries by this process. We cannot demonstrate that all does really terminate in absolute unity. And if we suppose ourselves to have arrived at the point where all causes meet, and thus find one existing being, whose efficiency is adequate

to the production of all the events and changes which have had their beginning since, yet, so far as a posteriori reasoning is concerned, we are obliged to go backward still through an unending series. This highest point of all the universe of causes needs itself a cause or ground of being, as much as any that we have found from the present upward; and mere a posteriori argument can have nothing to do in predicating *self-existence*, or *necessary existence* of any of the conclusions to which it comes. They are effects and must have their cause, so far as the nature of this argument reaches; and thus, if it finds a point in which only single links go off upward, it must follow on its solitary track without a termination. This point, moreover, in which we assume that all causation begins to diverge into its multiplied branches, has nothing else, so far as we have yet found, but simple existence in the possession of physical efficiency to produce effects. We have proved, and, by an argument from effect to cause simply, we can prove no possession of intelligence or freedom. We have nothing yet which answers our idea of God. It is the mere "*plastic power*" of the old infidel philosophers, a blind unconscious cause, working out its necessitated effects under the changeless destiny of its own law of development.

2. The argument from final causes. An a posteriori argument from effect to cause is valid, not only for the deduction of the *existence* of the cause from the effect, but also for the *characteristics* and *attributes* of that cause. The intuitive, ultimate truth is "an *adequate* cause for every event;" and the event may be of such a nature as to prove, intuitively, that no mere blind, physical efficiency can be adequate to its production. In many things there is so nice and complicated an adaptation to an end, that we are forced to predicate intelligence and design of its cause, as alone adequate to its production. Its adaptation must have had a cause as well as its existence, and the only cause for adaptation to an end in the effect is intelligence or wisdom. The final cause to which the adaptation of the thing is directed proves the author to have seen the end, and selected the means with a design to secure it. The qualities of the effect are the data for deducing the attributes of the cause.

The validity of this form of the a posteriori argument may be confirmed by two methods. One is that of *consciousness*. We are conscious that where we have an end to gain, we adapt means with a design to secure it; or when we are adapting

and using certain means, we are conscious that we have an end in view which is the final cause of our agency. We at once conclude, from *analogy*, that the same exhibitions in other cases are a proof of the same facts in other minds.

The other and more conclusive method is direct, rational intuition. Adaptation,—fitness to an end,—is an ultimate fact, which the mind can intuitively perceive in the object which is its ground or field of manifestation. When a machine is understood, the adaptation of its parts to an end is as direct an intuition, and thus as really a fact of certain knowledge, as is the truth of a mathematical demonstration, when the whole process of proof is in the mind. And this adaptation in the effect is as intuitively perceived to involve design in the cause, as the existence of an effect involves an existing cause. The adaptation is the effect of design as a cause, and thus where the effect exists the cause must be.

The ground of argument is therefore solid, and its deductions are demonstrations. It is also important to remark here, that one instance of adaptation is conclusive for the deduction of an intelligent cause. One watch, or one steam engine as conclusively evinces an intelligent cause, as would a hundred. The number and variety of the cases of adaptation disclose “the manifold wisdom” of the cause, rather than the mere facts of intelligence. The multiplication of the facts of design constitute so many separate arguments for the existence of a designing cause. The whole universe abounds with these traces of design, multiplied, minute, extended and complicated beyond description. In this broad field have been the extended researches of Derham, Ray, Paley, Brougham, and the numerous learned authors of the Bridgewater Treatises;—all accumulating the demonstrations of an intelligent cause, from the multiplied facts of adaptation which they discover. But all tend to the same point, and stop short at the same conclusion. The argument has a limit in its own nature, and it is important to find the boundaries beyond which no proof from final causes can reach.

Intelligence that can adapt means to ends in a most complicated, extended and skilful manner exists. The conclusion here is demonstration. As in the case of simple cause and effect, the constant simplification and tendency to one origin, as we follow back these causes in which adaptation appears, would indicate that ultimately they would be traced up to one

source ; and more probable still, the harmony of all these moving causes and their apparent converging tendencies to one grand consummation in their future progress bespeak a unity of design and purpose, as if all were the plan of one great master mind.

But here is the utmost we can make of the argument. We cannot demonstrate any thing more than unity of design, which, so far as an *a posteriori* argument can go, is consistent with the existence of many intelligences who are agreed in plan and operation. And if we were to assume one mind as the source of all this consecutive series of means to an end, we could not stop at this point. Our argument is that all adaptation involves intelligence as a cause ; and with only an *a posteriori* process we can find no stopping point. For if a watch involves an intelligent man as its maker, we go to the man and find him adapted to make watches and we infer a designer ; the man had an intelligent maker. But we must not stop here ; the maker of the man is adapted to make men and worlds ; and we are compelled by the argument to find again a higher intelligent cause. Moreover, should we predicate absolute unity of this intelligent cause, and stop the progress of our argument in him, we have not yet found a being which answers to the idea of God. We have found nothing in *kind* distinguishing him from the animal. There is a superior degree of intelligence ; but animals have contrivance, design, power of adapting means to ends, and changing their means with changing circumstances, and often exhibit surprising art and skill. We may stand by an ant-heap or a beaver-dam, and find intelligence of precisely the same kind and exhibiting itself in precisely the same manner of skill, as when we look at man himself, "so fearfully and wonderfully made," or at all the traces of design in the world around him. The difference is nothing but *degree*. But must we not prove for the being of God something more and something other than the *kind* of intelligence which may belong to some great animal ?

We proceed therefore to a higher form of the argument.

3. The exhibitions of an intuitive cognition of absolute truth. There may be as clear evidences in things themselves of the presence of absolute truth as of design ; and the deduction from these traces in the effect to the possession of a capacity for rational intuition in the cause may be as valid and conclusive as that of intelligence from the fact of adaptation. If

we see an orrery or planetarium philosophically constructed, or a Gunter's scale, or a gauging-rod, we intuitively perceive the necessity of a cause which comprehends *a priori* principles, and ultimate truths. Or if we see a system of regulations and influences founded upon and embodying moral principles, we know that its author had the capacity to see *the right* as an ultimate truth, and to comprehend the absolute law of moral distinctions. We shall recognize in this the possession of a faculty which discriminates between rational and animal intelligence in *kind* and not merely in *degree*. Whenever we find the exhibition of any such universal and necessary truths as the principle and guide of the action, we know that the agent possessed powers of mind which mark an everlasting distinction in *kind*, between him and that intelligence which all the traces of adaptation to an end in the animal can manifest. Here, therefore, is the same sound principle for a demonstration, as in the former methods of a *posteriori* argument.

We look abroad then in nature, and the data for these deductions abound. The laws of planetary motion, the ratio of the distance and force of gravitation, and the collocation of the heavenly bodies in accordance therewith, the laws of crystallization, etc., etc., furnish the elements of an irrefragable deduction that there exists a rational mind as the author of these arrangements, who, intuitively and independently of all experience, comprehends abstract principles, and necessary truths, and universal verities, and to which no augmentation of the powers of an animal can approach.

Moreover, we are conscious of the perception of right and wrong, and the feeling of moral accountability, and experience the retributions of good and evil within us in accordance with our moral conduct, and are thus obliged to infer that our maker knows and regards the principles of moral rectitude. We see around us the indications of a widely extended moral system of which we are component parts; all the workings of which are evidently securing the moral trial and discipline of its subjects, and all tending onward to some great moral consummation; and we know that there must be a moral maker and governor, who will hold all responsible to a righteous tribunal. We have the data for a complete demonstration that there is in being a rational and moral cause.

There is but one source of difficulty in coming to this conclusion which needs to be obviated. We have assumed as a

necessary truth, that the manifestation of ultimate principles in the effects produced involves the power of rational intuition in the agent; and that this distinguishes him from all animals. But there is at least one animal whose works are in accordance with the strictest mathematical principles. The bee forms its cells with the most rigid mathematical precision, adapted to the greatest economy in space, strength and materials. The celebrated Colin Maclaurin, a mathematician of the early part of the eighteenth century, demonstrated, by the most exact calculation, that the angles and parallelograms in the cells of the honey-comb were always invariably the same; and precisely such as, with the greatest room, secured also the greatest strength with the least material. Has the bee, then, a perception of the ultimate truths of mathematics?

Past all doubt, had we discovered these properties in the cell of the bee, and knew nothing of its maker, we must have referred it to a cause possessing the attributes of rational intuition. But when we now know the immediate architect, and thus determine its destitution of all mathematical science, we must refer this instinctive skill to a higher source, and predicate rational intuition of that mind which made the bee, and fitted her to work after this rule, unconsciously, through all her generations. Just as in the case of the mariner, who, mechanically, with quadrant and tables made and calculated to his hand, can determine his latitude and longitude, but knows nothing of the principles involved. While we know *his* ignorance, we know also that *some* mind has left here the undoubted traces of its philosophic powers and clear and certain intuitions. Thus, what at first might seem a violation of the principle, on the necessity and universality of which we had laid the validity of our demonstrations, is found, by further attention, ultimately to confirm the position which has been taken.

By an a posteriori argument from the exhibitions of an intuition of absolute truths in the works of nature, we obtain more than an intelligence which like the animal can adapt means to ends with the design of gaining the ends. There is the demonstration of a cause directing itself in its action by the absolute truth in necessary and universal principles. We can also say that, following these causes, in which are the traces of ultimate truth, as they retrograde from the present, they converge toward unity, and looking at the harmony of their adaptations and tendencies to the same ultimate result, there is an evidence of unity

of design, and thus a probable indication of *one* rational designer.

But here is our limit. We cannot *a posteriori* demonstrate absolute unity of cause; nor, if we assume that the author of this universe of effect and design and intuition is *one*, can we stop with him, and demonstrate that he has no external cause of being. The argument is the same in relation to ultimate principles as to adaptation. It must take every thing that it finds as an *effect* and thus demanding a *cause*, and consequently pursuing an infinite series in the line of causes which indicate intuition, as certainly and necessarily as in those which indicate design, or those of simple efficiency to produce effects. As the mathematics of the bee is instinctive, so may that of the maker of the bee also be instinctive, and thus demanding a higher origin. Yea, from the very nature and law of an *a posteriori* argument, we must seek as necessarily for an author to the maker of the heavens as to the maker of the honey-comb. And here the *a posteriori* argument stops in its development of any thing new in its results. Henceforth it must go backwards to infinity, finding nothing but a mere antecedent link as the cause of the consequent, and differing in nothing from the consequent but mere priority of existence and action.

III. *The extent to which the mere a posteriori argument for the existence of God reaches.*

1. It finds a cause for all that has a beginning, except for this ultimate cause itself. In this respect it is powerless, and can never find any data to remove the exception. In mere *efficiency* it can never find any thing by which, as an effect, it can make the deduction that this deficiency originates itself. A *posteriori* reasoning knows nothing of self-existence, but only of derived existence. So in *design* and *rational intuition*, it can find no effects by which it can determine that the design and intuition are self-originated. It demands for them a cause, and it knows no other way of finding a cause than by a deduction *ab extra*.

2. It proves for this cause *unity* of design and counsel. The operation of the moving adaptations of nature may be put forth, and directed by many contemporary causes; and an *a posteriori* argument can never demonstrate that, at any period backward, there was in existence more than *one* cause. It can only prove that there is agreement or harmony of plan and operation, but not absolute unity of being in the cause.

3. It can prove that this adequate cause of all things *now* exists, and that from eternity an adequate cause for all things must have had a being, but it cannot reach into the *future*, and prove that this cause will exist the next hour. All its deductions are from events and facts of present or past being. In their case there is or has been a reality of existence, and hence a reality of their cause. But future existences, either as effects or causes, are not given, and cannot therefore be assumed as the data for any deductions. We must have the effect or we cannot infer the cause. An *a posteriori* argument goes back, but never can reach before.

4. It can prove the existence of the cause to be as extensive as the effects; but it can never prove absolute immensity for this cause, neither in presence nor agency. Wherever there are effects a cause must have energized; and as mighty as is the effect produced, so powerful must have been the energizing of the cause. But unless effects fill immensity, they can never prove the immensity of their cause, nor that there is a power which can reach beyond what has actually been accomplished.

An *a posteriori* argument, therefore, is utterly inadequate to demonstrate the being of an absolute, free and self-existent God. It finds a cause, and demonstrates the possession by that cause of efficiency adequate to the production of all that is in being below itself, but it fails utterly in elevating that cause to an identity with that which conforms to the complete idea of God.

By combining both the *a posteriori* and the *a priori* forms of argument, we can at least advance very far in the demonstration. The result will evince how conclusive this combined argument may be made. In our own view it fails in no point necessary to the proof of the being of God, though it should fail in identifying the *immediate* author of the universe as God.

The following are the several steps in the process we would pursue.

1. We would assume the very fact of the last and highest demonstration obtained by the *a posteriori* argument, as our position for a new process of reasoning. *An intelligent and rational causation, with unity of design, if not of existence, is in being, adequate to the production of whatever is, beside itself.* This is the extent of the *a posteriori* reasoning, but it is absolute demonstration so far. We therefore take solid ground when we assume this position. From this point we exclude all *a pos-*

teriori proof in our advance, and employ the *a priori* form of argument entirely. And here it is plain that we begin an argument *a priori* with great advantage over a process that is purely *a priori* from its origin. We have now *demonstrated facts* into which we may look, and *a priori* draw conclusions; but in the pure form of the argument we have nothing but necessary ideas from which to reason. The pure form of an *a priori* demonstration for the being of God may prove itself too high for man to reach; and yet the blended argument of both a *posteriori* and a *a priori* be fairly within his power to urge to a conclusive demonstration.

2. In advancing from this position we begin with *unity of design*. From the very fact and nature of unity of design, there must ultimately be seen intuitively but one agent as the designer. If it be supposed that many agents conspire together to carry on harmoniously the different parts of one complicated plan, still it must be true that the plan is one and single. The pattern, exemplar or idea, after which all work to the point of final development, is a unit, and must have one mind only as its original ground of being. If all these conspiring agents see the whole plan, or each one sees only the particular part of the plan which he is effecting, it is the same in the result. One master mind among them or over them all must have furnished the model, and on its reception all unite in accomplishing it by consent; or the master mind uses them as mere agents in their various parts of effecting his design; or there is some law of unity which, involuntarily and instinctively to all, impels and guides in the moving process. In either case we come at a definite point of causation in which both design and efficiency meet together, and where there can no longer be a community of agents, but where one must stand sole and controlling above all others. This point of causation contains all that is beneath it, both of plan and execution, and from it goes out the energy which puts the whole moving series in operation. We have then absolutely *one* mind at the point of divergency of the operating causes in the universe,—itself the sum and source of all beneath its own existence.

3. This one mind is either a self-existent, independent and absolute cause in its own ground of being, or it is an effect of a previous cause external to itself. Grant it to be the last, and then it may be traced up to such first cause in its own absolute being, or there is an eternal series. But this last, it may be in-

tuitively seen, is an absurdity. Here is a positive existence, and must, somewhere, have its ground of being; and if you postulate an infinite series, it is a positive existence and must have its ground of being. But it is denied that there is any ground of being in any single link of the series; and no combination of negatives can make any approach to a positive ground of being; and thus, neither in any link, nor in any combination of links, can there be a ground of being for the series. There is a positive existence, and it must have its ground; but it is not in itself as a whole, nor in any of its parts; nor can it be in any thing out of itself, for it includes all within itself. The absurdity fixes the intuitive necessity of some point which shall be its own necessary, eternal and absolute ground of being, as the source and origin of all intelligence, reason and power.

4. From *necessary existence*, with intelligence, reason and efficiency for all causation, can be proved *everywhere* existence, or omnipresence; *everywhere* or absolutely eternal existence, including both a *parte ante* and a *parte post*, absolute *unity* of existence, both as simple or uncompounded in itself, and sole and exclusive in its possession of immensity; and also that it is the *free* and *voluntary* originator of all its own agency. The process of proof for these attributes is not here detailed; but suffice it to say that we think the process has been rigidly gone over in our own minds, and may be intuitively seen in every step by any clear thinking mind that will fix its attention upon the demonstration. For an illustration of the manner of the argument applicable in the main to all the above points, reference is made to Clarke's *Dem. of the Being and Attrib.* §§ 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9; and especially to the letters which passed between him and Bishop Butler, with others, in the appendix. To our minds there is in this way a demonstration of the being and attributes of God within the scope and compass of the human mind, and which rests upon perceived valid premise and deduction from beginning to end. The only point of defect, if that be really considered such, is the impossibility of absolutely demonstrating that the supreme self-existent God is identical with the immediate author of the universe of causes and effects. We find a link at the point from which all diverging causes go off; and while we can demonstrate that there must be some link which is *self-existent* and thus God, yet we cannot absolutely prove that it is the first one at the head of multiplying causes. A series longer or shorter may be assumed above this

link, and it cannot be overthrown by demonstration. It can only be said that you ascend for nothing ; for you must have your self-existent link somewhere, and it may as well be predicated of the first as the thousandth. The absolute God is proved to be ; and it is of no great importance that we cannot fix a link specifically by demonstration. That link *is*, and it is the *necessary and absolute* DEITY.

ARTICLE V.

REMARKS IN REPLY TO THE QUESTIONS OF "INQUIRER ;"—Am. Bib. Repository for April, 1840.

By Leonard Woods, D. D. Prof. of Theology, Theol. Sem., Andover, Mass.

[*Continued from Vol. IV. No. VIII., p. 485, October, 1840.*]

To the questions proposed by "Inquirer," respecting the sinner's inability to obey the gospel, I have already given a reply. After having, for so long a time, turned my attention to another subject, I resume the task (not an unpleasant task) of discussing the several topics suggested by my unknown correspondent.

I now come to the *second* difficulty which Inquirer presents.

I had said, that "unrenewed men *invariably* have wrong affections and desires, and perfectly holy beings *invariably* have right affections and desires, in view of moral objects." This I thought would accord with the opinion of all those who believe the doctrine of the total depravity of the unrenewed. That doctrine is, that men, in their natural state, are sinful without any mixture of holiness. And it is only expressing the same thing in another manner, to say, that unrenewed men *invariably* have wrong affections and desires in view of moral objects. Does Inquirer deny this ? Does he think that unrenewed men have a mixture of right moral affections ; or that perfectly holy beings have a mixture of sinful affections ? I presume not. What then is the difficulty ? It is this. Some of the angels, who were *once* perfectly holy, did not continue so, but became sinful ; and *now*, in their sinful state, they have wrong affections and desires. The same as to our first parents,

who fell from a state of holiness to a state of sin, and then had wrong affections. But are these facts contrary to the position, that *perfectly holy beings invariably have right affections*? Do they show that *perfectly holy beings have wrong affections*? In other words, do they show that perfectly holy beings are *not* perfectly holy? To predicate right affections of perfectly holy beings is to declare what *belongs* to those who *are* perfectly *holy*, not what belongs to those who are *sinful*. The wrong affections of fallen angels or fallen men are not the affections of perfectly holy beings, but of sinful beings. Inquirer asks, "whether our first parents, who were once sinless beings, invariably retained right affections." I answer, they retained right affections while they were perfectly holy. And this is all that my affirmation implies, and it is all that other similar affirmations imply. If I say, a perfectly righteous judge invariably conforms to the principles of justice, I declare what belongs to a perfectly righteous judge. And what I say would be true, although a judge, once righteous, should become unrighteous, and should then, as unrighteous, violate the principles of justice. In this case, it would not be a perfectly righteous judge that would violate the principles of justice. It does not belong to a perfectly holy being to hate God. A fallen angel is not a holy being.

Inquirer doubts as to the meaning of the phrase—"in view of moral objects." He says, and says truly, that I have applied this *view of moral objects* both to wrong affections and to right affections. And he adds: "It would seem, then, that the same objects occasion wrong affections in one class, and right ones in the other." I reply; it not only *seems* so, but it certainly *is* so. It is a plain matter of fact, that a view of moral objects excites affections in us according to our character and state. If we are believers, it excites love; if unbelievers, hatred. The followers of Christ saw and loved both him and his Father. But he said to unbelievers: "ye have both seen and *hated* both me and my Father." This is a fact which constantly occurs under the preaching of the gospel. The same truths are to one class of men a savor of life unto life; to another class, a savor of death unto death. Inquirer is doubtless familiar with this fact. But the expression that "*perfectly holy beings invariably have right affections*" seems to him to imply, that there can be no change from holiness to sin; that he, who is once perfectly holy, is so forever. Here I beg leave to say, I

had no such meaning in my own mind ; and I think the language would naturally convey no such meaning to the minds of others. Inquirer says : " If in view of moral objects perfectly holy beings *must* invariably have right affections, what possible influence could temptation have over our progenitors ? " But this is not my language. I did not say perfectly holy beings *must* invariably have right affections. This might look to the future, and might imply that no change could take place. What I said was, that perfectly holy beings invariably *have* right affections ; *have* them *as* holy beings, and *while* holy ; not that all holy beings are immutable.

As to the apostasy of holy beings, a speculative mind may find difficulties in abundance. What then ? What if we are unable to explain metaphysically the well known fact that holy beings have become sinful ? Can Inquirer explain it ? Can he solve all the difficulties respecting the introduction of sin ? That we, who have never known by experience what it is to change from holiness to sin, should be unable to understand the exact manner in which the change occurred, or the process of a holy mind in becoming sinful, is nothing strange. We have all the knowledge on the subject which is necessary for practical purposes, though not all which an unbridled curiosity craves. Let us then be content to know the facts in the case, the plain, important, practical truths. First. We may lay it down as an undisputed truth, a plain fact, that holy beings have apostatized. Secondly. We may lay it down as an undoubted truth, that the change from holiness to sin, in those who have apostatized, took place in such a manner as not to supersede or interrupt their moral agency. In the act of their apostasy, and after their apostasy, they retained all the powers and faculties of moral agents, all that belong to the proper subjects of law. Of course they are as really the subjects of law, and under as complete obligations to obey it, as they were before the change took place. This is plain. Again. Those who changed from holiness to sin were altogether culpable. The sinful act was theirs. The fault was theirs and theirs only. The tempter was indeed culpable for *his* conduct. But the blameworthiness of their apostatizing, or changing from holiness to sin, was wholly theirs. The design of *God* and the ordering of his providence were holy. What *he* did was perfectly right. This is also plain and unquestionable. Once more. The fact that rational and immortal beings, who were made in the image of

God, and who had motives of infinite weight to love and obey him, and who had experienced the happiness of obedience, became disobedient,—this should be a subject of deep sorrow, lamentation and astonishment. It was a most unreasonable, wicked and inexcusable thing. Did we not know the fact, we should regard it as next to an impossibility, that beings endued with such faculties and placed in such circumstances should sin against God. But the sorrowful, dreadful fact has taken place.

I might add to these plain truths, that God, according to his eternal purpose, will overrule the apostasy of man for the accomplishment of the most benevolent and glorious purposes. That he has done this, and that he will do it in a still higher degree in future time, is made clear by the teachings of his word and providence.

Now I would charge it upon myself to be content with such plain, undeniable and useful truths; and not to perplex my own mind, or the minds of others, with any of the difficulties which a subtle philosophy has thrown around the subject under consideration.

Inquirer says, he can make nothing more or less of my affirmations than the simple position: "once a perfectly holy being, always so; once a sinner, always so." I have said enough to show that this was not my meaning. I will add that the last part of the sentence just quoted, expresses what I apprehend would be a certain and universal fact, were it not for the interposition of divine grace in redemption. If the sinner were left entirely under the operation of mere law, the result would be, "once a sinner, always so." I doubt not Inquirer would fully accede to this.

He next refers to a declaration of mine, that the divine law "pre-eminently aims to control the affections and desires of the heart." He says: "this proposition seems, at *first* view, to be a very reasonable one." And I ask, does it not appear so on a *second* view, and a *third* view? Is it not so in reality? If Inquirer has any doubt, let him examine the law, and see if it does not relate primarily to the heart, and aim pre-eminently to direct and regulate its affections. Does not Christ expressly teach that all the law is comprehended in two precepts? And do not both these precepts aim directly to control the affections of the heart? If Inquirer should undertake to set forth the sum of the divine law, would he not say at once, that it requires

us to love God supremely, and to love our neighbor as ourselves? And is not this the same as to say, it aims to control the affections? or, in other words, the same as to say, it aims to control *us* in regard to our affections?

Inquirer asks: "*In what respects* does the law undertake to control the affections and desires?" I answer, in *all* respects. It asserts its dominion over the whole field of our moral affections and desires. It reaches them at all times, and in all their exercises. I should be alarmed if any one should attempt to make the law less extensive than this. And what reasonable man would wish, in respect to any of his affections, to be exempt from the authoritative direction of the divine commands? Who, that is a friend of God, would wish for the liberty of loving or desiring, except in accordance with his perfect law?

Inquirer quotes my remark, that "holy and sinful affections, in the saint and in the sinner, arise *spontaneously* from the presence or contemplation of moral objects." And is it not so? When the saint contemplates the divine law, does he not love the holiness which it requires? Does he not love it *instantly*, as soon as he looks at it? When he thinks of God, if he is in a right state of mind, he has no occasion to *reason* with himself, and, by motives drawn from other sources, to persuade himself to love God. As soon as he has a just conception of God, he loves him. To a man of an upright mind, God's own excellence is the highest motive to love; and it is motive enough. And under the influence of this supreme motive, he will love instantly and *spontaneously*, in proportion as his heart is in a holy frame. Edwards says, that at a particular period of his life, merely seeing the name of God or Christ in a book instantly filled his heart with love and joy. It evinced a purified and spiritual mind.

Why should Inquirer demur at the word *spontaneous* in this case? For a man to love an object *spontaneously*, is to love it of his own accord, or, as we may say, of his own free will, from the impulse of his own heart, without being urged by any foreign cause; it is to love from one's own disposition, unconstrained by any influence from without. (See Johnson and Webster on the words, *spontaneous*, *spontaneously*, *spontaneousness*.) It is an obvious truth, that affections which arise *spontaneously*, show the real character of the man. If any one loves you, not sua sponte, not freely, not from his own heart, but by constraint, or under some foreign influence, what value

do you set upon such affection? On this whole subject my appeal is to experience and consciousness. When divine things, in their moral excellence, are presented to the view of a holy being, does he wait for some other consideration to come in and help to excite his love? Does he go about to reason himself into the feeling of love? Or does his heart lie dormant till it is roused to put forth the affection by a command of the will? We shall find, on careful inquiry, that we always judge favorably of ourselves in proportion as our affections towards divine objects rise spontaneously and freely in our minds; and that we cannot but look upon men as sinful, in proportion as their hearts rise spontaneously against God and holiness.

What shall we think of the opinion, not unfrequently advanced at the present day, that our affections and desires in view of moral objects are neither good nor bad in themselves, but only in consequence of our voluntarily cherishing and indulging them? The opinion is, in my view, far from correct. If the affections or feelings which a holy being spontaneously exercises towards moral objects are not *right* affections, how can he be praiseworthy for *cherishing* them? And if the spontaneous affections of the sinner towards moral objects are not in their own nature *wrong*, how can he be *culpable* for cherishing or indulging them? Can we be culpable for indulging feelings which are in themselves innocent? If we may have affections in our hearts for a short time without fault, why not for a longer time? If we may innocently begin to exercise them, why may we not innocently continue to exercise them? When a good man cherishes any affections or desires towards moral objects, does he not do it with the idea that they are *right—right in themselves*? And when he endeavors to suppress or eradicate any affections towards moral objects, does he not do it from the conviction that they are in their own nature *wrong*? It is evident from our Saviour's teaching that a man is criminal for *having* a desire after forbidden objects; not only for *indulging* it and *complying* with its cravings, but for *having it in his heart*. And is not every one, who has an awakened conscience, fully persuaded that it is so? And as there is such a thing as sinful or corrupt desire—desire which is sinful in itself—the first rising of it in the heart must be sinful. It seems to me an exceedingly strange and unfounded opinion, that the divine law justifies a man for the first exercise of malice, envy, revenge or impurity, and condemns him only for

continuing the exercise ! Who can suppose such a thing as that the divine law permits a moral agent, either at the commencement of his being, or afterwards, to put forth, for a time, such affections and desires towards moral objects, as his unsanctified heart may prompt, only requiring him not to *repeat* them ? Surely that law which is "perfect," and "exceedingly broad," must bind a man through the whole of his existence, as an intelligent, moral being, at one time as well as another. I am sure that any position contrary to this is false, and that the arguments urged in its support are sophistical. It is indeed true, that an unrenewed man is culpable for *gratifying*, and for *continuing* to exercise the moral affections, which he at first exercises spontaneously. But *why* is he culpable ? Because they are *wrong* affections. Were not the affections themselves contrary to the law of God, how could he be a transgressor for *having* them in his heart, or for *continuing* to have them ?

On this subject I appeal to the devout and watchful Christian, who faithfully searches his own heart, and strives to be holy. His testimony is better than speculative arguments. Let him speak. Does not his experience exactly correspond with that of the apostle ? In direct opposition to his settled purpose, or the determination of his will, does not pride or self-esteem, or covetousness, or envy, or ill-will, or impure desire rise in his heart ? He needs not to be told that every such affection is sinful. He *knows* it to be so. He confesses it, and prays to be delivered from it, and abhors himself on account of it ; and from time to time he is more or less successful in subduing it. But before he is aware, and without waiting for the previous consent of his will, it comes up again and again. It is what our Saviour says "proceeds out of the heart." Thus he finds the words of the apostle, Gal. 5 : 17, verified in his own experience. *The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh ; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that he cannot do the things that he would.* It is all a matter of experience, not of abstract reasoning. So it was with St. Paul. He found a law in his members, (doubtless meaning his affections,) warring against the law of his mind. He tells us, that the good which he would, he did not, and the evil which he would not, that he did. No wonder he was distressed with this law in his members, this body of death, and cried out, "O wretched man that I am !" I say, it is all a matter of experience. And I appeal to the most faithful and spiritual

Christians, whether their exercises do not correspond with those of the apostle. I will only add, that any mode of philosophizing which overlooks these facts of experience must be regarded as defective.

Inquirer asks (p. 461): "To what is the law addressed?" And he suggests the difficulties which arise in his mind from supposing that it is addressed to the understanding, or to conscience, or to the will, or to the affections and desires. I think, as he does, that such a supposition involves the subject in difficulties. The law, strictly and literally speaking, is not addressed to the understanding, to the conscience, to the will, or to the affections of man, but to *man himself*; not to any faculty or susceptibility of the moral agent, but to *the moral agent himself*. What is the language of the law? It speaks to *man*,—to the intelligent personal being, *man*. "*Thou* shalt love the Lord thy God." "*Thou*," *man*, "shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "*Thou* shalt not steal;" and so of the rest. Where the personal pronoun is not expressed, it is implied. "Remember the Sabbath day," i. e., remember *thou*. God addresses his law to this person—this whole person, *me*. He commands *me* to love him. He does not command my understanding to love; for my understanding is not a *person*. He does not command my conscience, or will, or affection to love; for neither my conscience, nor my will, nor my affection is a person. But he commands *me* to love. His law is addressed to *me* as an intelligent, accountable being, possessed of all the powers and faculties necessary to complete moral agency; and it aims to direct and govern me in respect to all my moral exercises; primarily in respect to my affections, and then in respect to other acts of the mind, and to external conduct. Thus every man understands the subject, although, for convenience sake, he may often speak of the law as addressed to this or that faculty of the mind. It is the same in respect to other laws. The command of the father is to the *child*; of the civil ruler, to the *citizen*. And as the command is given to the *person*, so the obligation to obey rests upon the person; and it is the *person* that obeys. A disregard of this simple and obvious principle originates many needless difficulties and perplexities.

Inquirer refers to my remark, that *the will has no direct power, and frequently no power at all over the affections; and that a man cannot, by the power of his will, call forth the affection of love to God*. And does not Inquirer know this to be the

case? Is he not aware that man, while unregenerate, cannot subdue the enmity of his heart, and excite holy love in its place, by an act of his will? Does he not recognize it as a solemn truth, confirmed by Scripture and experience, that a carnal mind cannot sanctify its affections by the force of its own unsanctified volitions? And how is it with the believer? Can he, at any time, by an act of his will, banish his corrupt affections, and kindle the flame of sacred love in his heart? How is it with *Inquirer*, or with any other intelligent Christian? Is this the way in which the unholy feelings and desires of his heart were first expelled? Is this the way in which his love to God and divine things is now called forth? Has any thing ever occurred in his own experience, which evinces that he possesses a power to control his own affections by a volition? And does a Payson, an Edwards, or a Paul, or any one who discerns spiritual things in a spiritual manner, ever entertain the thought, that the want of such a power takes away his obligation or his accountability as a moral agent? I ask not *how* the want of such a power can be reconciled with perfect moral obligation. But I ask whether the enlightened Christian is not conscious of these two facts; first, that he has no direct power, and frequently no power at all, to govern his affections *by a volition*; and secondly, that he is under perfect obligation to love and obey God, and will be inexcusably guilty if he fails to do this. If *Inquirer* can explain *how* these two things may be reconciled, and solve all the hard questions which come forth from a speculative mind, then he is the man to undertake the work.

But if it is so that we cannot control our affections by an act of the will, many will be inclined to ask: *What then shall we do?* I am glad to have an opportunity to answer this question. For I think here is the place where we are specially taught to feel, and must feel, our entire dependence on the divine Spirit,—the very place where prayer to God is to come in for our relief. We are urged to prayer by all the principles of our rational nature. But by a just conviction of our sinfulness, our ruin and our helplessness, we are shut up to it. It is our only resort. So the Scriptures represent it. We must have help from God, or perish in our pollution. Holy affections are the fruits of the Spirit, not the product of our own will. This view of the subject is, you perceive, directly favorable to devotion. It begets a deep sense of dependence on the grace of God, and leads to constant prayer. And whatever a man's

speculative opinions may be, just so soon as he looks into his own heart, and forms any just conceptions of his own depravity, he will be sensible that without the help of divine grace, he can do nothing ; and he will look to God, not to the power of his own will, for the sanctification of his affections. Why is it that some ministers of the gospel use language in prayer so different from what they use in metaphysical discourse ?—that while in such discourse they speak much and strongly of the sufficient power or the complete ability of all men to do all that is required of them in the law and in the gospel, as soon as they engage in prayer, they acknowledge their weakness, acknowledge that without Christ they can do nothing, that they are not sufficient of themselves for any duty, that their strength is in God, and that all their help must come from him ? Why this difference ? It may be, because their language and their thoughts in metaphysical discourse are not adapted to serious religion and devotion. And if they find this to be the case, let them remember it. But I apprehend the reason to be more exactly this ; that, in prayer, Christians are likely to think soberly and justly,—likely to discern the truth, and to use the language of truth. And if you would know what is the language of truth, search the Scripture which is the word of the God of truth. Keep close to that, and you will not err. That holy book abounds in such representations as these:—that the preparation of the heart is from the Lord ; that sinners are sanctified not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God ; that holy love is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost ; and that all right affections and desires are the fruits of the Spirit. Accordingly, when a Christian prays he does not say to God : I thank thee that I have full power to do all my duty without thy assistance ; that I am sufficient of myself to work out my own salvation. This is not the *truth now*. But when he prays, he must speak the words of *truth*. *My help cometh from the Lord. Without thee I can do nothing. All holy desires come from thee. Work in me all the good pleasure of thy goodness. Subdue every sinful affection. Make my heart pure. Strengthen me with thy strength in my soul.* What Christian does not pray in this manner ? And is not the language which sincere piety prompts us to use in prayer, the language of truth ?

In my remarks, I had advanced the following sentiment :—*that holy affections arise spontaneously in the saint, and unholy affections in the sinner, from the presence or the contemplation*

of moral objects. Inquirer undertakes to show what *consequences* would result from this sentiment. But our first question should be, whether the sentiment is *true*. Neither I nor my correspondent can be held responsible for the consequences which may follow from the truth, or from the declaration of the truth. Is then my representation conformed to fact? When a holy angel or a holy man turns his thoughts to God, and contemplates his moral excellence, is he not at once *pleased* with it? Does he not love it spontaneously? That is, does he not love it *freely, of his own accord, or from the disposition of his own heart?* Is he not pleased with it as soon as he sees it? If, when the object is present to his view, he puts forth any other mental act before he loves, what is that act? Is it an act of reasoning, by which he endeavors to persuade himself to love? But what need of reasoning to excite a holy being to love, when he already sees the loveliness of the object? Even if he should attempt by reasoning to excite his own love, what would he do, but to urge upon his own mind the supreme beauty and excellence of the object before him? Or, is the act, which precedes his affection to God, an act of *self-love*? When he beholds the divine character, does his heart lie still within him, till he has time to think that loving God will make him happy? And is it in reality a regard to his own happiness, which excites his love to God? Or, is the act which precedes his love an act of his *will*? That is, when a holy being has a distinct idea of God in his mind, is it true that, instead of instantly loving him, and in order to bring himself to love, he first *wills* to love? And is it true that his love is excited by such a previous volition? I am persuaded that good men will never be led, by their own experience, to view the subject in this light. That which renders God worthy of love, and which is the objective ground of love, is his *moral excellence*. As soon as holy beings see this they love. Is it their *cordial, free, unconstrained* act? And what is more just and reasonable, than that they should love God because he is *infinitely lovely*? The *subjective* reason is their own holy disposition. In this view they love God because they have a holy, spiritual nature, a heart in unison with divine excellence. And is not the opposite of all this true of the unholy? I ask, then, are not the facts in the case as I have represented them to be? If so, it follows, that the difficulty of which Inquirer speaks, and which we are all apt to feel, arises, not from any *misstatement* of

mine, but either from the very nature of the facts in the case, or from something faulty in the habit or state of our minds.

Inquirer says, if it be so, as I have represented, "then what tendency can the divine law have upon the mind of a sinner, except to increase his hatred of all that is holy, and thrust him further and further from salvation?" Here let us, for the present, pass by the word *tendency*, which may be somewhat ambiguous, and inquire what is *matter of fact*. Take the unrenewed sinner, whose carnal mind is enmity against God. Take him just as he is in himself, exclusive of the agency of the Holy Spirit. Is it not a fact that the law and the gospel, when brought before his unsanctified mind, do excite and increase his hatred of all that is good, and so thrust him further and further from salvation? Is not any result contrary to this owing to the grace of God? If the sinner is left to himself, is not the law, and the gospel too, a savor of death unto death? Has he not such a deceitful, wicked heart, and does he not so act out his depravity in view of divine things, that he is continually waxing worse and worse? And so far as he is given up to his own alienated heart, without the grace of the Holy Spirit, is not this the case uniformly and always?" We see then what is the *invariable fact*.

As to "tendency," I hold that the *proper* tendency of divine truth,—the tendency which it *ought* to have upon a rational being, and which it *would* have, were it not for the counter-influence of sin,—is to excite holy affection, and lead to holy conduct. But the sinner has an evil heart of unbelief. He has an obstinate love of sin, and dislike of holiness. And this inexcusable wickedness of his heart opposes the proper tendency of the truth, prevents the effect which it should have on the mind of the sinner, and turns the law and the gospel into a means of perdition. Coming in contact with a hard, impenitent heart, it proves to be a savor of death unto death. But this is no disparagement to divine truth. Its being followed by such an effect is to be ascribed wholly to the fault of the sinner.

Inquirer asks: "What then can the preaching of the law do, but to aggravate the awful doom of sinners?" And I put the question to him: *What else can the preaching of the law or the gospel do, unless the sovereign grace of God interpose, and give sinners a new heart?* If they are given over to their own unsubdued wickedness, as they justly may be, does not Inquirer

know the deplorable and dreadful fact, that, whatever may be their outward privileges, they will be continually treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath? This fact is so deplorable and dreadful, that it caused the Son of God to weep, and should cause us to weep,—yes, to weep day and night. The evil of man's heart is too obvious to be denied; and it is too deep and desperate to be remedied by human power. Can Inquirer think it a mistake of mine to say, that man's *depraved will* has no power to change his *depraved heart*?—in other words, that he has no power to change his depraved *heart* by an act of his depraved *will*? Would he affirm the contrary? Would he tell sinners, that by an act of their unsanctified will,—which is all the will they have,—they can sanctify their own hearts?—that by an unholy, selfish volition they can produce in themselves that holiness, which they neither love nor desire?

The doctrine of man's depravity is mysterious and astounding. But all that is mysterious and astounding in the doctrine lies in its truth. Man is a sinner. He has destroyed himself; and he is indeed lost. He has no power, by the exercise of any of his intellectual or moral faculties, without divine grace to restore himself to holiness and happiness. His help is in God, and nowhere else.

Inquirer refers to the following remark of mine: "It is a common sentiment, that the sinfulness of men is great in proportion as their passions and desires are awakened suddenly and uncontrollably in view of forbidden objects." I stated the case in which revenge, envy, covetousness and pride arise in the mind suddenly and uncontrollably in view of their appropriate objects. Now I ask Inquirer: Are not revenge, envy, covetousness and pride sinful? Are they not really sinful in themselves, though not developed in outward action? And is not the degree of sinfulness proportional to the strength and violence of the sinful passions and desires?

Inquirer says, he could assent to all this, if I had "conjoined some limitations or modifications." But what modifications are called for? Would he have me say, that ill-will, revenge, envy, covetousness and pride are sinful in some circumstances, but not in others? Does he wish me to point out the circumstances in which a man may have them in his heart for a time, and yet be guiltless? This I do not feel myself authorized to do; and I think Inquirer would himself start back from such a modification as this. For if I may have in my heart the

feeling of ill-will, envy and revenge once, without sin; why not twice?—and if for a short time, why not for a longer time? If the beginning of these affections is not wrong, why should we regard the continuance of them as wrong? Is it true that the divine law does not forbid the *existence* of these affections in our hearts, and that its only aim is to prevent their *continuance*? Or, to give the subject another shape, is it the intention of the law to keep these affections within certain limits, and to prevent them from going too far, particularly from coming out in visible action? Are we to understand the law as saying: you may have the emotion of ill-will or revenge towards man, or enmity against God, you may have the emotion rise in your heart, and if it is the *first* emotion of the kind, and if it rises spontaneously, and is not too strong, you are guiltless. But if you have a second and third emotion, especially if it becomes strong and violent, then you are culpable. Is this the meaning of the moral law? But suppose the second and third emotion of enmity against God or man is as spontaneous as the first, and of the same degree of strength. Why should it not be regarded in the same light?

In compliance with the suggestion of Inquirer, I am very ready to give "some modifications," or rather to explain and distinguish.

There are then, as I conceive, emotions, affections and desires of different kinds. Some are in their own nature morally right, i. e. conformed to the divine law; some are sinful, i. e. contrary to the law; and some indifferent, i. e., in themselves neither holy nor sinful. As to those of the first kind,—the law requires and approves them. As to those of the second kind,—the law forbids and condemns them. As to those which are indifferent, such as the natural appetite for food, the desire of property and of knowledge, the love of life, the love of offspring, and the affection existing between the sexes; what the law does in regard to these is to regulate them, to guard them against excess and perversion, and direct them to their proper end. God not only permits us to have these affections and desires, but, in the proper way, to indulge them, and act under their influence. We are as much justified in repeating as in beginning the exercise of them; in acting them out in our life, as in having them in our heart. We are only required to indulge and gratify them in proper measures, so as not to interfere with any higher duty, and for a proper end, i. e. that the glory of

God and the true welfare of ourselves and others may be promoted. See now how plain and obvious the difference between these emotions and desires, and those which are in themselves sinful; and how differently they are treated in the sacred Scriptures. Does the word of God require that we should take care to *regulate* our ill-will, envy and revenge towards our fellow-men, and our enmity against our Maker?—that we should keep them within proper bounds, and direct them to a proper end? Why, they *have* no proper bounds. There is no proper end at which we *can* aim in their exercise. In their own nature they are contrary to the divine law. They are disobedience. And where does the law undertake to *regulate disobedience*, and keep it within proper bounds? Instead of this, it forbids it wholly. It forbids us to have the commencement of it in our hearts. It condemns us for the first and feeblest emotion which is contrary to holiness, though never developed in action, and even though conscience should not at the time be so wakeful as to notice its turpitude.

Inquirer refers to a child who has inherited from his parents a strong appetite for intoxicating drinks, but has checked and refused to indulge it; and he asks, whether that child is guilty of intemperance. I answer, No. The mere bodily appetite is not intemperance. In itself it has nothing of a moral nature, any *more* than the extreme thirst of a man for water. We are sure of this from our own consciousness. Speculative reasoning has nothing to do with it. All that the law requires of him who inherits such an appetite is, that he should refuse to gratify it, and in every proper way strive to subdue it. If he loves God he will readily do this. And if he does this, we give him special credit for his temperance. We honor him more than if he had never been subject to such an appetite, and had never practised self-denial in refraining from indulging it. This is all plain; and what Inquirer says respecting it is obviously just.

But we cannot but notice the essential difference between such a bodily appetite and those dispositions and affections of the soul, which are in their own nature morally wrong, and which cannot for a moment exist without sin. To have a malevolent, envious, or revengeful feeling in the heart, is to be a transgressor. Merely *having the emotion* shows a man to be depraved and guilty. *Jesus* never had such an emotion. He never had the least degree, not even the beginning of the feel-

ing of ill-will, pride, envy or revenge. In his pure heart no emotion or desire contrary to holiness was ever found, no, not for a moment. Of this I am certain.

We come now to the case of a reformed debauchee. The supposition of Inquirer is, that although the reformed man is now a true Christian, he is "often and violently assailed with desires and passions like those of former days," i. e. impure desires, desires after forbidden pleasures; but that he steadily opposes them. The question is, how we are to regard such a man in his present state. Let the man himself answer this. He regards the impure passions and desires referred to, as the sin that dwelleth in him. He confesses them to God and mourns over them as such. He says within himself: How bad must be the tree which bears such fruit! How evil the heart from which proceed such vile and hateful passions and desires! In short, does he not really look upon himself as the subject of an inward defilement, a spiritual evil, in proportion to the frequency and violence with which he is assaulted by the passions and desires of his former wicked life? And when he resists them, does he not do it with the full conviction that they are morally wrong, and wholly without excuse in the sight of God? But if, through the strength of religious principle, and the help of divine grace, he overcomes and eradicates these evil passions and desires, we regard it as a great and virtuous achievement. We honor him for resisting and subduing, not what is innocent, but what is sinful.

The principle which I have endeavored to support, is evidently true in regard to holy affections and desires. Love to God and desire for his glory show the heart to be sanctified in proportion as they arise spontaneously and fervently in view of the object. When our moral state is right, nothing is necessary to excite love to God but the sight of his character. As soon as we see what he is we love him. The affection is awakened immediately when the object is presented before the mind, whether it is presented in consequence of a previous act of the will or not. So it was with Jesus. No reasoning, no persuasion, no antecedent act or effort of his will was necessary to elicit his love. As soon as he thought of his Father, he loved him, and desired his glory. The affection was always joined with the thought. If it is not so with us, if, when we turn our thoughts to God, our hearts slumber, or if earthly affections lodge within us, and if we find voluntary exertion and labor ne-

cessary to dislodge those earthly affections, and to prepare ourselves to love God, it is a certain proof that the law of sin is still warring against the law of holiness, and that the work of sanctification is very incomplete.

It will, I hope, be kept steadily in mind, that the main point now under consideration is a matter of *experience* and *direct consciousness*, and not of speculative argument.

Some writers, who admit that an act of the will has no direct control over the affections, still hold that, as in the case of the will that we bring before our minds those objects which excite the affections, it is this previous voluntary act which gives the character of morality to the affections. The reason why they hold this opinion is, that they have already adopted the principle, that voluntary acts, and those only, are morally good or evil. In my view, this principle, as at present understood, is far too narrow, and overlooks truths of essential importance. But I shall not enter on the consideration of the subject here, except in the way of appeal to plain common sense.

According to the opinion above stated, if by an act of our will we put ourselves in a situation where divine and spiritual objects will be presented before us, and if we do it for the purpose of awakening pious affections in our minds, those affections, when thus awakened, are holy and praiseworthy; and are so, because we voluntarily put ourselves in such a situation. And if, by an act of the will, we knowingly put ourselves in a situation, where objects will come before us which will excite wrong affections, we are then blameworthy for those affections; and we are so, merely because we voluntarily came into such a situation.

Now I acknowledge that the previous act of the will above mentioned, and the affections which followed, are, in the first case, good and praiseworthy, and, in the second case, blameworthy. But that the affections are right or wrong, and that we are worthy of praise or blame on account of them *merely* because we voluntarily placed ourselves in such a situation,—this I do not admit. For suppose that, without any previous arrangement or choice of mine, a good man comes and presents before me some striking view of the glorious character of God, which instantly excites reverence and love in my heart. Or suppose such a view of God is unexpectedly suggested to my mind by some event of divine providence, over which I have no control; and in consequence of it, I have at once the

affection of reverence and love. Must I regard this affection as destitute of piety and goodness, because I exercise it in such circumstances? Do these circumstances deprive me of moral agency? Or suppose without any intention of mine, I am brought into a situation where objects are presented before me, which suddenly excite the feeling of ill-will, envy, or revenge. Is such a feeling innocent, and am I blameless for exercising it because I exercise it in such a way? Do I cease to be a moral agent? — is it not evident that the affection is of the same nature, and that it indicates the same character of mind, whether it is exercised in consequence of a previous act of the will, or otherwise? What difference can it make in the judgment we pass upon benevolence or ill-will, love to God, or enmity against him, whether the object which elicits it comes before the mind in one way or another? Is not the object the same? Is not the affection the same? And are not we the same moral, accountable beings?

Take another case. An irreligious, wicked man knows by experience, that the truths of the gospel stir up within him strong dislike and opposition of heart. He therefore wishes to avoid every person and every situation that will be likely to bring these truths before him. But unexpectedly and contrary to his will, a Christian goes to him, and in the kindest manner presents some precious gospel truths before him, in view of which his heart at once kindles into violent hatred and wrath. Do you think his feelings cease to be sinful, because the object exciting them was brought before his mind without his intention, and contrary to his choice?

See what a fearful influence the theory I am opposing would have upon the divine law. Doubtless the moral law primarily and essentially requires that, and that only, which is of a moral nature. Now, according to the theory under review, the first and great command, instead of requiring love itself, requires that previous act of the will, by which we put ourselves in a situation where the object of love shall be presented before us. And our putting forth this previous act would constitute obedience, whether the affection followed or not. On the other hand, if we should really love God when his character is brought to our view unexpectedly and without our previous design, the affection, however pure and elevated, but not resulting from a previous act of the will, would lose its moral nature, and would not be obedience to the first and great

command ; although, after all, it is the very thing which the law requires. The same as to the command, "Thou shalt not covet." If we really covet our neighbor's house or wife, we are not transgressors, unless we had a previous voluntary agency in bringing the object before us. How often soever and how strongly soever we may covet, we are not blameworthy, if the exciting object is presented to our view without our choice. Now who of us has any right to take such liberty as this with the law of God, and to say, that it is not obeyed by that very affection which it requires, and is not disobeyed by that very affection which it forbids ? Who of us would willingly be responsible for the consequences of such a theory ?

As I understand the subject, if a man spontaneously puts forth either good or bad affections in view of objects brought before him without his previous design, this very circumstance does, in some respects, exhibit the goodness or badness of his character with peculiar clearness. If a man's heart is such that, whenever moral objects are brought before him, whether by his own voluntary act or not, he is at once filled with right affections and desires, we attribute to him the character of singular excellence. We say, he has an eminently good heart. And if, whenever moral objects are brought before another man, even against his intention, his heart instantly kindles into bad emotions and desires, we say, his character is stamped with uncommon depravity. In this we cannot be mistaken. Fruit growing thus spontaneously makes it very plain what the tree is. Here there is no constraint. The heart acts itself out with perfect freedom. So Christ says : "A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things ; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things."

The remaining topics introduced by Inquirer must be deferred to another opportunity.

ARTICLE VI

REVIEW OF QUINCY'S HISTORY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

: By one of the Professors of Yale College.

The History of Harvard University, by Josiah Quincy, LL.D., President of the University. In two volumes. Cambridge: John Owen. 1840.

[Continued from page 195.]

THE first proof of the liberality and catholicism of the founders of Harvard College, President Quincy finds in its early charters. He says: "The first constitution of Harvard College established in 1642, in enumerating the powers granted and the objects proposed to be attained by its foundation, makes use of these simple and memorable terms: *To make and establish all such orders, statutes and constitutions, as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding and furthering of the said college and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality and learning.*"* In the charter of 1650, the objects of the institution are stated to be, "the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences," and "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness." The terms "piety" and "godliness," the author supposes to be "of all others the least susceptible of being wrested to projects merely sectarian." In reference to the language of these charters he remarks: "It is impossible even at this day, when the sun of free inquiry is thought to be at its zenith, to devise any terms more unexceptionable, or better adapted to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party."

The question is here immediately suggested: In what respect do these early charters of Harvard College, differ from the charters of similar establishments, which preceded it in England and other parts of Europe? To judge of the claims of the

* Vol. I. p. 46.

founders of Harvard College to a catholicism in that age so extraordinary, we wish to see distinctly what real advance was made, at the very outset in Massachusetts, towards liberalizing collegiate institutions, assuring "equal privileges to every religious sect or party," and preventing such seminaries from being "wrested to projects merely sectarian;" for it is most manifest, if the charters of Harvard, in their general provisions, differ not materially from such instruments as the founders must have had before them for models, that the conclusion as to the catholic spirit which they breathe is altogether too universal; the argument proves too much. If the language of these charters is not more liberal than that of earlier charters, the point to which this reasoning necessarily brings us is, that most, or all of those who were founders of literary institutions before the year 1642, as well as at that time, were influenced by views of the most enlarged catholicism; and that among this class of men throughout Christendom there has been little or nothing of bigotry, exclusiveness, or sectarianism;—a position, it is presumed, which President Quincy is hardly prepared to admit.

We have looked into the charters of the colleges in the English universities, as far as our limited means would allow, to ascertain the manner in which religion is mentioned, and its interests secured in those instruments; as these were the charters with which the founders of Harvard College were probably familiar, and which they would most naturally use as models in drafting a charter for themselves. We are by no means prepared to affirm universally on this subject; yet we are satisfied that the general fact is, that the precedents, to which the founders of Harvard College would of course look, and which they would be most likely to follow in forming its constitution, are less particular on the subject of religion, less definite and exclusive than the charter which they actually framed. In the Bull of John XXI. published in 1318, by which the several colleges in Cambridge were united in a university, neither "piety" nor "godliness," nor religion in any form, nor even the Holy Roman Church is mentioned; yet to infer from this, that the pontiff was looking forward to the time, when the church would be divided, and in the true spirit of modern liberality was endeavoring "to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party," would hardly be warranted by the premises. It would be to apply the opinions and usages of one age to explain and illustrate those of another

wholly unlike ;—a kind of reasoning, the correctness of which no one will maintain.

So far as we have been able to ascertain facts in relation to this subject, charters had been granted to colleges both in England and Scotland only to give a corporate existence to a literary society, or to confer certain rights and privileges, which were thought essential or expedient for the attainment of the objects of its establishment ; but in no case to secure the profession of particular articles of faith. These were left to the care of visitors of particular foundations or of the whole society ; and the seminary itself was considered as having authority to form rules for upholding orthodoxy or excluding heresy. A college was instituted *ad orandum et studendum* ; and the mode of arriving at these objects was prescribed by those of its own body who were authorized so to do, subject, however, to the control of its visitor or visitors. This arrangement was thought to give all the security to the prevailing faith, which the case admitted or required.

The founders of Harvard College, in settling its constitution and guarding the purity of its faith, seem generally to have followed existing precedents. In respect to religion, however, they adopted a new language. The youth, according to the first two charters, were to be educated "in piety, morality and learning," and "in knowledge and godliness." If we are not mistaken, there is here a kind of phraseology extremely diverse from that to be found in the charter of any other literary institution in the British dominions of that age. President Quincy, indeed, supposes that "piety" and "godliness" are words so abstract and general in their signification, as to be "of all others the least susceptible of being wrested to projects merely sectarian." But it should be remembered, that in 1642 and for many years afterwards, these words were far from having any transcendental meaning ; and whoever, at that time, in England, should have talked of "piety" and "godliness" in reference to colleges and universities, would immediately have been recognized as a puritan of the strictest sect. There is a remark in the report on another subject of a committee of the board of Overseers of Harvard College in 1727, a part of which applies so well to this case, that we cannot express our own views better than by quoting a single sentence from it. The committee say : "It is a most clear, undeniable and universal rule, that the signification of terms must be decided in every country

according to the known and general acceptance of them, in the several countries where they are used ; and laws must needs be explained according to the general use of the terms in the places where they are made, in the times when they are enacted, and agreeably to the known principles of the legislators.”* Apply the principle here asserted to the terms in question ; and who, recollecting the character of the first puritans of Massachusetts, can for a moment doubt, that in the language of these charters, “piety” and “godliness” are to be interpreted in a restricted sense ? The founders of Harvard College used these words as they understood them ? If they had been inquired of what “piety” and “godliness” meant, in all probability they would have answered by repeating the whole of Calvin’s *Institutes* ; and if this failed to give satisfaction, they would have added “Ames’s *Medulla*,” with copious illustrations from the same author’s “*Cases of Conscience*.”

But not to insist on the meaning to be attached to the terms “piety” and “godliness” in these charters, it is certain that the founders of Harvard College were firm believers in what was considered the orthodox faith ; and it will require very full proof to satisfy the minds of common inquirers, that they were willing to leave it in their new institution without all the protection and support which they could devise. That they did give it every safeguard which they thought necessary to render it perpetual is, we think, obvious from the constitution of their board of visitation. It was here that they placed their confidence in making their theological system permanent. In England they had seen literary, religious and charitable foundations under the supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury or York, or of the bishop of the diocese in which any such foundation was placed, and these establishments were thought in this way to be secure from perversion. In their case they had no archbishop or bishop to place over their college, to keep it in the straight path ; but they appear to have thought that they had found a regulating and controlling power fully equivalent in the whole body, at that time, of the congregational clergy of the colony.

Considering the circumstances of Massachusetts at the time of which we are treating, the general agreement of the clergy in their system of belief, their rigid Calvinism, and the sacri-

fices they had made to establish themselves in America, and with such precedents as have been mentioned for their guides, is there any reason to wonder at the course which they adopted? What ground was there to apprehend, in the view of that generation, that an institution under such supervision would ever waver in its creed? Undoubtedly individuals acknowledged the right of private judgment in religion; but the great body of the community at the same time maintained, that this right was not to be so exercised as to disturb the state of things in Massachusetts. This is evident from their acts. What was done in the case of Mr. Wheelright, Ann Hutchinson, Roger Williams, the Quakers and Anabaptists need not be repeated here. President Quincy himself says, that the "influence [of the clergy] over the statesmen of the colony was second to none the world ever witnessed. The religion of both was not so much coincident as identical." Without doubt Moses and Aaron walked hand in hand in the proceedings now alluded to, and were entirely agreed in the great religious and political measures of the colony. And when we are further told by the author, that "both were well apprized of the advantages resulting to worldly power from the possession and control of the seminaries of education," is it possible, while they were waging a war of extermination against Antinomians, Quakers and Anabaptists, that they were devising such a constitution for their college, as would allow it to pass readily, as the case might be, under the control of these very sects, and were, in truth, endeavoring "to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party;" and were "establishing a seminary of learning, in favor of which they were desirous to unite all the varieties of religious belief?" We cannot but think that the author has here made too heavy a draft on the faith, not to say the credulity, of the reader.

We are told, that the "clergy of that early period were—eminently a practical body of men." This is true; and being such, they contrived a security for the continuance of their faith in the college as strong perhaps as human wisdom could devise; they kept the supervision of the institution in their own hands. After the experience of more than two centuries, it would be difficult, if it were now proposed to establish a creed for all future time, to contrive a method of attaining such an object more effectual, than that actually formed and adopted by the puritans of Massachusetts. At least, we could

name several recent institutions in our country, where men of no common sagacity have employed themselves in devising the surest mode of perpetuating their own faith ; and the result has been an organization not differing materially in principle from that originally framed for Harvard College. President Quincy appears to entertain the opinion, that whatever, in a college, is secured by charter, must be permanent. This is not said in so many words, but the course of his argument seems to imply it. But, that the provisions of a college charter are unalterable, is not in our view a self-evident proposition. We could wish that the author had more fully investigated this point, as the consideration of it might have led to some conclusions, which have now escaped him.

The extraordinary catholicism, which President Quincy has claimed for the founders of Harvard College, has something in it paradoxical even in his own view. " We should expect," he says, " on opening the several charters of this university, to find it, with certainty, anchored head and stern, secure against wind, tide and current, moored firmly on all the points which, at that day, were deemed fixed and immutable." We agree with the author, that this expectation is the only one which can be rationally formed ; and on inquiry no disappointment follows. The most unqualified Calvinism was introduced into the college for the purpose of promoting " piety" and " godliness," two prominent objects of the establishment, and the whole institution was placed under the care of a body of clergy thoroughly Calvinistic, men as confident that, on all the great points of theology, such points as were then considered great, they were *right*, and that all who materially differed from them were *wrong*, as the world ever saw. They erected one of the strongest barriers, in their apprehension, to the introduction of what they thought heresies ; they themselves guarded the avenue to their entrance. If, in the progress of time, the good ship's fastenings have proved to be of less firm materials than was supposed, and violent winds have assailed it from a quarter from which no tempest was feared, and it has been driven somewhat from its first station, this is nothing more than a new instance of the fallibility of human judgment in adapting means to an end. But the failure of a scheme to attain some of its objects is no proof that these objects were never contemplated by its projectors. Calvinism may have gradually vanished from Harvard, but the founders notwithstanding may

have done whatever they thought necessary, or whatever they could have done, to perpetuate it.

That the conclusion of the author, respecting the liberal views of the founders of the university at Cambridge, is not warranted by his premises, will appear still more clearly from a reference to the two charters of Yale College. Here it is manifest that charters may be very liberal, as language is interpreted by President Quincy, where, he himself being judge, there was little or no liberality, in his sense of the word, in those who procured and acted under them. It should be recollected, likewise, that these charters were granted, one more than half a century, and the other more than a century after the first charter of Harvard; and that in the mean time, new causes of alarm for the safety of orthodoxy had arisen. If any means could be discovered for its security, better for the purpose, than those employed in Massachusetts, we should expect to find them made available in the establishment of a college in Connecticut. But the first charter of Yale College has quite as little in it that is sectarian, to say the least, as either charter of Harvard. The petitioners asked for liberty to found a college, "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who, through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employments both in church and civil state." The petition was granted; and the trustees were authorized to "erect, form, direct, order, establish, improve, and, at all times in all suitable ways for the future, to encourage the said school—in such form or manner, and under such order and rules, as to them shall seem meet, and most conducive to the *aforesaid end thereof*, so as such rules or orders be not repugnant to the laws of the civil government." Here is no mention of even "piety" or "godliness." It is true that the legislature speak of the petitioners as persons zealous "for upholding and propagating the Christian Protestant religion by a succession of learned and orthodox men," but this clause liberally interpreted, need not qualify the petition itself. It should be recollected also, that the question was distinctly considered by the founders of Yale College, whether the study of the "Assembly's Catechism" and "Ames's Medulla" should be required by a provision of the charter, and decided in the negative. Here we would ask, in passing, had such a question arisen among the first trustees of Harvard and been decided as it was at Yale, would not President Quincy have considered such a fact conclusive in determining the catholic

views of those trustees and their freedom from all sectarian bias? In the charter of Yale College granted by the legislature in 1745, which placed the seminary in many respects on a new foundation, and greatly enlarged its privileges, there is no allusion whatever to the subject of religion, except that in the preamble it is declared, that the institution had "trained up many worthy persons for the service of God, in the state as well as in the church." It is likewise worthy of remark, that in this charter of 1745 there is a reference in the preamble to the object of the original founders, which is stated to have been the establishment of "a collegiate school within this colony, wherein youth might be instructed in the arts and sciences." Religion, if it have any place here, is included under the general designation of "arts and sciences." Adopting President Quincy's mode of reasoning we should infer that catholicism, at this time, was very rife in Connecticut, and that it had greatly increased in the preceding forty-five years; yet the truth undoubtedly is, that in 1745 there was less of a disposition in Connecticut to favor sectaries, than at any period of its history either before or since. It also deserves attention that the charter of 1745 was drafted by President Clap, a graduate of Harvard, whose orthodoxy, there early rooted and nurtured, grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength; and who certainly would have introduced into this charter some provision to secure the prevalence of Calvinistic tenets in the college, if he had thought such a measure necessary for his purpose; or rather, if he had not supposed that the same object was fully attained in a different manner.

From all these considerations, which might be much more fully illustrated, we are clearly of the opinion, that the conclusion drawn by President Quincy, from the two first charters of Harvard College, as to the catholicism of its founders, is wholly incorrect. So far were they from entertaining any such views of liberality as are now prevalent, and designedly arranging the institution for the free and unrestrained use of all sects of Christians indiscriminately, that it is obvious from these very charters that they cherished sentiments directly opposite, and did all that they thought necessary, perhaps all that they could do, to secure the ascendancy of their own theological system in all succeeding times. We think, likewise, that it is most manifest,—and to prove this was our sole object in this inquiry,—that the contrast which President Quincy has drawn between the views

of the founders of Harvard and the founders of Yale is not supported by any facts which he has produced. Reasoning on his own principles from the language of the charters, the balance of catholicism is perhaps in favor of Connecticut. But no sentiments of liberality in religion, such as are now prevalent, were at all countenanced by the founders of Yale. They looked, without doubt, exclusively to the predominance of their own system of faith; and in this respect they differed not in the least, as we believe, from the founders of Harvard.

A second proof of the catholicism of the founders of Harvard College, President Quincy finds in the fact, as he states it, that the "first two presidents, and the only ones appointed by the early emigrants, were known unbelievers in points of religious faith to which the congregational clergy of that time rigidly adhered."* Dunster, he says, was "an avowed antipedobaptist; yet he was chosen and continued president of the seminary fourteen years." Here the plain implication is, and it is essential to the argument, that Dunster was known to be an opponent of infant baptism at the time of his election; which, so far as we know, is supported by no authority. The account given of this matter by Mather is, that Dunster "continued the president of Harvard College, until his unhappy entanglement in the snares of anabaptism." The meaning of this language is obvious; Dunster became an anabaptist a short time only before he left his office. The corporation and overseers, according to the same author, "did, as quietly as they could, procure his removal." If we have the facts correctly, what is there in this transaction, which proves any uncommon liberality in the authorities of the college? The case in short was this. President Dunster declared himself against infant baptism, and in consequence was obliged to resign his office. There is an occurrence parallel to this in the history of Yale College. In 1722, Rector Cutler publicly announced that he had become convinced of the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination; and that he should soon embark for England to obtain orders in the Episcopal church. On hearing this, the trustees voted to "excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service." We have no doubt, that under the circumstances both President Dunster and Rector Cutler were rightly removed from their places. It is true that we have not been in the habit of considering the

* Vol. I. p. 47.

removal of Rector Cutler from office a very striking proof of the liberality of the trustees who effected it; nor, on the contrary, considering all the relations of the parties to each other and to the public, do we see in it proof of their illiberality. If, however, the transaction at Cambridge affords evidence of catholicism, that at New Haven, we maintain, does the same.

President Chauncy, the immediate successor of Dunster, is supposed in his connection with Harvard College to furnish a striking exhibition of the liberal spirit of the early trustees. According to President Quincy, he "was not less heretical than his predecessor." His heresy, we are told, "consisted in this, that whereas the prevailing faith among the emigrants was, that in baptism *a sprinkling was sufficient*, the faith of President Chauncy was, according to the historian Hubbard, that *the infant should be washed all over*." That the opinion here ascribed to President Chauncy was ever considered "heresy," in New England, is new to us. That immersion has been thought unnecessary, and in certain circumstances improper and dangerous, is true; but it has been, we believe, universally admitted to be a legitimate mode of baptism. The case of President Chauncy was briefly this. He entertained the opinion ascribed to him above. The trustees thought the matter of so much importance, though they could not have viewed the opinion heretical, that they enjoined upon him absolute silence respecting it, during his continuance in the presidency; he thought it of so little importance that he was willing to comply with the requisition. As to any liberality on the part of the trustees in this adjustment of the conflicting opinions of themselves and the president, we are obliged to confess, though it may be at the hazard of being thought to have very little discernment, that after a faithful trial we have been unable to discover it. In the history of Yale College we find nothing which bears a near resemblance to this transaction.

The original seal of Harvard College is thought by President Quincy to furnish additional illustration of its "early independence of a sectarian spirit." He says: "At the first meeting of the governors of the college, after the first charter was obtained, on the 27th of December 1643, a college seal was adopted, having, as at present, three open books on the field of an heraldic shield, with the motto '*Veritas*' inscribed. The books were probably intended to represent the Bible; and the motto to intimate, that in the Scriptures alone important truth

was to be sought and found, and not in the words of man's devising." To judge correctly of the real meaning of abstract words or phrases employed as a motto on any device, the known sentiments of the individuals who use them, and the character of the times when they were introduced, ought to be taken into consideration. The remark we have already quoted, from the report of a committee of the board of Overseers of Harvard College, applies here in its full force. What is there said of the interpretation of laws is true also of the interpretation of mottos and inscriptions. A writer would be thought to reason very inconsequentially, who from the "seal of the fisherman" should argue, without further inquiry, the humility of the Roman pontiffs. If Peter the disciple could be proved to have engraved on his seal, if he ever had one, an image of himself drawing a net full of fishes, we should infer that originally such a picture simply indicated the employment of him who devised it. If one of those who have acted as his successors first made use of this emblem, some centuries after the death of the disciple, we should have no doubt that it was intended to shadow forth the character, power and prerogatives of "Christ's vicegerent on earth." "Veritas," if found on a seal of some modern transcendentalists, we should suppose, might mean "any thing;" if used in a similar way by the same speculatists in connection with the Scriptures, we should be much at a loss what was intended; the most probable conclusion would be, that it meant "nothing." As used by the early puritans of Massachusetts, "Veritas" placed over the Scriptures, interpreted on the same principles, can mean nothing less than the whole system of revealed truth, as they understood it. In still further explaining this seal according to the principles and usages of the age when it was devised, the three Bibles should seem to refer to the three persons of the Trinity, all concerned, as the puritans believed, in publishing "truth" to men. We can hardly imagine how John Cotton would marvel to see this puritanical, and, as he must have viewed it, highly orthodox seal, entirely modernized in its import, and displayed both inside and out of these volumes.

But we are told by the author that the motto was probably intended to intimate, "that in the Scriptures alone important truth is to be sought and found, and *not in the words of man's devising.*" Thus much, we agree, is very obvious, except what is contained in the last clause. That the very men who,

in the Synod of 1648, consented to the Westminster Confession "for the substance thereof," judging "it to be very holy, orthodox and judicious in all matters of faith," designed to intimate by the emblem on their seal, any opposition to adopting "words of man's devising," in stating religious doctrines, we never should have suspected, much less discovered, without the aid here furnished.

But to satisfy the author how little weight the argument for the early catholicism of Harvard College, derived from its seal, really possesses, we would state the fact, that the seal of Yale College, and the only one ever used by that institution, bears on a shield a *single* representation of the Scriptures, with the Hebrew words *Urim* and *Thummim*, surrounded by the motto "Lux et Veritas." Perhaps the first idea of this emblem was suggested by the early seal of Harvard. We have no other ground for this supposition than the uniform deference paid by Yale, for many years, to the older seminary; and the proneness of the trustees to look to Harvard on most occasions for examples and precedents, where any thing new was contemplated. However this may be, no one we presume can doubt that "Lux et Veritas" on the seal of Yale College is a motto which, besides its reference to the Hebrew, indicates much the same things as are taught in the "Westminster Confession" and "Ames's Medulla."

In connection with this subject, President Quincy advances an opinion, which, as much as any thing else he has said, is opposed to all our previous impressions. "It is possible," he remarks, "nay, even probable, that the reason of the entire absence of any reference to points of religious faith in the charters of the college was, that these early emigrants could not agree concerning them among themselves, and preferred silence on such points to engaging in controversy, when establishing a seminary of learning, in favor of which they were desirous to unite all the varieties of religious belief."* We suppose that in those charters there is a general reference to points of religious faith; and in looking for the reasons why the subject is not treated more in detail, we had arrived at directly the opposite conclusion to that contained in the above extract. We had become settled in the opinion that this fact is to be attributed, among other causes, to the almost absolute agree-

* Vol. I. p. 50.

ment of the founders of the college in all the important points of their creed. When churches and communities are agreed in their religious views, there is little occasion for drawing up creeds and confessions. It is when great diversity of opinion exists, and party zeal is active, that such formularies are produced. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds did not first appear in times of great quiet in the church, when all thought the same thing. The church of Rome had no full and extended symbol of faith before the Reformation. The controversies arising out of this rupture in the church led to the decrees of the council of Trent, and to the various attempts among the different classes of Protestants, to define wherein they differed from the church of Rome, and from each other. The assent given to the Westminster Confession by the Synod at Cambridge in 1648, we had supposed, was a measure taken to satisfy their friends in England of the soundness of the faith of the New England churches, rather than to answer any call from among themselves; and that the proceedings of the Synod of 1680 originated in part from the same general cause.

* As to the actual agreement of the first clergy of Massachusetts, and consequently of the founders of Harvard College, in one system of faith respecting all points by them considered essential, they have given, in addition to what appears in their synodical acts, all the testimony in their other proceedings, which could be desired for our satisfaction. They adopted at first for the college, as we have seen, a course of theological study, made up of pure unadulterated Calvinism. This course was continued, we do not find in this history how long, but undoubtedly for more than a century. Who at first, or for a long time after the college was founded, complained of this course? What evidence is there, that the approbation of it, to the close of the seventeenth century and through a quarter or a half of the eighteenth, was not universal? So late, certainly, as 1722, when the first Hollis Professor of Divinity was inducted into office, the candidate was examined by the corporation,—whether they had a right so to do, it is not to our purpose to inquire,—“upon several important heads of divinity.” At this examination, “he declared his assent,” among other things, to “Dr. Ames’s *Medulla Theologiæ*,” and “to the Confession of Faith contained in the Assembly’s Catechism.” Two of the four examiners were President Leverett and Dr. Colman, both represented as distinguished for their liberality, and the latter

as "the recognized leader of the most liberal religious party of the province."* "Ames's Medulla" and the "Westminster Catechism," then, were standards in theology in Massachusetts so late as 1722, universally admitted to be such; for if "the most liberal religious party of the province" adhered to them, there can be no question about all others. Now if, in 1722, "Ames's Medulla" and the "Westminster Catechism" were united in by all, can there be any doubt that they are correct symbols of the faith of the Massachusetts clergy in 1650? And is it possible, that the difference of theological views among the clergy in 1650 was so great as to be an obstacle in the way to making these summaries of Christian doctrine the standards of faith in the college? Our theory is, that the general agreement in theological opinions, in 1650, as evidenced by the result of the synod two years before, would render, in the view of the clergy of that time, any attempt to frame a creed for the college a work of supererogation; especially, as before stated, they must have believed their faith established in Harvard, through the board of Overseers, beyond the chances of essential variation. They seem never to have anticipated a general defection in their own body.

There were, we do not deny, controversies from the first among the clergy of Massachusetts on points of theology; but these did not materially affect the two standards so often mentioned. In the long conflict of words, "Ames's Medulla" and the "Westminster Confession" stood firm. Nothing, perhaps, could prove more absolutely, how little difference about points of faith there was among the clergy of Massachusetts down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, than the attempt by President Quincy to prove the existence of a great revolution in theology about that time in the establishment of the Brattle-street church in Boston. The founding of the church in Brattle Square, President Quincy represents as "the first-fruit of that religious liberty, which the charter of William and Mary introduced into Massachusetts."† The associates of this church, he says, "were generally men of known character and weight in the province; and they reckoned in their number, and among their friends, individuals distinguished for learning, private worth, exemplary piety and official station." We are prepared to expect some momentous changes. But what is the

* Vol I. p. 336.

† Vol. I. p. 132.

result? What was accomplished to make the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century an era in the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts? "Thomas Brattle took the lead in forming an association of enlightened and pious Christians in Boston, for the purpose of establishing there a new Congregational church, constituted on principles deviating from the Platform, and expressly rejecting *the imposition of any public relation of experiences*, or any other examination than by the pastor, as the condition of admission to the Lord's Supper." A very lame conclusion. Not one article of faith is touched. It turns out that a "public relation of experiences" was not required. But the author might have added that the church say in their "Manifesto," "if any one think himself bound in conscience to make such a relation, let him do it."*

We cannot but remark here, that it seems a little strange that the rule adopted by the church in Brattle Square respecting the public relation of experiences should be an augury of the bright day of liberality in Massachusetts, when nearly the same rule was adopted by Thomas Hooker more than sixty years before, in his church at Hartford;† to which place he and his congregation had come, as will be recollected, according to President Quincy, that they might be under a "stricter form of worship." That Dr. Colman and the new church adhered to the common faith of the churches of Massachusetts is proved from the "Manifesto" which they issued. They made a public annunciation of their "principles and rules," to which they intended "by God's grace to adhere." "First of all," they say, "we approve and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster." There seems to have been no hesitation about subscribing "words of man's devising;" there is not even the saving clause of "substance of doctrine." If President Quincy had noticed this part of the "Manifesto," he would have seen, we think, how little the church in Brattle Square differed from the other churches in Boston; and the want of any allusion to it, we consider a serious defect in his account of the formation of this church,

* See Dr. Palfrey's sermon to the church in Brattle Square, July 18th, 1824, in which, and the accompanying documents, the history of this church appears to be fully and impartially given.

† Magnalia, Life of Thomas Hooker.

considered as history. The liberality of Dr. Colman is so often commended in this work, that some, probably, would be pleased to see more particularly what was thought to be liberal theology in the first half of the eighteenth century. The following passage, from Dr. Palfrey's sermon before referred to, may gratify a very natural curiosity. "Dr. Colman was attached to the Genevan doctrine, as, with his parentage and subsequent connections, it would have been wonderful if he had not been. But he seemed to have outstripped his age, and to have risen almost to the ground of that venerable race of men now nearly extinct, which within the last century have borne the name of *moderate Calvinists*." The preservation of orthodoxy appears to have been an object of his solicitude. When Yale College "received the *Dean's Bounty*," says Dr. Palfrey, "Dr. Colman was alarmed, lest the benefaction should be coupled with conditions adverse to the purity of the churches, and wrote letters to the rector and some of the trustees, cautioning them to beware of making concessions to episcopacy. In one of these letters, he inquires concerning the truth of a report, that Arminianism had gained ground in that college." The detail, furnished by President Quincy of controversies arising out of the formation of the church of Brattle Square, shows no departure in any quarter from the common faith. The "*Westminster Confession*" was not infringed upon. There was great uniformity of belief, we are fully persuaded, not only among the early clergy of Massachusetts, but for a long time among their successors.

We pass now to another topic. About the year 1718, and for a few years after, some attempts were made to procure funds for Yale College, which are represented by President Quincy in a very unfavorable light. It does not, indeed, appear from the narrative, that any of the authorities of the college were directly concerned in these transactions; but as some or all of the trustees were not improbably acquainted with them, and may have afforded the agents their aid and countenance, it seems necessary to inquire what was really done, and how far the conduct of those implicated deserves censure. Especially is it incumbent on us to pay this subject some attention, since we find Governor Saltonstall,—who, in addition to his other excellences of character, possessed, as we had always supposed, a disposition remarkably frank, noble and generous,—represented as

favoring an "underhand"* proceeding, if he was not himself personally engaged in it.

The first attempt of this kind in favor of Yale College, which is thought by the author exceptionable, was made by Cotton Mather. It seems that in 1718 he wrote to Governor Yale, praising him for his "overflowing liberalities to objects on this side of the Atlantic," and, extolling his disposition to do good, he "bespeaks his favor for a people who are sound and generous Christians and Protestants, having a college at Saybrook, Connecticut;" and intimates to him that his munificence to it might "obtain for it the name of Yale College, which would be better than the name of sons and daughters;—a seminary," he adds, "from whence a good people expect the supply of all their synagogues." This is President Quincy's account of the matter; and he subjoins the remark: "From the temper of his mind at this time, it cannot be questioned that he meant that Mr. Yale should understand that Harvard College was not such a seminary." We do not suppose ourselves under very strong obligations to defend Cotton Mather. He may, at the time of writing this letter, have entertained unfriendly feelings towards Harvard; yet on the face of the communication we see nothing which necessarily implies hostility to that college. Governor Yale had begun to make donations to the college in Connecticut as early as 1714. As the college was about to be removed to New Haven, as Mather probably supposed, and it had in fact been removed at the date of his letter, and as Governor Yale was a native of New Haven and was aware of the intention of the trustees, Mather appears to have judged it a favorable time to incite him to some greater act of beneficence. Nothing is apparent, from which it can be inferred that he was induced to write this letter by any one immediately connected with the college of Connecticut. This active and busy divine was not disposed to withhold his services, whenever he thought they might be acceptable; and this may have been a "labor of love," to which he needed no prompting from others. As to the expression, that the good people of Connecticut expected from their new college "the supply of all their synagogues," it is not so clear to us as it seems to be to President Quincy, that the writer intended to cast any reproach on Harvard. It is

* Vol. I. p. 227.

undoubtedly true that there was an expectation, that graduates of the college just instituted would in time become extensively the pastors of churches in Connecticut, as actually occurred; and this with the best feelings towards the older seminary. This natural anticipation is all probably which Mather intended to express, though his language, as is common in epistolary writing, may be a little too unqualified. His vanity, certainly, is apparent in his letter written soon after to Governor Saltonstall, —an extract from which President Quincy has furnished. That Mather's interference, however, was of any injury to Harvard, or service to Yale, we see no evidence whatever. That he was influenced in what he did solely by motives of resentment against his own college, in the exercise of that liberality which is sometimes called charity, we are slow to believe.

But the great transgression was in the following year. In 1719, Thomas Hollis began a series of donations to Harvard College alike honorable to himself and to that institution. When the disposition of Hollis to patronize a college in New England was known, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, colonial agent, in September of the same year, sent for Mr. Hollis to meet him at a coffee-house in London, to show him a letter, and "to acquaint him about a college building at New Haven, and proposing it for his bounty." Hollis, it seems, did not receive this application with much favor. In the February following, 1720, Dummer brought to Hollis another letter dated the July preceding, "handsomely worded but no name to it, recommending to him the collegiate school at New Haven." This letter came inclosed in one from Governor Saltonstall, "earnestly pressing the same affair." In 1721, Hollis received two other "anonymous letters about Yale College." All these attempts to enlist Hollis in the support of the new institution in Connecticut were unavailing. The anonymous letter forwarded by Governor Saltonstall is supposed by President Quincy to have been written by Cotton Mather, and he adduces several reasons for his belief. To determine whether this was really so is not necessary for our object. As to any thing which we have in view, the alleged authorship of the letter or letters may be affirmed or denied. The only question with which we are concerned is, whether this request to Hollis implies any design or wish on the part of those who made it, "to turn the bounty of Thomas Hollis from Cambridge into the New Haven channel." This is what is alleged by President Quincy. It is readily ad-

mitted, that less wisdom appears in the mode of application, so far as the circumstances of the case are disclosed, than we should have expected from Governor Saltonstall. Hollis seems to have taken offence that an anonymous letter should have been sent him; and this occurrence was probably of itself sufficient to defeat the object, if he had otherwise been disposed to favor it. Governor Saltonstall and his anonymous coadjutor probably relied chiefly for success on what they considered the reasonableness of their request; and thought little of the manner in which it was preferred. If they had known more of the character of Hollis, the course pursued in approaching him might have been very different. But where is the proof, that it entered into the plan of Governor Saltonstall and Cotton Mather, if he was indeed the author of the anonymous letter, to benefit Yale at the expense of Harvard? To us such a conclusion appears altogether too remote from the premises. All which is shown by the correspondence, or can be clearly inferred from the circumstances is, that the friends of Yale College had learned what Hollis was doing for Harvard; and concluded it possible, on a fair representation of the necessities of the college in Connecticut, that he might be prevailed upon to do something for that likewise. How could they know that he intended to limit his benefactions to one institution? They might not unreasonably infer the probability that he had determined on giving Harvard a certain sum, and without diminishing it might also aid them in their enterprise. At least, there is no obvious reason why they might not bring their case before him for his consideration. If there was any error in the proceedings in this matter in Connecticut, it is found in the repetition of the application in 1721. But there may have been some grounds for this which are now unknown. Who were concerned in making this final request of Hollis is not said. That there was any thing in the whole of the transaction which can fairly be found fault with, even by the most scrupulous, has not been shown, except perhaps in the case of the anonymous letters, and this, at most, was a mere indiscretion. That there was a design or wish to do any thing which might prejudice the interests of Harvard, is not only not proved, but is not rendered in a slight degree probable. This supposition ought not to be entertained without some direct and positive proof.

Such would be our conclusion, whoever had been the actors in this business. But when we ask, who is the responsible

person, no name is given, except on conjecture, but that of Governor Saltonstall. It was he who communicated the anonymous letter. If Cotton Mather, or whoever was the author of it, preferred a petition adverse to Harvard, Governor Saltonstall was accessory to the wrong. President Quincy very properly remarks, "that Governor Saltonstall would hardly have consented to have been the medium of an anonymous letter, unless he had known the author to be of some weight of character," and we would add, unless he had fully understood the design of this "underhand mover;" as he inclosed the anonymous letter in one written by himself, "earnestly pressing the same affair."

Now, in what relation does Governor Saltonstall stand to Harvard College? He died in 1724, and by will left that college one hundred pounds. His wife, Mary Saltonstall, had given that college an equal sum the year before; and afterwards in her will added to this benefaction one thousand pounds. It is not unreasonable to presume,—it may be considered as certain,—that with respect to this latter bequest, there was an understanding between Governor Saltonstall and his wife before his death. In 1717, Governor Saltonstall and his wife gave to Yale College each fifty pounds. Their joint donations, therefore, to Harvard and Yale, are as twelve to one. In view of these facts, we would ask, is it credible, or rather, on the common principles of human action, is it possible that in 1720,—and the dates should be particularly noticed,—Governor Saltonstall was conspiring with Cotton Mather or any one else, who was endeavoring in an "underhand way" "to turn the bounty of Thomas Hollis from Cambridge into the New Haven channel?" We fully believe that there has been some strange oversight in preparing the account of this matter. We are wholly unable to persuade ourselves that President Quincy on so slight grounds, or, as we think, no grounds at all, would willingly hold up one of the principal benefactors of Harvard, and one, who "in the attributes of public spirit and benevolence was not surpassed by any of his contemporaries," to censure and reproach.

(To be concluded.)

ARTICLE VII.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PROF. M. STUART AND DR. I. NORDHEIMER, ON THE USE AND OMISSION OF THE HEBREW ARTICLE IN SOME IMPORTANT PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

To Dr. I. Nordheimer.

MY DEAR SIR:

THE copy of your Hebrew Syntax, which you forwarded to me, has been received, and I have perused it with much interest and satisfaction. I am specially gratified with the *simplicity* of method, which for the most part is exhibited in its developments. Everywhere it bears the marks of *eigene Forschung* as well as of *eiserne Fleiss*, i. e. of original and personal efforts in investigation, as well as of the untiring diligence with which this has been pursued. I have been particularly struck with the appositeness and lucid order of your examples, which are cited to illustrate and confirm your positions. They are plainly, for the most part, the result of your own reading and research; and they carry along with them a weight of evidence, which will very generally compel the belief and secure the confidence of the intelligent student. If you have not done every thing which is to be done in this department of labor, this is no reproach, and nothing derogatory to your work. It is not for any one man to do all, in this department, which is to be done. That individual deserves hearty thanks from those that study the Old Testament Scriptures, who makes any improvement upon the old arrangement of the syntax, gives a more satisfactory elucidation of any part of it, or contributes something new to the treasures already collected. In my judgment you are entitled to credit in each of these respects; and this is saying as much as you could wish me to say.

But it is no part of my present object to *review* your book; for inasmuch as I am myself before the public in the capacity of a Hebrew grammarian, it would hardly be delicate for me to undertake such a task. I have a different object in view, on the present occasion, and one which I will proceed to unfold without further introduction or delay.

One of the first chapters, which I read in your Syntax, was that which respects the *Article*. The reason of this was, that I had been engaged in some investigations, where the question respecting the *absence* and the *presence* of the article seemed to become *fundamental*, as to the true meaning of the sacred text. My mind had been not a little perplexed with the subject; and after all, I had not been able wholly to free myself from this perplexity. Gesenius, Ewald, Vater, and (of course) the older grammarians had not solved my doubts, nor proffered me any clue to which I could confidently intrust myself. You may imagine, then, with what interest I took up your work, knowing that you had been making new investigations, and hoping that by some of these my darkness would be dissipated.

I am not certain, however, whether any of the principles which you have developed respecting the article will reach to the satisfactory solution of my doubts. If it be a fact, that the application of any of the principles exhibited in your book will solve them, you will of course have an opportunity, in answering my questions, to show how this may be done. Believing you to be sincerely desirous of exhibiting the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to any matter of grammar, or any principle of philology, which you have occasion to discuss, I proceed, without further apology or preface, to state my difficulties, and to ask your attention to the subject, and that you will lay the results of your investigation before the public, that they, as well as myself may be profited by your labors.

After all that has been said and written on Is. 7: 14, "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son," there remains some difficulty in the mind of every sober, unbiassed and independent investigator. This difficulty has respect, so far as my own mind is concerned, to the *article* in מְאֻמָּה, which seems to demand that we should translate *the virgin*, not a *virgin* (which would be מְאֻמָּה). Certainly the common principles of Hebrew syntax, in respect to the article, would demand such a version. What is there that will lead, or even permit us to dispense with this demand?

In answer to this, I am well aware that it is easy to produce a great number of cases, where the Hebrew article is employed, while the corresponding sentiment in our idiom will not admit the insertion of our definite article. For example; in a multitude of cases where the ׁ of similitude is prefixed to nouns,

and these nouns mostly take the article in Hebrew; e. g. Ps. 49: 15, *They are laid in the grave* בְּצֹאֵן, lit. *like the sheep*, which in English would be an offence against the common laws of idiom, for we invariably say, in such general comparisons, *like sheep*. So Deut. 1: 44, *They chased you* הַחֲבִירִים . . . כִּי, *as the bees do*; Is. 40: 31, *They shall mount up* בְּנִשְׂרָם, *as the eagles*; and so in a countless number of examples. So also with the *singular* number, as well as with the plural; e. g. Hos. 14: 6, *I will be to Israel* כְּטֶל, *as the dew*; Hos. 14: 7, *His savor shall be* כְּלִבְנוֹן, *as the Lebanon*; Hos. 14: 8, *And they shall blossom* כְּנֶגֶן, *as the vine*. In such cases, our English idiom sometimes would admit, and sometimes reject, the article; for we might say *as the dew*, *as the vine*, but not *as the Lebanon*. Yet it would be equally well to say in the former cases, *as dew*, *as a vine*.

I do not adduce cases like these, in order to show that the use of the article in הַחֲבִירִים can be accounted for by them, but merely to show that the Hebrew language, in the use of the article, not unfrequently differs very palpably from the English. This fact being established, it remains only to be ascertained, how far this discrepancy goes, and whether the cases which have occasioned my present inquiries belong to those which can be illustrated by such means or in this manner.

But before I proceed to further remarks, permit me to inquire whether the metes and bounds of the article after the כ of similitude can be fixed with certainty? Gesenius (Lex.) says that the use of the article in such a case is *longe frequentissimus*; but when the noun joined with such a כ is followed by another word which makes it definite, then the article is *omitted*. This last circumstance you have failed to notice in § 720, II. 2, a. It however not only requires notice, but the numerous cases which do not come under either of these rubrics, viz., cases where the כ of similitude is followed by a noun not made definite and which is also *anarthrous*, (cases that are not unfrequent, and which I have often noticed,) require a particular and thorough investigation. I would respectfully suggest this as one of the topics which demands further investigation, and one concerning which Hebrew grammar yet leaves us in the dark.—But to my immediate purpose.

As more like הַחֲבִירִים are we to regard such cases as 1 Sam. 17: 34, *And there came* הַיָּאֵר וְהַדָּבָר, *the lion and the bear*; where we must say in English, *a lion and a bear*. An example

of the same tenor, and with the same words, is also found in Amos 5: 19. Here *some one* of a class of animals is clearly denoted; but not the whole class, for then the designation might naturally take the article. But of this individual *one*, no notice is given in the context; no adjunct has rendered it definite to the mind of a reader; and what was there to make it so to the mind of even the writer? Of the first example one might say: "The lion and the bear, which so commonly invade the flocks, is meant;" of the second (in Amos), it is difficult to get even so much as this to support it. Is there any thing but *emphasis*, as applied to the designation of some particular individual, which is left to account for the article—an individual, moreover, not distinguished (as is usual when the article is exhibited) from other individuals of the same species, but as distinguished from any individual of another species? If such a use of the article is allowed in Hebrew, it is a peculiar principle, and needs further investigation and illustration. May I invite your attention to the further development of this principle?

After all, how can these cases bear upon נַעֲרָה in Is. 7: 14? If *virgin* here be supposed to mean a *class*, the nature of the context utterly refutes the supposition. It is an *individual* who is to bear an individual child. In what way, then, does the individuality become thus *specific*? How is this one *virgin*, (or *young woman*, if we should even adopt such a translation, with Aquila, Gesenius and others,) distinguished so as to become specific in the view of the prophet, or of those who read him?

Nothing is said in the preceding context respecting her. No account is given of the *when* or *where* of her existence in the sequel. How then are we to account for the use of the *article*? What has been recently said in respect to it, you are well aware of. Gesenius represents the article here as equivalent to the pronoun adjective *my*, and the prophet as meaning *my young wife*. Others have applied it to a young wife of Ahaz; others to some young woman then in the presence of Ahaz and the prophet, to whom the latter might refer δεικνύσας, as much as to say: *This young woman*. So far as the mere article is concerned, this might be an easy solution; but what the *extraordinary* and *miraculous* σημεῖον (*sign*), which the prophet promises could then be, is beyond my comprehension; and this difficulty is enough of itself to render this solution altogether improbable. Even

Paulus, Ewald, and Hitzig reject this; and Ewald has proposed a principle (Kleine Gramm. s. 239) which at least deserves serious examination. He says that "the article is used with nouns that signify a species, in order to designate an individual, and all possible like individuals, of the same species definitely separated or distinguished from other different species." Translated into common parlance, I suppose this to mean: *Irgend einer* = *aliquis* (but not *quidam*), i. e. some individual of a particular species as distinct from other species. So Hitzig (Comm. on Is. 7: 14) allows the article in such cases to be equivalent to *aliquis*. He appeals to Judg. 14: 6, הַיָּמִינִי; 1 Kings 20: 36, הַיָּמִינִי, and 2 Kings 4: 18, הַיָּמִינִי. If this idea is well founded, is it not an adequate solution of the difficulty before us? The words of the prophet then would run thus: *Behold! some virgin shall conceive*, etc. In this case the article would merely mark an individual which belongs to a class distinct from all other classes. Is this tenable? And if so, will the several examples, such as הַיָּמִינִי, הַיָּמִינִי, הַיָּמִינִי, etc., suffice to illustrate and establish such a principle? See in Ewald *ut supra*.

The solution of Hengstenberg (Comm. on Is. 7: 14, in his *Christol.*), viz., that the article refers to some individual virgin whom the prophet sees in his ecstasy, will hardly satisfy most critical readers of Hebrew. How in such a case could Ahaz attach any intelligible meaning to the article, who could not be conscious of what was passing in the prophet's mind?

The supposition, moreover, that the prophet refers to some virgin of David's race, whom the popular belief had already fixed upon as the mother of a future Deliverer, is destitute of any evidence. Is. 7: 14 contains the first notice we have of the birth of the Deliverer in this peculiar manner.

It is not necessary in answering my questions, to determine whether the Messiah has come, or is yet to come. I do not ask your opinion on this point. It is a mere dark spot in Hebrew Grammar, on which I wish to have more light poured, if more can be poured. That a great Personage is predicted in Is. 7: 14—16, I suppose will not be denied. Be he now who he may—what is the use and intent of the article in הַיָּמִינִי; how is it to be translated; and what must the prophet have designed by affixing it to the noun הַיָּמִינִי? You see I repose much confidence in your candor, as well as ability, in respect to an answer; and on your part, you will be glad that I have ex-

cited you to a more thorough investigation of the doctrine of the Hebrew article. The subject is worth a little book by itself. In my judgment, there remains still "much land in this quarter to be possessed." I do not know who has better opportunity, or more ability, than you to take possession. For one, I shall be truly grateful to you for the effort.

I have now laid before you some of the difficulties with which I have felt myself to be pressed, in regard to מָלִיכִי in Is. 7 : 14. Let me next call your attention to another passage, which has been regarded by interpreters as being of equal, or almost equal, importance with this ; although it is nowhere cited and applied to the Messiah by the writers of the New Testament. The words to which I refer are in Dan. 9 : 25 : "Moreover, know thou and understand, that from the going forth of the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, *מֵצֵי*, *מֵצֵי* unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks," etc., as our English version has it. It is a matter of course, that our translators regarded this passage as having reference to the Messiah ; and my present inquiry is not, whether you believe or not, that it refers to Jesus of Nazareth ; but whether, by the laws of the Hebrew language, it is admissible here to translate this passage as it now stands in our version, and in nearly all the older versions of modern times ? There is *no article before Messiah or Prince*, in the original Hebrew. Could the article be omitted, in case the language was intended to designate the Messiah ?

Rosenmueller translates—*ad unctum principem* ; De Wette, in like manner, "*bis auf einen gesalbten Fürsten* ;" and so Hitzig ; i. e. these and many others render the words as meaning *until an anointed Prince or Chieftain*. Hengstenberg, who has strenuously defended the *Messianic* meaning of the passage against such a construction, concedes that it should be rendered *an Anointed One, a Prince* ; and he thinks that it was left purposely indefinite, in order to excite the curiosity of readers !

Not contented, however, with this suggestion, he strenuously defends the omission of the article before מָלִיכִי, on the ground that it is a *proper name*. Is there any good reason for such an assertion ? What is the usage of the Old Testament in respect to the word מָלִיכִי ?

This word occurs thirty-nine times ; and in thirty-two of them it is in regimen with the word Jehovah, or with a noun-adjective referring to him. In all these the article is of

course omitted by the usual laws of the language. In four of the remaining cases it has the article ; but it has it because it stands in apposition with *הַכֹּהֵן*, the *high-priest*, and is an attributive of this noun ; see Lev. 4 : 3, 5, 16. 6 : 22. In one case, 2 Sam. 1 : 21, it is a simple adjective, and is applied to the shield of Saul. The other two cases are before us, viz. in Dan. 9 : 25, 26. We have no opportunity, then, to gather much information about the use of the article with *הַמָּשִׁיחַ*, from the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures.

But as to the assertion, that it is a *proper name* in Dan. 9 : 25 ; on what can this be built ? Out of the thirty-nine cases in which the word occurs, twenty-nine of them plainly respect Saul, David, or some other Jewish king ; *four* have respect to the high-priest ; *two* are of the plural number and are applied to the whole people of Israel ; *one* is an adjective applied to the shield of Saul ; *one* is applied to Cyrus in Is. 40 : 1 ; and only one instance is to be found, excepting in the verse before us, where *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* is a Messianic title, viz. in Ps. 2 : 2. Whence then does Hengstenberg get the evidence, that *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* in Dan. 9 : 25 is a *proper name* ? It is an appellative merely in itself ; and in order to acquire the virtue of a proper name, we must suppose it to have become exceedingly common in the times of Daniel. But where is the evidence of this ?

If now the omission of the article before *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* might be accounted for in Hengstenberg's way, yet how can it be accounted for that *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* has it not ? We cannot say *הַמָּשִׁיחַ*, but must say *הַמָּשִׁיחַ הַזֶּה*. Why not then *הַמָּשִׁיחַ הַזֶּה* ?

But this is not all. Is *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* a probable *Messianic* designation ? Of the forty-two times in which the word is employed in the Old Testament, excluding the passage before us, there are nineteen cases where it means a *leader*, *overseer*, etc., of a secondary order ; in nineteen or twenty it designates a *ruler* or *king* of the Hebrews ; once it designates a *foreign prince*, Ezek. 28 : 2. In Job 31 : 37, Prov. 29 : 16, Dan. 11 : 22, the meaning may be contested, but probably it means *chief ruler*.

Why now should Daniel choose a word of such various and even secondary signification, for the designation of the Messiah, when *הַמָּשִׁיחַ* would have been the usual, intelligible and appropriate word ? And why omit the *article*, which seems to be absolutely demanded by the usual laws of the language ? These questions Hengstenberg has not answered ; what answer then does Hebrew usage compel us to give ?

As to the rendering by *anointed Chieftain*, I cannot see how this is to be defended. If מָשִׁיחַ be an adjective here, it must, from its position, be a *predicate*, and not an attributive. Or if this be not so, where are the examples which will justify such a rendering by Rosenmueller and De Wette?

You see my grammatical and exegetical straits. I wish for more light drawn from the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures and the nature of the Hebrew idiom, and not for confident assertion or contemptuous scorn of the opinions of all who may differ in their views. I do not wish to draw you into the Messianic question or controversy here, but merely to obtain your opinion, with proofs from Scripture, what the *omission* of the article here must necessarily import. This matter cannot be settled by a mere *en passant* remark, as in Havernick; nor by examples in favor of the rendering *anointed Prince*, such as Rosenmueller gives in his Comm. in locum. All of these seem to me to be capable of another solution, in conformity with the usual custom of the language. I wish for more light; I shall be thankful if you can and will impart it.

I know well it will cost you labor. But I know, also, that you are a real φιλόπονος, and will not shrink from the undertaking on this account. As you have so recently been through the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures in search of examples to illustrate your Syntax, you will the more easily find what I desire, if it is to be found. My state of health, and engagements forbid the requisite labor on my part. May I say to you: *Juniores ad labores?*

I have other questions in regard to the article. Is it true that *poetry* assumes a peculiar license in respect to the *omission* of it? And if so, are there any fixed principles in regard to this? The fact is often asserted by Gesenius and others; but have they noticed with sufficient discrimination the usages of prose?

These and the preceding questions will help to prepare you, if you enter into the discussion of them, for the second edition of your Hebrew Syntax, which, in due time, I doubt not will be demanded.

Believing that you will rightly appreciate the confidence which I have thus signified, by asking these questions, of your knowledge of the Hebrew idiom, and that you will at least give some valuable hints respecting the difficulties proposed, I subscribe myself,

Yours, with respect and kind regard,
Andover, Theol. Sem., June 16, 1841.

M. STUART.

To Professor M. Stuart.

DEAR SIR :

I received your letter proposing a correspondence between yourself and me on the use and omission of the Hebrew article in some passages of the Old Testament, and containing some commendatory remarks on the second volume of my Hebrew Grammar. While I thank you for the latter, I undertake with pleasure to answer your inquiries ; although I am not sure of being able to do so to your satisfaction, as, after a close examination of the subject, I do not clearly perceive wherein the passages quoted present greater difficulties with regard to the article than do many others as well in Hebrew as in other languages.

On a careful perusal of your letter, I find that the principal queries it contains are the following two, of a directly opposite nature, concerning the use of the article in the passage *הִנֵּה הַעַלְמָה הָרְה* “behold a virgin shall conceive,” Is. 7 : 14, and its omission in the passage *בְּרֵךְ מָשִׁיחַ בְּנֵי נָגִיד* “unto the Messiah the Prince,” Dan. 9 : 25 ; besides which a few other queries are cursorily introduced. In my reply I shall confine myself chiefly to these two principal passages, touching upon the others, which are fully discussed and quoted in my Syntax, in the course of my remarks.

But even in regard to the two main queries, as to the use of the article in *הַעַלְמָה*, and its omission in *בְּרֵךְ מָשִׁיחַ*, their solution I think is contained in the principles laid down in my Syntax, in the chapter on the article. As regards the first of them, I have said in § 720. II., “the article is subjectively prefixed to a common noun by way of emphasis, and to point it out as one which, although neither previously nor subsequently described, is still viewed as definite in the mind of the writer.” And as to the last, I have likewise said, § 718, “the article, as well as other particles, is sometimes omitted by the poets, who, for the sake of elevating and condensing their expressions, frequently neglect those minute specifications of meaning which the prose writer is required to make.” As these two observations, which are chiefly applicable to poetic compositions, are of an apparently contradictory nature, and as the conciseness of a scientific text-book is not called for on the present occasion, a fuller development of these principles may here not be superfluous.

In the frequent use or entire omission of particles, poetry in

almost every language differs essentially from prose ; because, as this class of vocables are used for the most part merely to indicate the relations of the principal members of a sentence to each other, their use or omission by the poet in particular instances will depend on whether clearness and perspicuity or an emphatic conciseness be his principal aim. Now the prose writer is in general not under the influence of any powerful emotion, nor is his mind raised above the ordinary state of cool deliberation. Consequently in the expression of his ideas he is not governed by his own feelings alone, but consults external circumstances, and is or should be careful to adapt his expressions to his reader's comprehension : so that if a particle be necessary to convey a clear conception of an idea to his reader, he will feel called upon to use it ; and if not, he will omit it. Accordingly, on applying this principle to the Hebrew article, we find that the prose writer omits it where a noun is employed indefinitely or is rendered definite by signification or construction (see Gram. § 717) ; while he uses it, either objectively, i. e. where a noun, being otherwise rendered specific, is definite both to himself and his reader (see § 720. I.), or subjectively, i. e. where he emphatically prefixes the article to the name of an object which he has reason to suppose will be known to the reader without further specification (see § 720. II.).

But such is not the case with the prophet or poet, who, being under the control of powerful and sudden emotions, expresses at once that which divine or poetic inspiration dictates, with less regard than the prose writer for the intellect and previous state of knowledge of his readers. Hence, if a clear indication of some relation between the principal members of a sentence present itself as a prominent consideration to his mind, he will use and even repeat the particle denoting such relation, and that too in cases where the prose writer could omit it altogether as unnecessary ; while at another time a certain relation may stand so plain and obvious before his mind, as to seem to require no specification whatever, and consequently he will omit it, especially when desirous of using a particularly condensed and energetic form of expression,—and this may occur even where his readers may thereby be left in some doubt as to his precise meaning. Now in applying this principle to the passage *הָיָה הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוָה*, the use of the article by the prophet conclusively shows that the person spoken of was definite and specific to his own mind, i. e. that God by inspiration indicated to him the

individual who should “conceive and bear a son;” for which reason he makes use of the definite article; for were he to omit it, and use the term *לֵלֶכֶת* alone, he would manifest that he himself did not know to what individual person his prophecy referred. Thus the prophet employs the article to show that the object to which it relates was definite to his own mind, although the neglect of a further specification still leaves room for doubt in the minds of his readers as to the particular person alluded to.

The other examples adduced of the use of the article in cases where it is not employed in English can by no means be classified with the passage *Is. 7 : 14*, and all admit of a much easier solution. Thus the article is frequently used after the *ו* of similitude by writers both of prose and poetry, in order to give emphasis to the noun the comparison is made with, which usually denotes some well known object (see § 720. I. 2. a.). You here cite a rule laid down by Gesenius in his *Lexicon*, that the article after the *ו* of similitude is omitted, when followed by another word which renders it definite; and kindly remind me that I have failed to notice this circumstance, at the same time stating it as your opinion, not only that it requires notice, but that the numerous cases where the *ו* of similitude is followed by a noun not made definite and which is also without the article, require a particular, thorough investigation.

To this I reply, that I did not notice Gesenius’s rule because I consider it as either *superfluous* or *erroneous*. For if Gesenius means, as you seem to suppose, that the article is omitted after the *ו* of similitude when the noun is followed by another which is definite, this needs no mention, since the first noun as a matter of course never receives the article (see § 717. II. b. a. β. γ.). Does he however mean, as I think he does from the examples he adduces, that the article after *ו* is omitted whenever the noun is qualified by a following adjective, participle, or noun with a preposition, this does not hold good;* since we also find nouns with *ו* taking the article when followed by a qualificative adjective, e. g. *וּמִשְׁחָן יְהוֹשִׁיב* like the precious ointment, *Ps. 133 : 2*; *בְּתֵמָרִים הַטּוֹבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה*, like these good figs, *Jer. 24 : 5, 8*.

* It is true that in the Latin edition of his *Lexicon* (1833), the assertion is restricted by a “*plerumque*,” for the most part; but in the last German edition since published (1834), and which must be taken as giving the author’s latest views, no qualifying expression is made use of.

29 : 17 ; or participle, e. g. כֶּטֶל תְּשִׁימִים *like the early dew*, Hos. 6 : 4, 13 : 3, יָם תְּנַרְשׁ *like the troubled sea*, Is. 57 : 20, מַיִם יִשְׁפְּרוּ *like water spilt*, 2 Sam. 14 : 14 : while on the other hand, as you justly observe, comparisons are made with equal or still greater frequency by means of כְּ without the article, before nouns which are *not* followed by any such qualifying term ; thus we have חֲבִיטָה *like the chaff*, Is. 41 : 15, Ps. 1 : 4, and חֲבִיטָה *like chaff*, Hos. 13 : 3 ; כְּנָשׁ *like the eagle*, Jer. 48 : 40, 49 : 16, 22, Ps. 103 : 5, and כְּנָשׁ *like an eagle*, Deut. 32 : 11, Job 9 : 26 ; כְּנָחָשׁ *like the serpent*, Jer. 46 : 22, and כְּנָחָשׁ *like a serpent*, Prov. 23 : 32 ; כְּלִבְיָה *like the lioness*, Isa. 5 : 29, and כְּלִבְיָה *like a lioness*, Num. 23 : 24, Deut. 33 : 20, Hos. 13 : 8, so כְּאַרְיֵה *like a lion*, Gen. 49 : 9, Ps. 7 : 3, 17 : 12 ; כְּגִבּוֹר *like the mighty man*, Is. 42 : 13, and כְּגִבּוֹר *like a mighty man*, Zech. 10 : 7, Job 16 : 4. Here we see both that a noun with כְּ sometimes has the article even followed by an adjective or participle ; and again, frequently has it not, even when destitute of such qualification. But in fact, the use or omission of the article after כְּ entirely depends on whether the writer desires to lay an emphasis on the name of the thing with which the comparison is made or not ; just as one may say in English, “ *the lion shall eat straw like the ox,*” or “ *a lion shall eat straw like an ox :*” and in the examples given by Gesenius without the article, the article is omitted not on account of the following word, but simply because the writer views the noun as indefinite, and expresses it accordingly. But when he views the noun as definite and hence lays a stress upon it, he places the article before the noun, and either uses or omits it before the following adjective or participle (see examples given above) ; and if this noun, instead of being followed by a qualificative, be in construction with another following noun, he will of course place the article before this latter only, e. g. חֲדָל יָם *like the sand of the sea*, Gen. 32 : 12, 41 : 49, Is. 10 : 22, קֵלֶב ראֲרִיחַ *like the head of the lion*, 2 Sam. 17 : 10, Ezek. 18 : 4, כְּיוֹם רִשְׁמִים *like the fowl of the air*, Hos. 7 : 12.

Now your query : When is the כְּ of similitude followed by the article, and when not ? I would change into the following : When does the writer usually lay a stress upon the noun with which the comparison is made, and consequently prefix the article to it ; and when does he not ? To this I would reply by giving the following rule, viz. that when the writer makes a comparison with something that is generally known, presenting

the noun that denotes it unrestricted in its qualities before the reader, who is expected to recall to mind all the attributes of the object in order to rightly understand the comparison, he generally lays a stress upon such noun, and accordingly places the article before it: thus, "thou shalt make the hills like *the chaff*," Is. 41: 15; "thy youth shall renew itself like *the eagle*," Ps. 103: 5, etc. etc. But when he qualifies and restricts the meaning of the noun in any way, either by an adjective, participle, verb, or relative pronoun—the noun forming the subject, or by a preposition that indicates its relation to another noun, so that the reader is not left to recall its attributes by an unaided effort of mind, he generally lays no stress upon it, and accordingly leaves it without the article; thus, "like *chaff* that passeth away," Is. 29: 5, Hos. 13: 3; "as *an eagle* stirreth up her nest," Deut. 32: 11, etc. etc. We even meet with examples of both these kinds of construction in one and the same verse, e. g. עוֹלֵל יְעֻלְלֵה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל דָּשֵׁב יָדָהּ בְּבוֹצֵר עַל-סִלְסוּלֹת *they shall thoroughly glean the remnant of Israel as a vine; turn back thy hand as a grape-gatherer into the baskets*, Is. 6: 9, 23, חֲלוּא כֹה דְבַרְרִי בְּאֵשׁ נִאֲסִיחוֹתָ וּבְחַמְטִישׁ יִסְפֵּץ סֵלֶע *is not my word like the fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?* 23: 29. But, be it remembered, these rules will hold good generally, but not always; for a writer sometimes lays no stress upon the noun even when left unrestricted, and *vice versa*.

In the examples next quoted, as הַלֵּוֹיִם *the lion*, הַיָּדִיב *the bear*, הַיָּדִיב *the kid*, the use of the article may also be easily accounted for, and cannot in my opinion be likened to that of הַיָּדִיבָהּ. In these instances the context shows that the writer means merely one of the class spoken of, without designing to specify any individual in particular, and where accordingly we would use the indefinite article. But, as I have said in my Grammar, the Hebrew writer here uses the definite article emphatically, "to render prominent the *nature and properties* of the class of objects denoted, rather than the *object itself*" (§ 720. II. 2. a.); thus David in giving to Saul a proof of his courage and strength says, וַיָּבֹא הַלֵּוֹיִם וְהַיָּדִיבָהּ *and there came the lion and the bear*, 1 Sam. 17: 34, meaning, there came one of each of those powerful, ferocious animals, the lion and the bear, and still I slew them; so too the passages, 1 Kings 20: 36, Amos 5: 19, also Judg. 14: 6, *Samsun rent the lion as one rends the kid* (הַיָּדִיבָהּ), that young and tender animal. This explana-

tion coincides with the principle laid down by Ewald, which is recommended by you to my serious attention and quoted in the following words, "the article is used with nouns that signify a species in order to designate an individual and all possible like individuals of the same species definitely separated or distinguished from other different species;" but with this difference, that in stating that the writer uses the article in such cases "to render prominent the *nature and properties* of the class of objects denoted, rather than the individual objects themselves," I think I have hit nearer the mark, and will also be more easily understood by others.

Having given you my opinion respecting the use of the article in the word מְשִׁיחַ Is. 7 : 14, and in the other instances which you have incidentally introduced, I now proceed to your second query, of a contrary nature, i. e. with regard to the omission of the article in the passage נָגִיד מְשִׁיחַ Dan. 9 : 25, where the English version employs the definite article, thus, "from the going forth of the command to return and build Jerusalem unto *the* Messiah *the* Prince," etc. Your question is, "Is it admissible by the laws of Hebrew grammar to translate this passage as it now stands in our version? is it correct to translate unto *the* Messiah, when in Hebrew the article is omitted?" To this I answer, that in my opinion it is correct, and in accordance with the principle I have given above, viz. that the prophet or poet frequently omits the article even where the noun must be regarded as definite (see p. 413): and the example in Dan. 9 : 25, I take to be one of this kind; since, if we examine the entire passage, we find that the prophet in his vivid description of the vision he has seen likewise omits the article before other nouns where the prose writer would be required to use it, as they are undoubtedly definite; thus in the expression מִצֵּאת דְּבַר לְהָשִׁיב *the going forth of the command*, etc., the word דְּבַר *command* is specific, and in prose would take the article; again in verse 26, מְשִׁיחַ ought to have the article because mentioned before in v. 25, yet it is omitted. Hence we are justified in asserting that נָגִיד מְשִׁיחַ is not left anarthrous because the prophet wishes to make his statement indefinite, but because its definiteness is so clear and obvious before his excited mind, that he considers it unnecessary to point it out by means of the article. The assertion of Hengstenberg, that מְשִׁיחַ is here used as a proper noun, is incorrect,

as you rightly observe; since in that case the following *גִּיד* would necessarily take the article.

Your last question, "Are there any fixed principles with regard to such omission of the article by the poets?" is difficult to answer, as it principally depends on the subjective state of the poet's mind; but it may be generally remarked that he omits the article with a definite noun only where the context or the nature of the noun would prevent any ambiguity from this cause, as in *מֶלֶךְ the king*, Ps. 21 : 2, Esth. 1 : 19; *מָשִׁיחַ the Messiah*, Dan. 9 : 25, where only one individual can be alluded to; as also in the case of monadic objects, e. g. *שֶׁשֶׁשׁ the sun*, *אֶרֶץ the earth*, Ps. 2 : 2, Job 9 : 24. The article is also not unfrequently omitted by a poet before a noun in one clause of a sentence when it is prefixed to a corresponding noun in another and parallel clause, as in Is. 11 : 5, 13 : 10, 13, Ezek. 7 : 27. (See Gram. § 718.)

I have thus endeavored to answer your grammatical inquiries according to my opinions; but I am not sure that this will remove your difficulties. I have done so with pleasure, and shall always be ready, if health will permit, to discuss any grammatical topic, even of a graver nature than the above, which you may in future find time or inclination to suggest. In the meantime I am, dear sir,

Yours with great respect and esteem,

L. NORDHEIMER.

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF ROBINSON'S BIBLICAL RESEARCHES.

By Rev. Charles Hall, New-York, one of the Secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society.

Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petræa. A Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations, by Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York, Author of a Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, etc. With new Maps and Plans, in Five Sheets. In Three Volumes, 8vo. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. New-York: Jonathan Leavitt. London: John Murray. Halle: Waisenhausbuchhandlung. pp. 599, 679, 721.

PALESTINE is the subject of associations more sacred and interesting than any other section of the globe. Whenever our thoughts recur to the origin and spread of the human race, or to the great leading facts connected with that revelation on which our religion is founded, the imagination flies at once to that hoary land, which God selected as the dwelling place of his chosen people. The classic countries of Greece and Italy awaken in our minds an enduring interest by the scientific renown of their sons, and by the splendor of their arts, which still glows amid the ruins of their former greatness. And yet, compared with Palestine, what have Greece and Italy done for the great interests of man? Their influence on the character and destiny of succeeding ages might all have been spared, and yet the nations have been fired with the love of liberty by the orators of other lands, or polished by the arts and letters of another race. "The present condition of the world," it has been justly said, "might not have been materially different from what it is, had Alexander never been born, and had Julius Cæsar died in his cradle." But the influence of Palestine on the welfare of the human family is indispensable. Her seers, prophets and people were set, first, to promulgate the principles

of God's government of men, and then, to illustrate its operation in their own history. The land where they dwelt is, therefore, intimately related to the past condition of our world, and also extends its influence through the present, down to all future ages, and has no other limits, either in space or time, than the limits of human existence. From that small territory agencies have gone forth, excelling in their results those of all other lands. It is no wonder, then, that, by the common consent of all Christendom, it is held to be sacred. What recollections come crowding upon the mind, as we review its history! In that country, and those immediately adjacent, are comprised the localities of most of the stupendous events which attended the creation, the fall and the redemption of the race. It was on those venerable mountains and in those sequestered vallies, that Jehovah came down to talk with men. There miracles were wrought; there prophesy was uttered and fulfilled. There are Sinai and Horeb, speaking of God's majesty and holy law; and there were Shiloh and Zion, with the altar and the mercy seat. There Abraham fed his flocks, David led forth his victorious armies, and Jesus magnified the law and made it honorable. Almost at a single glance, the eye of the pilgrim may take in Bethlehem whence the Saviour was born, Calvary where he died, and Olivet whence he ascended up on high. Over those wavy hills and quiet vales of Galilee, Samaria and Judea, he went, in many a weary journey, down to the hour when he declared the completion of the stupendous work which the Father gave him to do, by exclaiming: "It is finished."

But it is not only because of these associations, that Palestine attracts to itself so much of our regard; it is found that the more we become acquainted with the geography, the natural history, the existing population and customs of that land, the better we understand the meaning, and enjoy the beauties of the Holy Scriptures. While the people and manners of the western nations are liable to change, with every new form of social organization or political revolution, the Orientals remain, in many respects, as they were three thousand years ago. Although the Macedonian destroyer swept over the plains of Asia, and after him came the eagle of Rome, yet both Macedon and Rome are as if they had not been. They have been blotted out from among the nations, while the people of Palestine and Arabia, whom they conquered, survive their destroyers; and their genius, the idioms of their languages, and their social customs seem

endowed with a kind of immortality, where every thing else is tending to alteration and decay.

The report of these customs has shed light on many passages of the Holy Scriptures which would be otherwise unintelligible. Since the principle of historical interpretation has gained the ascendancy, commentators manifest an increasing readiness to avail themselves of this class of facts. Illustrations drawn from the geography, natural history and customs of countries mentioned in the Bible are not only admirably adapted to interest the minds of the common people, but also rank high among the legitimate means of interpretation, and even among the evidences that the sacred books are indeed the productions of the writers and the periods to which they profess to belong.

Is it not surprising, therefore, that for some years past, the public has shown a disposition to patronize all works which profess to afford the means of explaining the Scriptures by oriental allusions? The journal of the traveller, the portfolio of the artist and the cabinet of the antiquary have been explored for materials which might be available for this purpose. These have been furnished to the public, with every variety of letter-press and of pictorial embellishment, from the paragraph of a newspaper to the elaborate dictionary, and from the coarsest wood-cuts to the finest engravings; and in all these forms have met with a liberal patronage.

In view of this favorable appreciation of works professing to illustrate the word of God, it is a matter of regret that our authentic materials for this purpose are yet so scanty. We would not undervalue the learned labors of such writers as Calmet and his editors; but would rather express our obligations to them for showing, by what they have done, the value of this species of research, and the probable importance of the similar results which are yet to be developed. After all that has been accomplished, it is still true, that our knowledge of Palestine has been supplied mainly by ignorant monks or credulous pilgrims, or by travellers who either had little sympathy with revelation, or who visited the Holy Land under disadvantages that forbade the acquisition of such information as the biblical interpreter requires. Almost all that has been believed on such authority has needed to be verified by fresh investigation. It is not enough that a reported fact *seems* to be just what it *should* be to explain some text of the Bible; both the fact itself and the original of the text need to be considered on the spot to which

they refer, by one who unites in himself the eye to observe and the learning and judgment to apply what he observes. As an illustration of the doubtful character of the facts which have been adduced to explain scriptural allusions, take the following: A popular lecturer on Palestine, not long since, told his audiences in all parts of the United States, that the passage in Jer. 49: 19* is finely illustrated by the annual overflow of the Jordan, which compels the lion and other animals to escape to the higher lands adjoining. And to make the fact more impressive and give it a scientific air, it was said that this occurs at the very time of the year mentioned in Josh. 3: 15, and is caused by the melting of the snows on Mount Hermon. But unfortunately for this beautiful exposition, it turns out, on the testimony of respectable witnesses, that neither the phenomenon nor the cause assigned for it takes place as asserted. Of course the true exposition of the passages referred to must be sought in some criticism on the original, or some other topographical fact to be developed by future research, or, perhaps, by both of these processes carried on together by some competent individual. The proper application of a large share of the names of plants and animals mentioned in the Scriptures is yet to be determined by an accurate study of the natural history of the East; e. g. the original word for *chamois*, Deut. 14: 5; *bittern*, Isa. 14: 23; *rose*, Cant. 2: 1; *mulberry*, 2 Sam. 5: 23, 24; *mustard*, Matt. 13: 31, 32, etc. Of all the places mentioned in Scripture, how few have been identified with modern sites, and, consequently, how much remains to be accomplished by the learning and zeal of the future traveller. It would be easy to fill a volume with an enumeration of particulars requiring the union, in the same person, of profound scholarship with a personal observation of the physical and social condition of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and each of these particulars, if successfully investigated, would impart new significance to some passage of the word of truth.

The reasons why this field of profitable inquiry has remained so long unexplored in the manner it deserves are easily given. Previous to the Reformation, the habit of receiving the exposition of the Scriptures on the authority of the church repressed

* "He shall come up like a lion from the swellings of Jordan upon the habitation of the strong."

the spirit of original investigation. Intimately associated with this authority were the legends of saints, the tales of pilgrims and the traditions of monasteries in the Holy Land; so that scholars had scarcely the courage or the disposition to doubt what came to them through such pious channels. After the emancipation of the western church from this intellectual thralldom, there were two chief causes for neglecting the exposition of the Bible by the modern condition of Palestine. First, were the personal danger to be encountered, and the obstacles thrown in the way of investigation by the haughty jealousy of the Mohammedan masters of the country. Again, the friends of the truth were engrossed with its defence against Popery, but more especially with the work of ascertaining the sacred text itself. It was an era of the collation of manuscripts, various readings of polyglotts and verbal criticism. In the providence of God, the intellect of the Protestant world was then waked up to intense interest and indefatigable labor in this department of sacred learning, so that succeeding generations of biblical students are relieved from most of the literary toil of their predecessors, and may give themselves unreservedly to the work of interpretation.

That more exact and extended accounts of Palestine and the surrounding regions are greatly to be desired, for the exposition of the Scriptures, will be evident from a brief survey of the materials which have hitherto been made available for this purpose.

The first class of writers on the Holy Land, to whom we are indebted for illustrations of the sacred writings, are those who flourished prior to A. D. 400. Among these Josephus is the most important, on account of the number and variety of his facts and allusions. There are also the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome, a brief gazeteer of places mentioned in the Bible, together with other writings of the latter; the geographical writings of Ptolemy; the *Peutinger Table*, a map of the military roads of the empire, referred to the time of Theodosius the Great; the *Talmud*, and also the *Jerusalem* and other itineraries. These, if not all, are certainly the most important materials furnished by that period to which we naturally look for the most authentic notices of Palestine and the most recent and uncorrupted traditions. And these sources of information are indeed invaluable, so far as they go, for the hints which they furnish to guide the modern inquirer and to test his results. How

much may be accomplished by the mere collation of the scattered fragments of information in ancient authors, is seen in the great work of HADRIAN RELAND. This learned writer,—until lately, “*facile princeps*” among those who have gleaned in that field,—has so nearly exhausted the earlier sources of information, as to possess himself almost the authority of an original witness. And yet the materials so diligently compiled are insufficient except for the most general purposes. They enabled the geographer to construct maps of the Holy Land with tolerable accuracy of outline, and to designate the more important sites. But still there were many inaccuracies, not to say great incompleteness in all these charts. To show by a few examples the deficiency of data afforded by the early writers, we may refer to a map constructed from them by Nicholas Sanson, geographer to the king of France, about A. D. 1660. On this map, among other curious matters, we find Mount Seir stretching in a southeasterly direction from the vicinity of Gaza to a point south of the Dead Sea ; while along its base flows the Torrent of Egypt from Petra to the Mediterranean. The river Kishon, also, is made to connect, like a canal, the waters of Gennessaret with the Bay of Acre ;—a facility for internal navigation, which we have seen copied into maps constructed even within the present century. So, likewise, the chart prepared by Lightfoot, from the Talmudists, Josephus, Pliny, etc. (about A. D. 1650), is wholly inaccurate. The following are some of its features : the mountain ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are laid down as running east and west, instead of north and south. The river which waters the plain of Damascus is made to run westwardly, contrary to the fact. The Kishon is placed at the southern instead of the northern base of Mount Carmel. The Jordan runs nearly west from the Sea of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. The Red Sea, instead of being separated into two bays by the peninsula of Sinai, is represented as a single gulf, extending nearly east and west, while Mount Sinai lies northeasterly from Suez, and northwesterly from Ezion Geber. A circumstance which greatly impairs the utility of the ancient geographical notices is this : they are accustomed to say, for example, that one place is north from another, when it lies in any northerly direction, whether northeast or northwest, or still nearer to the eastern or western points. For reasons such as these it is manifest that, in reference to geography alone, the early wri-

ters are extremely defective. And this deficiency is equally striking in other particulars.

A *second* class that has furnished materials of the kind we are considering is composed of writers who flourished between A. D. 400 and 1400. The authors belonging to this period were either ecclesiastics residing in Palestine, or pilgrims and crusaders from abroad—with the exception of the Arabian geographers, El-Edrisi, (A. D. 1150,) and Abulfæda, (A. D. 1300,) Bohaeddin, the companion of Saladin (A. D. 1200,) and Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, (A. D. 1170.) Of the Christian authorities, the most important are the French Bishop Arculfus, as drawn up by Adamnanus, near the close of the seventh century, and William, Archbishop of Tyre, a historian of the Crusades, at the end of the twelfth. The tract of Brocardus, A. D. 1283, the amusing “voiage and travaile” of Sir John Maundeville, A. D. 1322—56, and the journal of Ludolph de Suchem, about the same time, should also be added. At the beginning of this millennium of darkness and superstition, when religion was gradually becoming less spiritual, and passing more and more every year into a mere excitement of the imagination by means of relics and traditions, there was a constant motive for the priests and monks to multiply the sources of this excitement. Hence they traced out the site of every scriptural event, and legendary occurrence that could be in any way connected with the Scriptures. The inventions of succeeding generations of ecclesiastics did not suffer these sites to diminish in number or sanctity; so that tradition, once fixed, remained unchanged in its essential features during the whole period under review. This traditionary information is not unfrequently absurd in itself, as well as directly at variance with the Scriptures.* Moreover the monks were generally foreigners, knowing little of the topography of the land, and less still of the vernacular language of the people,—an acquisition by no means necessary for the purposes of their mission.† Of course,

* For example, the monks show in Jerusalem the houses of Dives and Lazarus as historical verities. They also designate the top of Olivet as the place of Christ's ascension, while the Evangelist tells us expressly, that he ascended from Bethany. Luke 24: 50, 51.

† This is as true in modern as it was in ancient times. Rev. Pliny Fisk met with a Catholic priest at Cana, near Nazareth,

they were incapacitated as well as indisposed for original investigation, and blindly received for themselves and imparted to others traditionary tales instead of authentic facts. When, at length, the crusaders arrived, it was to conquer and not to investigate. The reports, then, which crusaders and pilgrims have left us concerning Palestine, are to be regarded as furnishing only casual illustrations of its geography and condition, while the mass of their itineraries are still the same repeated stories of credulous superstition or the inventions of pious fraud.

The period since A. D. 1400 has been prolific in works on Palestine, although by far the greater number add little on which the interpreter can rely. The following deserve most notice. Mejr-ed-Din, an Arabian writer in A. D. 1495, described the Holy City. Breydenbach and Fabri visited Jerusalem and Mount Sinai in 1484. The botany of Palestine was partially investigated by Rauwolf in 1573. In 1586, a Fleming named Zualtert produced his "Devout Pilgrimage to Jerusalem." His engravings, though by no means accurate, seem to have served as copies for many of the pictorial illustrations of later journalists. A better class of writers are the following—Cotovicus, (1598,) Sandys, (1610,) an original observer and faithful narrator, Monconys, (1646,) who collected valuable facts concerning the arts and sciences in Egypt and Syria. Doubdan, a Frenchman, in 1652, exhibits considerable learning, and his researches have probably supplied less accurate and painstaking authors with many interesting facts and speculations. D'Arvieux resided in Sidon from 1658 to 1665, and gave an account of the Arab tribes. But no travellers have been more used by expositors of the Bible, than Henry Maundrell and Dr. Shaw. The former was chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, and made a hasty visit to Jerusalem in 1697. His observations on portions of the north of Palestine have not, even to this day, been superseded by any more accurate work. Shaw's travels date a quarter of a century later, and his notices are judicious and valuable. The natural history of Palestine received its most important contributions from the letters of Hasselquist, the Swede, to Linnæus, about 1750. Niebuhr (1767,) is another of the scientific travellers of the first class; but it is to be re-

who had been thirty years in Palestine without ever learning the language of the country.

gretted that his visit to Jerusalem was hurried, and he learned little more than was told him by the monks.

In the present century, the earliest traveller is Dr. E. D. Clarke, who, though long regarded as the best of authority, is now found to have been rash in his theories and deficient in judgment. Those who have been induced by his learning to confide in his hypotheses have been obliged, on better information, to reject much of what he had taught them. In proof of this we have but to refer to his assertion, that the castle of Santorri (Sannûr) is the ancient Samaria; again, that the Jordan maintains its current through the whole length of the sea of Galilee; and that Mount Zion lay south of the valley of Hinnom! From 1803 to 1810, Seetzen, a judicious and enterprising traveller journeyed extensively in the East, and great value is attached to his researches. But unhappily, the greater part of his manuscripts have never been published; and those which have been given to the world are scattered through many volumes of a German periodical, and therefore not generally accessible. An indefatigable laborer in the cause of science, John Lewis Burckhardt, resided in the East from 1809 to 1816. Although his observations on the Holy Land were only incidental,—his main object being to explore the interior of Africa,—yet they are of great value in reference to the topography of Palestine and the customs of the Arab tribes. Burckhardt is one of the very few travellers in that country who had intercourse with the people, and spoke their language. Still the disadvantages attending his observations were very great; and he was often compelled in the most interesting localities to make his notes by stealth, or to forego them entirely, on account of the jealousy of his Bedawîn companions.

Besides the writers above enumerated there have been many others of a more popular character, which, however interesting on account of personal incidents, are of little value to the interpreter of Scripture. Such are the eloquent but superficial itinerary of Chateaubriand; the travels of Buckingham,—too well understood to need to be characterized; the travels of Dr. Richardson,—pleasing but not always to be trusted; the poetical fancies of Lamartine,—to write which it was not needful that he should ever have left Paris; and the work of Laborde, valuable rather for its splendid plates than for the accuracy of its topographical information. To the same general class belong the "Incidents of Travel" of our countryman, Mr. Ste-

phens,—a pair of volumes unsurpassed in the interest of personal adventure, but adding little to our previous stock of topographical information, because the writer had never made Palestine his study, and therefore, except in tact and enterprise, was quite unfurnished for the work of exploration.

We have been thus minute in our glance at the materials for fact, biblical illustration, in order to impress upon the reader the that *the great work of collecting exact information on this subject is but just begun*. Of the writers to whom we have referred, how many give us only the silly fables of the convents. How large a proportion of travellers have visited Palestine under circumstances that forbade their prosecuting any extended inquiry. Maundrell's visit was very brief. Buckingham was in Palestine only about three months; Dr. Clarke but seventeen days; and Niebuhr not much longer. Volney was a proclaimed infidel; nor did Burckhardt manifest any special sympathy with Christianity. Some visitors were learned but skeptical; others were pious but unlearned; others still were greatly wanting in a tact for observation. Thus Jowett, though deeply interested in the sacred uses to which his notices might be turned, makes the Kedron flow westward from Jerusalem—exactly contrary to the fact. Most travellers have been unable to hold intercourse with the people of Palestine, except through interpreters incapable of appreciating the subjects of communication. Even Pococke knew little Arabic, and the recent travellers have been, almost without exception, cut off by this circumstance from all communication with the natives. Thus they were compelled to see every thing through the eyes of the monks, and to take the legends of the convents instead of personal investigation. How little just information of the interior of the oriental bosom with its peculiar associations; how little even of topographical details could they acquire in these circumstances. Let us suppose some foreigner,—a Bedawi Arab, for instance,—to spend six or eight weeks in travelling post-haste through New England; suppose him obliged to communicate with the people only through an interpreter, and that interpreter some African slave who had learned Arabic in his youth on the great Sahara, and English amid the cotton fields of Georgia. How much information could the most intelligent visitor, amid such circumstances, carry away with him, to be used in illustrating the literature, the physical, social and moral condition of the Yankees and their country? Scarcely less preposterous

is it to expect that Frank travellers in the East can master the facts essential for biblical illustration, by a mere "summer ramble," or "three weeks in Palestine," with no better medium for the interchange of thought with the people, than the miserable *patois* of a Maltese rover, in the capacity of *dragoman*.

These considerations prepare us to appreciate in some degree the invaluable volumes of Dr. Robinson. This great work enjoys the enviable distinction of being free from the objections to other writings alluded to above. The literary preparation which preceded the author's journey, his peculiar advantages for prosecuting it, the free intercourse he enjoyed with the native population, his laborious personal examinations of the country, and lastly the abundant historical illustrations with which the work abounds, combine to render these volumes a treasury of information, and fully justify the enthusiastic language of Professor Ritter of Berlin: "Now first begins, since the days of Reland, the second great epoch of our knowledge of the promised land!"

Dr. Robinson has long been known, both in this country and in Europe, as a profound and accurate linguist, and as one who has labored with great zeal to elevate the standard of biblical learning. His own contributions to this department are too well known to need to be enumerated here. In the course of his professional duties, he became fully apprized of the deficiency in the materials of biblical illustration; and many years since projected a personal exploration of the regions on which his studies had been so much employed. He was hindered, however, from fulfilling his intention, until, by a series of providential arrangements, obstacles were removed and facilities prepared, that mark the time and circumstances of his visit as apparently more advantageous than any that preceded it, or that may be expected soon to occur again. In 1832, the Rev. Eli Smith, of the American Mission at Beirut, a former pupil of Dr. R., made a visit to the United States. He had just returned from an extensive tour with Rev. H. G. O. Dwight through Armenia and Persia; and the personal friendship and literary sympathy between him and Dr. R. led to an agreement that they would attempt a journey together, by way of Mount Sinai and Akabah to Petra, and thence by Hebron to Jerusalem. Mr. Smith's qualifications for a profitable travelling companion on such an expedition are not surpassed by those of any other individual. Says Dr. R.:

"I count myself fortunate in being thus early assured of the company of one, who, by his familiar and accurate knowledge of the Arabic language, by his acquaintance with the people of Syria, and by the experience gained in former extensive journeys, was so well qualified to alleviate the difficulties and overcome the obstacles which usually accompany oriental travel. Indeed, to these qualifications of my companion, combined with his taste for geographical and historical researches, and his tact in eliciting and sifting the information to be obtained from an Arab population, are mainly to be ascribed the more important and interesting results of our journey."

Dr. R. left New-York in July, 1837, and passing through England, proceeded to Germany, where he conferred with Gesenius, Tholuck and Roediger on topics of importance connected with the researches on which he was about to enter. On the 1st Dec. he embarked at Trieste, and in about a week arrived at Athens. After seventeen days spent amid monuments reared to commemorate human greatness, but now serving only to mark its downfall, he left these scenes of sad but thrilling associations, and arrived by steamer at Alexandria, on the last day of 1837. Thence he proceeded up the Nile to Cairo, the Pyramids and Thebes. Returning to Cairo, he was joined by Mr. Smith, agreeably to their previous arrangement. We pass over the brief account of Egypt and its modern Pharaoh, Mohammed Ali, and the valuable observations concerning the probable bearing of his policy on the progress of human improvement in the East, and confine our notices to the themes of principal interest, the journey through the "great and terrible wilderness" and Palestine.

Previous to setting out from Cairo, they had to make preparations for a month's travel in the desert, and that our readers may appreciate the nature of their accommodations, we extract the account of their outfit.

"A tent was to be purchased and fitted up; water-skins were to be procured and kept full of water, which was to be changed every day in order to extract the strong taste of the leather; provisions were to be laid in for a whole month, as we could hope to obtain little either at Suez or at the Convent; besides all the numerous smaller articles which are essential to the traveller's progress and health, even if he renounce all

expectation of convenience and comfort. In all these purchases we were greatly indebted to the faithful services of our Janizary Mustafa, whom we remember with gratitude.

"We chose a large tent with a single pole. This was folded into two rolls, for which we had sacks; so that it was easily packed and loaded, and suffered little damage on the way. We had large pieces of painted canvass to spread upon the ground under our beds; and found these more convenient than poles or bedsteads; as the mattresses could be rolled up in them during the day, and thus be protected from dust or rain.

"Our provisions consisted chiefly of rice and biscuit. The latter is bulky; and at a later period we substituted for it flour, from which our servants made unleavened bread; this was baked in thin cakes upon an iron plate, and proved quite palatable and not unwholesome. Flesh may be obtained occasionally from the Arabs upon the way. With coffee, tea, sugar, butter, dried apricots, tobacco, wax-candles, etc., we were well supplied. We found the dried apricots quite a luxury in the desert; and a timely distribution of coffee and tobacco among the Arabs is an easy mode of winning their favor and confidence. We had wooden boxes, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, for packing many of the articles; but afterwards abandoned them for small sacks and larger saddle-bags of hair-cloth, like those of the Bedawin. These proved to be more advantageous as diminishing the bulk of the loads, and thus removing a source of expense and a cause of grumbling among the camel-drivers and muleteers. We took also a supply of charcoal, which proved of essential service."

With these equipments, two guns and a brace of pistols,—not for use, but as a terror to evil doers,—instruments for taking measurements, bearings, etc., two Arab servants and Besharah,—the same who accompanied Laborde, for a guide, and a *ménage* of three dromedaries and five camels, with six or eight Arabs to drive them, the travellers set out from Cairo on the 12th of March, 1838. They soon passed from the associations of civilized life to the novel and exciting feeling of finding themselves alone in the midst of the desert, "in the true style of oriental travel, carrying with them their house, their provisions and a supply of water for many days," surrounded by their uncouth animals and the no less uncouth sons of the desert, in a region where the weary eye in vain sought relief from the omnipresent desolation. Yet even the desert had its subjects of interest. Spe-

cimens of petrified wood were at first abundant; and among the pebbles with which the ground was strewn, jaspers and chalcodones were common. A less pleasing sight was the frequent carcasses and skeletons of camels, which had broken down and died by the way. The party arrived at Suez on the 15th of March, and spent a day in examining the vicinity, with reference to the difficulties which have been raised concerning the Mosaic account of the journey of the Israelites from Rameses to the Red Sea in the space of three days, and the passage of such an immense multitude through the sea itself in part of a single night. For the results at which our travellers arrived and the reasons by which they are supported we refer to the volumes,* adding merely, that in our opinion all ground of difficulty seems to be satisfactorily removed.

Leaving Suez on the 16th of March, they proceeded to the region of Sinai, and arrived at the Convent on the 23d. Their route, though in many respects toilsome and dreary, was crowded with associations of the deepest interest. They sat under the palm-trees at the fountains of Moses; their camels drank freely of the bitter waters of Marah, and they pitched their solitary tent at Elim, where, in other ages, the desert was covered for many a furlong, with the encampments and herds of the Hebrew emigrants.

In one of the mountain gorges through which their path lay, the party came upon some of those rude drawings and inscriptions on the rocks, which are of such frequent occurrence in the peninsula of Sinai, and which have been by various authors attributed to the children of Israel on their way to Horeb. From the time when these rock writings were first mentioned by Cosmas, A. D. 535, to the present day, their purport has remained a mystery. It is a very singular fact, and one which strikingly illustrates the changeful nature of human affairs, that here, in these lone mountains, an alphabet is found graven on the face of the cliffs, which is shown by the thousands of inscriptions to have been in common use, but of which no other traces remain in all the voluminous literature of the world! But at length the power of science has compelled these silent solitudes to speak, and reveal their long kept mysteries. In 1839, Professor Beer,

* See also Dr. Robinson's article on "the Land of Goshen and the Exodus of the Israelites." *Am. Bib. Repos.*, Vol. III. No. VI. April, 1840.

of Leipzig—since numbered among the many martyrs of learning—deciphered these inscriptions. But,—alas for the enthusiasm of antiquarians!—he has, with the removal of the mystery, dispersed also much of the interest. The inscriptions consist chiefly of proper names, and probably belong to an age when the region of Sinai was the pious resort of numerous Christian pilgrims.

On the route between Suez and Sinai, Dr. R. and his party turned aside to visit a cluster of ancient remains, whose history modern investigation has in vain endeavored to elucidate. Away, amid those sandy wastes, in a range of mountains six or seven hundred feet high, are found the inexplicable structures, called by the Bedawin, *Sûrabit el-Khadim*.

“These lie mostly within the compass of a small enclosure, one hundred and sixty feet long from E. to W. by seventy feet broad, marked by heaps of stones thrown or fallen together, the remains perhaps of former walls or rows of low buildings. Within this space are seen about fifteen upright stones, like tombstones, and several fallen ones, covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics; and also the remains of a small temple, whose columns are decorated with the head of Isis for a capital. At the eastern end is a subterranean chamber excavated in the solid rock, resembling an Egyptian sepulchre. It is square; and the roof is supported in the middle by a square column left from the rock. Both the column and the sides of the chamber are covered with hieroglyphics; and in each of the sides is a small niche. The whole surface of the enclosure is covered with fallen columns, fragments of sculpture and hewn stones strewn in every direction; over which the pilgrim can with difficulty find his way. Other similar upright stones stand without the enclosure in various directions, and even at some distance; each surrounded by a heap of stones, which may have been thrown together by the Arabs. These upright stones, both within and without the enclosure, vary from about seven to ten feet in height; while they are from eighteen inches to two feet in breadth, and from fourteen to sixteen inches in thickness. They are rounded off on the top, forming an arch over the broadest sides. On one of these sides usually appears the common Egyptian symbol of the winged globe with two serpents, and one or more priests presenting offerings to the gods; while various figures and cartouches cover the remaining sides. They are said to bear the names of different Egyptian kings; but no two of them have the name of

the same monarch. According to Major Felix, the name of Osirtisen I. is found on one of them, whom Wilkinson supposes to have been the patron of Joseph. Not the least singularity about these monuments is the wonderful preservation of the inscriptions upon this soft sandstone, exposed as they have been to the air and weather during the lapse of so many ages. On some of the stones they are quite perfect; on others both the inscription and the stone itself have been worn away deeply by the tooth of time." Vol. I. p. 113.

What could have been the intent of these temples and monumental structures, in the midst of this voiceless solitude? They are not tombs; there is nothing in them resembling the sepulchral monuments of Egypt. Lord Prudhoe has suggested,—and we give his hypothesis only from the want of a better,—that this may have been a place of pilgrimage for the ancient Egyptians, just as a mountain near Mecca is to the Mohammedans at the present day; and that to it the Egyptian kings made each his visit, and erected a column with his name. The very mystery of this lonely spot makes it deeply interesting, by "leading back the beholder into the gray mists of high antiquity, and filling him with wonder and awe, as he surveys here, far from the abodes of life, the labors of men unknown, for an object alike unknown."

But the most interesting result of this journey through the Sinaitic region is the probable identification of the spot where the law was given to the ancient people of God. It is well known that tradition early selected Jebel Musa (Mount of Moses) as the place where this august transaction occurred, and for fifteen centuries chapels, crosses and legendary tales have hallowed it in the estimation of those who were too credulous or too ignorant to doubt. On examining this spot, Robinson and Smith found it to possess none of the features most essential to meet the conditions of the sacred narrative. It is comparatively an interior summit, difficult of access even for a small party, and cut off from an extensive prospect by other mountains, and commanding no neighboring plain or other ground, where a multitude could be assembled. Abandoning, therefore, the guidance of tradition for that of the Bible, our travellers arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to themselves, and, we doubt not, to every unprejudiced reader, that the true Sinai is the mountain now called by the monks Horeb,

lying north from Jebel Mûsa, and overlooking the great plain er-Râhah. Their first view of this plain was when they were on their way to the convent, approaching from the N. W. As they followed the rocky ravine which led into it, the bottom opened gradually, though still shut in on either side by lofty granite ridges with ragged, shattered peaks, a thousand feet high. A fine, broad plain before them sloped gently towards the S. S. E., enclosed by venerable mountains of dark granite,—stern, naked, splintered and indescribably grand,—and terminated at the distance of more than a mile, by the broad and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly, in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet. “It was,” says Dr. R. “a scene of solemn grandeur wholly unexpected, and such as I had never seen, and the associations which rushed upon our minds were almost overwhelming.”

Obeying the conviction almost forced upon them by this accidental view of the plain er-Râhah, and finding no other area in all the region capable of holding such a multitude as the assembled tribes of Israel, the travellers subsequently explored the adjacent mountain, which they regard as the true Sinai. The almost inaccessible peak which appeared to impend over the plain is called by the Arabs es-Sûfsâfeh.

“This cliff rises some five hundred feet above the basin ; and the distance to the summit is more than half a mile. We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course ; but found the rock so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous course. From the head of this ravine, we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages, which give to this part, as seen from below, the appearance of architectural ornament.

“The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Râhah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent Wadys and mountains ; while Wady esh-Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with and opening broadly from er-Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here or on some one of the adjacent cliffs was the spot, where the Lord ‘descended in fire’

and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled ; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden ; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord 'came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene ; and read with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction, and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator." Vol. I. pp. 157, 158.

We know of no theory of any intelligent traveller concerning Sinai, which may compete with this in probability. Burckhardt did indeed suggest that Mount Serbal, a peak west from Horeb, is the spot where the law was given, but the Arabs are unanimous in their testimony, that there are no large vallies in the neighborhood where a great multitude could be congregated.

The description given of this wonderful region makes us feel that it was constructed expressly as the grand and peculiar temple where Jehovah would come near to man in the terrors of his majesty as he never had done, nor ever would again while the earth remaineth. He had but one law to give, and he made but one Sinai. Thither he brought his people, far away from the flesh-pots of Egypt and every other human trust, into deserts where they could not get even bread or water except they came directly from heaven ; where many a league of shrubless sands and craggy steeps cut them off from the world. And then, when the solemn time arrived, he led them into the inner sanctuary, the secret, holy place, in the upper, central region of Sinai, having but a single feasible entrance. There, upon the mountains whose summits pierce the sky, and whose riven sides are black with the rust of ages, he bowed the heavens and came down, and uttered in the language of mortals the eternal principles of his government.

Although the great desert of Arabia has often been crossed by travellers, and the notices of the routes of Seetzen, Burckhardt and Laborde are of great value, yet no attempt has been previously made to combine these into a general view by any person who had himself been over the ground, and could connect the isolated facts of others by means of his personal exami-

nations. This important service Robinson and Smith have performed. From the extended details furnished by them we give the following brief view of the country lying between the Red Sea on the south and Palestine on the north.

The great Arabian Peninsula is divided into two portions by a range of mountains more than four thousand feet high. This range originates east of Suez and runs S. S. easterly, parallel to the coast, to about the latitude of N. $29^{\circ} 20'$, where it turns more to the east and crosses the peninsula to the gulf of Akabah. This latter portion is called *Jebel et-Tih*. Midway between the two gulfs, it gives off two extensive spurs, the first, called also *Jebel et-Tih*, running N. E., and the other, called *Jebel el-Ojmeh*, N. N. E. The Desert of Shur and the Wilderness of Sin, through which the Israelites journeyed towards Sinai, lie between the western part of this chain and the gulf of Suez. On the south of *et-Tih*, the country sinks down about a thousand feet into an uneven sandy plain, several miles in width, to rise again farther south, first, in broken hills of sandstone, then a belt of greenstone and porphyry, and beyond and above all, a region of granite constituting the proper mountains of Sinai. This last is a vast circular assemblage of summits, cleft and surrounded by a labyrinth of passes. Of these the *Wady esh-Sheikh* is the principal, and the plain, *er-Rahah*, above mentioned, is simply an expansion of it. The most elevated point in this vicinity is *Mount St. Catharine*, by barometrical measurement 8068 feet above the sea. Dr. R. concludes that in the Scriptures the name *Horeb* is applied to this whole cluster, and that *Sinai* is the name of the particular summit from which the law was given,—exactly contrary to the present application of these names by most commentators.

North of *Jebel et-Tih*, the whole desert descends towards Palestine. This vast and desolate region has these general features. It is bounded on the east by a deep depression called *Wady el-Arabah*, from five to twelve miles wide, extending from the gulf of Akabah to the Dead Sea. The region west of this great valley, and north of the range *et-Tih*, consists of two long basins, between which rises the spur, *Jebel el-Ojmeh*. The basin on the west is much the larger, and is drained by the water courses which unite in the great *Wady el-Arish*, running north to the Mediterranean. The other basin collects the *Wadys* between *et-Tih* on the south, *el-Ojmeh* on the west, and *el-Mukrah* on the north, and is drained by the *Wady el-*

Jeráfeh, which runs N. E. into el-Arabah, towards the Dead Sea. The whole region between el-Jeráfeh and el-Arish, north of the range el-Múkráh, is filled with desolate mountains, which forbid any practicable road across them in the direction of Palestine. This is an important fact, as it goes far towards determining the route of the Israelites, and also that of the Roman road from Akabah to Gaza.

The particular stations of the Israelites cannot of course be determined; but from these volumes we derive an unexpected degree of satisfaction concerning their probable general course of travel. The sources of this probability are such as these. The physical character of a supposed station,—expressly described, or implied in the sacred narrative; its distance from some known point; the similarity of its Arabic name to the ancient Hebrew; or a concurrence of all these particulars goes to determine a few localities. These points being fixed, the progress of the Israelites from one to another is sometimes limited to certain roads by the physical character of the country,—the mountains and passes. Thus Sinai and Kadesh Barnea are two points whose relative position are known, and from the former there are two great routes leading in the direction of the latter. The western route leads over the elevated desert, and the eastern through the Wady el-Arabah. In their journey from Sinai, the third station of the Israelites was at Hazeroth. Burckhardt suggests—and Dr. Robinson concurs with him—that this name still exists, at the proper distance from Sinai, in the Arabic name of the fountain, 'Ain-Hüdheráh. If this be admitted, the track of the Israelites was probably by way of the gulf of Elath, and through the Arabah, since the sacred writer seems to imply that their course led along Mount Seir (Deut. 1: 2). Had they taken a route farther to the west, and passed around the range el-Múkráh, they would have arrived on the borders of Palestine at Beersheba, instead of Kadesh Barnea, which lay on the borders of Edom. By evidence such as this, also, Dr. R. is satisfied that the Roman road from Akabah to Gaza must have led up from the Wady el-Arabah to the desert, and passed west of Jebel el-Múkráh, and so on to Gaza. Indeed the nature of the ground compels the great routes leading north from Akabah to meet in the middle of the desert, in order to pass together around the range above mentioned. The route of the Roman road must have been determined by these physical causes. Consequently, with the distances laid down on the

Peutinger Table to guide him, Dr. R. knew where to look for the ancient stations; and it was from such data as these, combined with the traces of the ancient names still distinguishable by an educated ear in the native appellations, that he discovered the probable remains of Lysa, Eboda and Elusa,—showing by their ruins, that Roman greatness once dwelt here amid the appliances of luxury and the strength of military power.

Our limits compel us to pass over much in these volumes that is of great interest to the biblical geographer. The travellers were six days passing from Sinai to Akabah, and seven from thence to Beersheba. The site of this ancient place seems to have been forgotten for centuries together, and during the last five, no western traveller appears to have found it until the visit of Robinson and Smith.*

On the 14th April, the travellers arrived at Jerusalem, and found a grateful repose in the houses of their countrymen, the Rev. Messrs. Whiting and Lanneau, missionaries of the American Board.

“The feelings of a Christian traveller on approaching Jerusalem can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. Before us, as we drew near, lay Zion, the Mount of Olives, the vales of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and other objects of the deepest interest; while, crowning the summits of the same ancient hills, was spread out the city where God of old had dwelt, and where the Saviour of the world had lived and taught and died. From the earliest childhood I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes; and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited, indeed, but distinctly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption, when my companion (who had been here before) began to point out and name the various objects in view.” Vol. I. p. 326.

Here a boundless field of investigation was open before them, and diligently did they explore it. They were almost constantly employed in exploring or taking bearings and measurements; while the intervals of field labor were occupied with

* See Vol. I. p. 300, also Dr. Robinson's “Brief Report,” *Am. Bib. Repos.* April 1839, p. 309.

the comparison of ancient topographical authorities. We cannot, of course, even name all the results at which they arrived. The following are merely specimens.

They traced the origin, course and depth of the hollows and ravines, and the elevation and shape of the hills in and around Jerusalem. This laid the foundation for fixing many other points, since these physical causes must have had a bearing on the dimensions of the ancient city and the sites of its structures. They discovered or identified various remains of the ancient city, as it was before the days of Herod; such as the courses of immense stones in the walls of the area of the temple. They found the lower part of the tower of Hippicus, left standing by Titus; and were able to determine the position of the first wall, as well as the probable courses of the second and third walls. They proved that the area of the mosk of Omar is the same with that of the ancient temple, including the space covered by the castle Antonia; and that the reputed pool of Bethesda is probably but the remains of the trench which separated Antonia from the hill Bezetha. They investigated the internal resources of the city in respect to water, and ascertained how it was that in a rocky limestone region, almost destitute of water, the inhabitants were able, by means of reservoirs and cisterns, to sustain the privations of long sieges, while their enemies were greatly distressed with thirst. They suggest the probability of an ancient connection between the pools on the western side of the city, and the wells under the area of the mosk, and between these latter and the fountain of the Virgin, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They personally explored and measured a subterranean passage cut in the solid rock, 1750 feet in length from the pool of Siloam to the fountain of the Virgin. They discredit the tradition which assigns to the church of the Holy Sepulchre the site of Calvary, and show that the tombs around the city have no title to the names applied to them, etc. etc.

Of all the researches of Dr. Robinson in Jerusalem, there is none which better illustrates the superiority of independent personal investigation above the blind credulity which trusts to the convents, than the discovery of an arch of the bridge which formerly connected the temple court with the Xystus, on Mount Zion. In one of his visits to the S. W. corner of the area of the mosk of Omar, he had observed several of the large stones jutting out from the western wall, which at first sight appeared to be the effect of some violent convulsion. The circum-

stance attracted just notice enough at the time to be remembered; and on mentioning it afterwards to the missionaries, it was found that they had noticed the same apparent displacement; and the remark was dropped that the stones had the appearance of having once belonged to a large arch. "At this remark," says Dr. Robinson,

"a train of thought flashed upon my mind, which I hardly dared to follow out, until I had again repaired to the spot, in order to satisfy myself with my own eyes, as to the truth or falsehood of the suggestion. I found it even so! The courses of these immense stones, which seemed at first to have sprung out from their places in the wall in consequence of some enormous violence, occupy nevertheless their original position; their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this western wall in a direction towards Mount Zion, across the valley of the Tyropoeon. This arch could only have belonged to THE BRIDGE, which according to Josephus led from this part of the temple to the Xystus on Zion; and it proves incontrovertibly the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs.

"The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken. Its southern side is thirty-nine English feet distant from the S. W. corner of the area, and the arch itself measures fifty-one feet along the wall. *Three* courses of its stones still remain; of which one is five feet four inches thick, and the others not much less. One of the stones is $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; another $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the rest in like proportion. The part of the curve or arc, which remains, is of course but a fragment; but of this fragment the chord measures twelve feet six inches; the sine eleven feet ten inches; and the cosine three feet ten inches.—The distance from this point across the valley to the precipitous natural rock of Zion, we measured as exactly as the intervening field of prickly-pear would permit; and found it to be 350 feet or about 116 yards. This gives the proximate length of the ancient bridge. We sought carefully along the brow of Zion for traces of its western termination; but without success.

"Here then we have indisputable remains of Jewish antiquity, consisting of an important portion of the western wall of the ancient temple-area. They are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to the days of Herod; for the labors

of this splendor-loving tyrant appear to have been confined to the body of the temple and the porticos around the court. The magnitude of the stones also, and the workmanship as compared with other remaining monuments of Herod, seem to point to an earlier origin. In the accounts we have of the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans, and its rebuilding by Zerubbabel under Darius, no mention is made of these exterior walls. The former temple was destroyed by fire, which would not affect these foundations; nor is it probable that a feeble colony of returning exiles, could have accomplished worklike these. There seems therefore little room for hesitation in referring them back to the days of Solomon, or rather of his successors; who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls, 'immoveable for all time.' Ages upon ages have since rolled away; yet these foundations still endure, and are immoveable as at the beginning. Nor is there aught in the present physical condition of these remains, to prevent them from continuing as long as the world shall last. It was the temple of the living God; and, like the everlasting hills on which it stood, its foundations were laid 'for all time.'" Vol. I. pp. 425, 427.

The glory of Jerusalem has departed. From her ancient high estate as the civil metropolis of the Jewish commonwealth, and the religious centre of the whole Christian world,—“the joy of the whole earth,”—she has sunk into the neglected capital of a petty Turkish province. Dr. Robinson estimates the population as follows:—viz., 4,500 Mohammedans, 3,000 Jews, 3,500 Christians. To these are to be added for the convents and garrison about 500 more, making in all 11,500. This is the lowest estimate we have seen; though it must be acknowledged the data seem to be worthy of reliance.

“The markets are supplied by the peasants from the neighboring villages. There seemed to be no gardens of any importance round about the city; except those below Siloam. Wheat would appear not to grow well around Jerusalem, but is brought from other quarters. In one of our journeys northward, we met a small caravan of camels belonging to Bethlehem, loaded with wheat from Nâbulus. The exhausted situation of the country arising from the maintenance of an immense army, the forced export of wheat to Egypt, and the general discouragement to labor and enterprise, have naturally

caused an enormous increase in the cost of the necessities of life.

"Jerusalem has few manufactories, and no exports, 'except what is carried away by the pilgrims. The manufacture of soap is one of the principal. For this there are nine establishments, which appear to have been long in existence. The mounds of ashes, which they have thrown out at some distance from the city on the north, have almost the appearance of natural hills. At Easter large quantities of perfumed soap are said to be sold to the pilgrims. Oil of sesame is made to a considerable extent; for this there are nine presses. There is also a large tannery for leather, just by the eastern entrance to the court before the Church of the Sepulchre. All these establishments are private property, not controlled by the government; and are in the hands of the Muslims.

"The chief articles manufactured by the Christians, both here and at Bethlehem, are rosaries, crucifixes, models of the Holy Sepulchre, and the like, carved in olive-wood, the fruit of the Dôm-palm said to be brought from Mecca, mother of pearl, or sometimes in the species of black shining stone found near the Dead Sea." Vol. II. pp. 95, 96.

After spending several weeks in investigating the antiquities of the Holy City, Dr. R. and his companion entered upon a series of excursions to explore the surrounding region. This might seem unnecessary in a part of the country so often visited; but it was, if possible, the more needful on that account, as great confusion and discrepancy prevail among the books of travels referring to the regions which they were now to investigate. To show the pains which had been taken to turn these excursions to the best account, we need only state that Mr. Smith had begun as early as 1834 to collect the native names of places in those parts which they hoped to visit. These names, being derived from the Arabs and corrected according to the best Arabic orthography, suggested many analogies to the Hebrew, and tended to the discovery or verification of many ancient sites. The value of these lists and the labor of their compilation may be inferred from the fact that they contain some 4000 names, filling eighty-five pages of the appendix.

The Muslim population, being separated from the Christian ecclesiastics both by religion and the want of a common language, have generally retained the ancient names, instead of

receiving those imposed by pilgrims. Hence the proper course, and that which Robinson and Smith pursued, was to rely almost entirely on the information of the Arabs, in connection with such hints as are furnished by the Scriptures, by the earlier writers on Palestine, and by their own observation. Acting on these principles, they made their first excursion into a region N. E. from Jerusalem, which seems to have been neglected by all foreign travellers. They were here rewarded by results of great value to biblical geography. They were able to trace out scenes and places associated with the names of Abraham and Jacob, of Samuel and Saul, of Jonathan and David, etc., and to tread almost in their very footsteps. It is impossible for the intelligent reader of the Bible to follow these travellers over the track by which the army of Sennacherib approached Jerusalem, without having a deeper impression of the truth of Bible history, and a more vivid perception of its eloquence and power.* Here they found "poor Anathoth" in a very different position from that assigned it by the monks; and also Gibeah of Saul, and Ramah, the home of Samuel. They descended into "the passage of Michmash," beyond which Rab-Shakeh "laid up his carriages," and over which he could not well have brought them (1 Sam. 13: 23, Is. 10: 28, 29); and passed by the two sharp rocks, Bozez and Seneh, over against Michmash and Gibeah, where Jonathan and his armor-bearer went up against the Philistines. They saw also the "Rock Rimmon," the conical hill to which the remnant of the Benjamites fled from the slaughter at Gibeah (Josh. 20: 45); and the long-lost Bethel, with its mountain on the east, where Abraham first pitched his tent in Palestine, and where Jacob slept and dreamed of angels (Gen. 12: 8, 28: 10—19). A few miles distant they found el-Jib on a ridge, and Yâlo near a noble valley, answering to Gibeon and the vale of Ajalon, where Joshua

* He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages: they are gone over the passage; they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim: cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth. Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee. As yet shall he remain at Nob that day: he shall shake his hand *against* the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem. Is. 10: 28—32.

commanded the sun and moon to stand still, while he chased the five kings towards the plain.

A second excursion of our travellers was to 'Ain-Jidy (Engedi) and the Dead Sea. In a single cluster on this route, they recovered—by the correspondence of the Arabic names with the Hebrew, in the very region required by the sacred narrative—the sites of no less than *nine* of the towns and mountains of Judah, nearly every one of which have remained unrecognized since the days of Jerome.

It is an interesting fact, and one that confirms the accuracy of the Scripture history, even in its minutest allusions, that Dr. R. found in existence customs which seem to annihilate thirty centuries of time, and bring the days of David and our own together. We subjoin a few specimens from the many with which this work abounds.

“In another tent a woman was kneeling and grinding at the hand-mill. These mills are doubtless those of scriptural times; and are similar to the Scottish *quern*. They consist of two stones about eighteen inches or two feet in diameter, lying one upon the other, with a slight convexity between them, and a hole through the upper to receive the grain. The lower stone is fixed, sometimes in a sort of cement, which rises around it like a bowl and receives the meal as it falls from the stones. The upper stone is turned upon the lower, by means of an upright stick fixed in it as a handle. We afterwards saw many of these mills; and saw only women grinding, sometimes one alone and sometimes two together. The female kneels or sits at her task, and turns the mill with both hands, feeding it occasionally with one. The labor is evidently hard; and the grating sound of the mill is heard at a distance, indicating (like our coffee-mills) the presence of a family and of household life. We heard no song as an accompaniment to the work.” Vol. II. pp. 180, 181.

Who can read this extract, without being reminded of our Saviour's prediction (Mat. 24: 41): “Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left?” The close of this account, also, illustrates the threatened desolation of Jerusalem (Is. 25: 10): “I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the mill-stones and the light of the candle.” So also, Rev. 19: 22.

The following extract will recall the shepherds of Bethlehem who were "abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks" (Luke 2: 8), and also the kind offices of Jacob, in rolling the stone from the mouth of the well of Haran (Gen. 29: 8—10).

"None of the houses were now inhabited ; all the people being abroad, dwelling in tents or caves, in order to watch their flocks and fields of grain. This is the custom of the peasants in this part of Palestine, during the months of pasturage in spring and until the crops are gathered ; while in autumn and winter they inhabit their villages. Cisterns excavated in the solid rock testify also to the antiquity of the site ; and the exterior of the rocks is in many places hewn smooth or scarped. Over most of the cisterns is laid a broad and thick flat stone, with a round hole cut in the middle, forming the mouth of the cistern. This hole we found in many cases covered with a heavy stone, which it would require two or three men to roll away." Vol. II. p. 188.

Again :

"Watchmen were stationed in various parts, to prevent cattle and flocks from trespassing upon the grain. The wheat was now ripening ; and we had here a beautiful illustration of Scripture. Our Arabs 'were an hungered,' and going into the fields, they 'plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.' On being questioned, they said this was an old custom, and no one would speak against it ; they were supposed to be hungry, and it was allowed as a charity. We saw this afterwards in repeated instances." Vol. II. p. 192.

Speaking of their visit to Kurmul (Carmel) near Hebron, Dr. Robinson remarks :

"We were here in the midst of scenes memorable of old for the adventures of David, during his wanderings in order to escape from the jealousy of Saul ; and we did not fail to peruse here, and with the deepest interest, the chapters of Scripture which record the history of those wanderings and adventures. Ziph and Maon gave their names to the desert on the East, as did also En-gedi ; and twice did the inhabitants of Ziph attempt to betray the youthful outlaw to the vengeance of his persecutor. At that time David and his men appear to have been very much in the condition of similar

outlaws at the present day; for 'every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men.' They lurked in these deserts, associating with the herdsmen and shepherds of Nabal and others, and doing them good offices, probably in return for information and supplies obtained through them.

"Hence, when Nabal held his annual sheep-shearing in Carmel, David felt himself entitled to share in the festival; and sent a message recounting his own services, and asking for a present: 'Wherefore let the young men find favor in thine eyes; for we come in a good day; give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to thine hand unto thy servants, and to thy son David.' In all these particulars we were deeply struck with the truth and strength of the biblical descriptions of manners and customs, almost identically the same as they exist at the present day. On such a festive occasion near a town or village, even in our own time, an Arab Sheikh of the neighboring desert would hardly fail to put in a word, either in person or by message; and his message, both in form and substance, would be only the transcript of that of David." Vol. II. pp. 200, 201.

But our limits will not permit us to dwell further on the results of this excursion, nor on those of the subsequent exploration of the region south of the Dead Sea, and of the country of Samson, and the Pentapolis of the Philistines. The readers of the Repository have been apprized of the progress of biblical research in some of those regions, by the account of Burckhardt's journey to Wady Mûsa,* and of Legh's excursion to the same place,† as well as the correspondence of Dr. Robinson, published in the Repository for April, 1839.

On the 13th June, the travellers prepared to leave the Holy City. They had now been living for weeks in the exciting consciousness of communion with past ages. Kings, seers and holy men of old seemed to come back to their accustomed haunts, and to expound their own history, giving the circumstances of their acts and sayings with such clearness, that

* See Bib. Repos. Vol. II., July, 1832, pp. 597, etc., and October, 1832, pp. 759, etc.

† See Bib. Repos. October, 1833, pp. 615, etc.

the Scriptures in which they are preserved, seem to be not so much records of by-gone ages, as the contemporary journals of our own. If the feelings of our author were strongly excited on first beholding Jerusalem, before he had thus bathed his spirit in its hallowed associations, what must they have been when leaving it for the last time ! On his arrival, the salutation of the Psalmist was continually on his lips : " Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces ;" and now, on his departure he could not but add : " For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, peace be within thee !" " One long, last look ; and then, turning away," he " bade those sacred hills farewell, forever."

Their route northward was by the great road to Nâbulus. A few miles from Jerusalem, in Jifna Dr. Robinson recognized the Gophna of Josephus, with its paved Roman road,—a site that since the days of Eusebius seems to have been forgotten alike by explorers and by tradition itself, although only a mile from the most public route in Palestine. He found Shiloh—where once the ark abode—in just the situation described three thousand years ago, " on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah," with all these places surviving to identify the site. At Nâbulus (Shechem) our travellers collected minute information concerning the antiquities and present state of the Samaritans. The plain of Esdraelon afforded an abundant harvest of valuable results, which will serve to extricate the topography of that region from the confusion and contradiction hitherto encumbering it.

No portion of these journals has interested us more than the record of researches around the sea of Tiberias. " Cinneroth," " Gennessaret," " the sea of Galilee," " Bahr Tûbariyeh"—how many ages are suggested by these various appellations ! Upon those waters walked the godlike form, whose presence awed the spirit of the tempest, and whose command the winds and the sea obeyed. Credulity may mistake the true position of other interesting objects, but concerning this sheet of water there is no deception. No other than this can be " the sea" upon whose shores the Saviour dwelt, and around which he so often went, and never went without leaving traces of his compassion, proofs of the divinity both of his power and his grace. Here most of his mighty works were done. The pious traveller cannot here set down his foot without the probability of placing

it where his Redeemer once trod. As he walks pensively along between the placid waves of Gennessaret and the impending mountain, he looks abroad on the same landscape, and may have the same enjoyment of its beauties that the human soul of Jesus received, when he beheld the sun rise over the waters, and the mist roll away up the western hills, or saw at evening the tall summit of Hermon still bathed in sunlight, after the shadows had settled down upon the hamlets on the shore. With what pity for the stupidity that would not feel, and the blindness that would not see, did that Saviour here utter the denunciations, "Wo unto thee, Chorazin; wo unto thee, Bethsaida!" "And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained unto this day!" And who could survey the scene of these maledictions, and wander among the broken columns and capitals and pedestals of nameless ruins, all silent and lonely, or frequented only by the sons of Ishmael, without a thrill of awe, a solemn conviction of the truth that God hates sin—that from his denunciation there is no escape; that it makes no haste, and yet brooks no delay; but moves on as steadily as the foot of time, till it overwhelms the guilty rebel who incurs its wo!

It would be a pleasing task to accompany our travellers to Saphet and the sources of the Jordan, and thence through the ancient borders of Asher to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; but our limits forbid. On the 8th of July, 1838, they sailed from Beyrout, and passed by Smyrna and Constantinople, through the Black Sea, and up the Danube to Vienna. Here our author was brought to the borders of the grave by a fever contracted during the voyage.

The two following years were spent by Dr. Robinson at Berlin in the preparation of his various materials for the public eye. There, "in the unrestricted use of that noble institution, the Royal Library, and of the very valuable private collections of Ritter, Neander and Hengstenberg," he had every facility for comparing the results of his journey with whatever has survived concerning the Holy Land in previous writers, both ecclesiastical and secular.

In taking a general view of the service which these researches have done for the cause of sacred literature, we notice:

First, the *geographical results*. No single expedition has ever contributed so large an amount of materials for the rectification of Scripture geography; nor have any previous travellers employed such unwearied pains to verify the results of those who have gone before them. Their instruments were constantly in their hands; every inflection of their path was noted on the spot; the time of arrival and departure from every point of interest, and the rate of travel were carefully preserved; thousands of bearings of mountains, towns, etc., were taken, and all are carefully wrought into their maps on scientific principles. As evidence of the industry and perseverance exhibited in this journey, we find that there are notices in these volumes, of more than a *hundred sites* of towns and other objects *discovered*, or described and their identity for the first time rendered probable by Robinson and Smith.

The *mode* of observation pursued by Dr. R. is, if we mistake not, quite novel, and has had no small share in the geographical value of his work. We allude to the constant habit of noticing the *Wadys*, or water courses,—their depth and direction, and the relation of other objects to them. In this way, he has overspread the regions through which he passed with a tissue of vallies and ranges of hills, that by their position determine many questions of great interest. Thus, for example, we are now for the first time assured of the shape of the desert, by the patient collection of facts showing the drainage of its surface through the smaller depressions into the two great Wadys, el-Artsh and el-Jeráfeh, running northward. The careful reader will notice other illustrations of the advantages of this peculiar mode of describing a country by the size and direction of its hollows, particularly in the account of Jerusalem and its vicinity.

Another source, from which much of the value of these researches is derived, was the combination in these travellers of the profound literary preparation of the one, with the familiar acquaintance of the other with the vernacular Arabic. A single illustration will set this in a just light. When our travellers were approaching Palestine across the desert, believing themselves to be on the route of the Roman road, they searched for the ancient stations, and among others for *Elusa*. And the manner of their discovering it was this: Jerome (Com. on Is. 15: 4) intimates that the Aramean name of this city was חֲלֻצָה (Chalutzah), which was softened by the Greeks into *Ἐλουσα*

(*Elusa*). It naturally occurred to our travellers that if this name survives among the Arabs at the present day, it must be in a form which resembles the cognate Aramean. What then, they inquired, would the name mentioned by Jerome become, when modified by Arab organs? This was a question which Mr. Smith at once answered by changing the word to Khûlāsah. This, then, was the name that was to be sought, if the memory of the place had not utterly perished; and this was the very name given by the Arabs to the ruins found at the Wady el-Kûrn. Now it is apparent, that had not one of these travellers been thoroughly imbued with sacred literature, he would not have derived this hint from Jerome; nor would the hint have been available, had not the other been expert in the Arabic as now spoken in Palestine.

That we do not too highly estimate the value of these volumes to sacred geography, is shown by the testimony of Kiepert, the cartographer of Berlin, by whom the maps were constructed. He declares that "the routes of Robinson and Smith, in minute specifications of every kind, leave far behind them the reports of all other oriental travellers, even of Burckhardt himself;" that the maps and plans of Laborde and the Itinerary of Burckhardt "can make no pretension to the same degree of correctness as those of our travellers," and that Laborde's delineation of the region of Sinai "does not correspond to a single one of the exact bearings" taken by Robinson and Smith, "and may be pronounced a complete failure," etc. Even the great route from Jerusalem to Nazareth, though so often travelled and described, is now for the first time accurately constructed, and the true position of important places, such as Samaria, Nâbulus and Jenîn assigned to them.

But there is another characteristic of this great work, which enhances its value in our estimation; we mean its abundant *historical illustrations*. In his notice of almost every place which he describes, the author gives a connected sketch of its history, so far as any materials can be found in classical or ecclesiastical writers, ancient itineraries, Arabian geographers, or modern travels. Although, at first view, it may seem to impair the unity of the work, we are convinced, on further reflection, that there is great propriety in the introduction of this historical matter in connection with the places to which it refers. It thus possesses an interest and value which it would not have in a separate form. And besides, few men, espe-

cially in this country, can have access to the literary facilities which Dr. R. enjoyed in Europe. He has done well, therefore, when the materials of history were within his reach, to collect them for the benefit of less favored scholars. The labor and research evinced in this portion of the work are prodigious; and we venture to say that these illustrations, with the appended notes, form the most complete index to whatever may be known of the history of Palestine, that can anywhere be found; and, in reference to the places visited by our travellers, leave little to be desired and almost nothing to be gleaned by succeeding laborers in the same field. As a specimen of these historical results the account of Jerusalem may be particularly named. We are not aware that there exists anywhere else among the innumerable works of geographers, annalists and travellers, so complete an account of the Holy City in the successive ages of its eventful history. This is not wholly owing to the lack of materials—though these are indeed less copious than could be desired—but to their dispersion through rare authorities and the labor of searching them out; and, moreover, the few authentic facts have been overlaid by mountains of traditionary lore, heaped up by successive generations of pilgrims. Dr. Robinson has successfully analyzed these traditions, and fixed the canons by which it may be determined what is to be regarded as truthful and what is only the offspring of credulity or fraud. In the application of these rules he spoils many an interesting fable which long currency had almost authorized as fact; but for what we lose in this way, we are compensated by the feeling of repose with which we rest in the conclusions of the author,—the conviction that what is now given us may be relied on as truth, and nothing but the truth, and as nearly the *whole* truth as the nature of the case allows.

We must not omit to mention the valuable appendixes to these volumes, particularly to the third. These contain, among other things, a chronological *list of works* on Palestine and Mount Sinai, with a brief account of each; a scientific *memoir on the maps*, by H. Kiepert, the constructor; the *itineraries* of the travellers, being the field notes of the routes, rate of travel, meteorological remarks, etc. for every day; an essay, by Rev. E. Smith, on the *pronunciation of the Arabic*; and also the extensive tables, already alluded to, of *names of places* in Palestine and its vicinity, arranged according to the civil divisions

of the country. The maps, as well as the letter-press, are executed in a style corresponding with the importance of the information they are designed to impart.

It is a subject for thankfulness to the great Fountain of Truth, that this important undertaking has been so successfully accomplished,—that the men were prepared for it, and carried through it, and enabled to lay the results before the public with all the completeness of deliberate study. We congratulate them on this consummation as alone an object worthy the aim and effort of their whole lives. And though they modestly confess the incompleteness of their survey of the Promised Land, they have done more than any who have gone before them, and left a model of accuracy and diligence for the imitation of those who may succeed them. We congratulate the friends of sound learning on the production by our own countrymen of a work of such genuine erudition, which will not only add to the reputation of our national literature, but also stimulate the youthful clergy of our land, more than any foreign production could do, to aim at a thorough scholarship. And, finally, we congratulate the brotherhood of believers on the clearer evidence and brighter light which these volumes shed on the sacred word; showing that it is no cunningly devised fable; but, by the correspondence of a thousand allusions with existing facts, is demonstrated to be the genuine record of the men, places, and scenes, and modes of thought, and sources of feeling, that it professes to be. Even its mysteries are many of them but the result of our ignorance, and are destined yet to be resolved when *sanctified learning* shall go forth into all the world, and from the history of every nation, from records, ruins, inscriptions and coins, from the tribes of animals and from the structure of the globe itself, shall gather the materials for illustrating the word of God.

ARTICLE IX.

THE NESTORIANS.

By Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Bib. Lit., Union Theol. Sem., New-York.

The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes ; containing evidence of their identity, etc. By Asahel Grant, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841. 12mo. pp. 385.

THE remnant of the great Nestorian sect, which once extended over a large part of Asia, and pushed its missions and its churches unto the remotest east, to India and China, is now confined to the wild mountains of Kurdistan, lying between Mesopotamia and Persia, and blocking up the direct passage between those countries. In this almost inaccessible retreat, the Nestorians have for ages defied the storms of revolution and of desolation that have swept over the adjacent regions; and, in their character of bold and intrepid, though rude and fierce mountaineers, have so entirely maintained their independence unto the present day, as to bear among their neighbors the proud title of *Ashiret*, "the Tributeless." These mountains are their chief seat and home; but on the east, they have descended to occupy in part the fertile plains which border the Lake of Ooroomiah and surround the city of the same name, the reputed birth-place of Zoroaster; while on the west they are also found in the cities and villages of the vast plains through which the Tigris rolls its course. Until quite recently, these mountain districts have remained unexplored and unvisited by Europeans; and travellers have come in contact with this people only at their extremities, upon the plains of the east and west. In the latter quarter, in the region of Mosul, the missionaries of the Romish church have for centuries assailed them with zeal and at last with success. In the seventeenth century, their western patriarch gave in his adhesion to the pope, who, in return, bestowed upon him and his followers the venerable but

unmeaning name of Chaldeans.* The change indeed was hardly more than nominal; consisting merely in a few names of saints and the dropping of a few sentences of their creed and liturgy; and probably was adopted more in the hope of protection and aid from a supposed great occidental power, than from any definite conviction. The patriarch of the mountains still remains steadfast in his ancient faith; and among his followers in the plain of Ooroomiah, within the last eight years, American missionaries have taken up their abode. They were received with unexampled kindness and respect, and have already met with a success which could never have been anticipated; and have brought out to view facts and information respecting the country and the people, which throw new light upon the history of that portion of the globe.

The Nestorians are remarkable for having preserved during the dark ages a purer faith and a brighter missionary zeal, than any of the other churches of the east or west. In the west, indeed, amid all those centuries of superstition, papal domination, and fierce contention, the existence of the Nestorians appears almost to have been forgotten; while at that very time their missionary efforts in the east were in a high degree enterprising and successful, stretching over the long interval from the seventh to the fourteenth century. Their churches in the remote east, however, mostly perished in the convulsions and revolutions brought about by the Muhammedan conquerors, Gengis Khan and Tamerlane; and the papal missionaries, who were sent not long after into China and the adjacent regions, profess to have found no traces of a former Christianity. The Nestorians of Mesopotamia having been themselves partially won over to the pope in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the materials for their ecclesiastical history became so far known, that the learned Assemani, more than a century ago, could occupy the whole third and fourth parts of his great work with treatises upon the religious literature, history, and polity of this interesting people.† In respect to their present character and

* A more appropriate name would have been *papal Nestorians* or *Nestorian-Catholics*; analogous to the Greek-Catholics, Armenian-Catholics, Syrian-Catholics, etc.

† Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. iii. Pars i, ii. Romae 1725-28. A brief but very complete abstract of the history of their missionary efforts was published in the *Mis-*

condition, at least that portion of them dwelling in the plain of Ooroomiah, we have full information in the Researches of Messrs. Smith and Dwight, the Reports of the Mission scattered through the volumes of the Missionary Herald since 1834, and especially in the valuable article from the pen of the Rev. J. Perkins, in the American Biblical Repository for January of the present year.

One important circumstance, first brought to light by Smith and Dwight, and substantiated by the subsequent labors of the Mission, is the fact, that the venerable Syriac, which has long been supposed by scholars to have become a dead language,* still exists in a corrupted form as the living vernacular tongue of the Nestorian Christians. Niebuhr, indeed, with his accustomed accuracy, relates the same fact as to the villages around Mosul; but this was contradicted by Volney, and no traveller had since taken the trouble to inquire after the truth.† Messrs. Smith and Dwight found in the villages in the region of Ooroomiah the same vernacular unwritten language of the common people; while all the church books were in the ancient Syriac, written in a peculiar character varying slightly from the Estrangelo.‡ In the village of Khosrova, inhabited by Chaldeans (i. e. Nestorian-Catholics), they met with a bishop and priest, both of whom had been educated at Rome, where the latter had spent twelve years in the College of the Propaganda. He had begun to write down the vulgar language, and had translated into it for the use of his pupils the *Doctrina Christiana* (a papal catechism) and a few prayers. These were the only books then existing in the vulgar language of the Nestorians.§ The travellers obtained copies of them; and also a copy of the Nestorian alphabet with the sounds exemplified. These tracts,

sionary Herald for August 1838, drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Anderson, one of the secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

* Hoffmann Gramm. Syr. pp. 35, 36.

† Niebuhr Reisebeschr. II. p. 352, "Die allgemeine Sprache auf den christlichen Dörfern dieser Gegend (Mosul) ist noch auf diesen Tag Syriaisch. Das jetzige Syrische oder Chaldäische aber soll wenigstens eben so sehr von der Sprache verschieden sein, worinn die Kirchenbücher geschrieben sind, als das neu Arabische vom alten." Comp. Hoffmann, l. c. Volney, Voyage en Syrie, I. p. 331.

‡ Researches, II. p. 212.

§ Ibid. p. 192.

through the kindness of Mr. Smith and Dr. Anderson, came afterwards into the possession of the writer of this article ; but the entire want of all the necessary literary helps in this country, precluded the possibility of making any use of them. In 1837 he put them into the hands of the distinguished orientalist, Prof. Roediger of Halle ; who by a singular concurrence was at the same time, in connection with Pott of Halle, investigating the neighboring language of the Kurds.* Partly at his request, a letter to Mr. Perkins was afterwards sent by the writer from Constantinople, requesting further information as to the language, and also such other specimens of it as could be obtained. An answer to this letter was received some months later in Berlin, with a package of tracts both in the modern and ancient language. As the letter of Mr. Perkins presents a more full and distinct account of the language and literature of the Nestorians than has yet been given to the public, no apology is necessary for inserting it here.

Ooroomiah, Nov. 14th, 1838.

MY VERY DEAR SIR :

A short time since, I had the sincere gratification of receiving your kind letter, dated Constantinople, Aug. 11th. It gives me great pleasure to comply with your request so far as I am able, in communicating to you information respecting the language of the Nestorians.

The *ancient* language of the Nestorians of Persia and of the Kurdish mountains is the ancient *Syriac* † and this is still their *book-language*. Not only their liturgy, but *all* their books are written in the Syriac. And their ecclesiastics, who are but very imperfectly instructed, conduct their written correspondence in Syriac, and are able to converse in it with each other. The common written character of the Nestorians resembles the Estrangelo. They still have some few ancient books written in the Estrangelo ; and they now use the Estrangelo for their capital letters.

* *Kurdische Studien*, in *Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III. p. 1.

† By the term *Syriac*, I intend the *ancient* Syriac, whether the signification "ancient" be supplied or not ; save where the term "modern," is prefixed in one instance. J. P.

The so-called "Chaldeans" of Mesopotamia received that title, as you know, from the pope, on their becoming Catholics. Their ancient language is also the Syriac, and their written character was the same with that of the Nestorians; except among that portion of them who were converted from the Jacobite sect, who, I believe, use the common Syriac character familiar to European scholars. These "Chaldeans" all used the ancient Syriac as their written language, until their modern conversion to popery. Since that event, some of their books have been prepared in the Arabic tongue; in order, as is supposed, that the people, having abandoned their own ancient language and literature, may be the more easily induced to embrace all the peculiarities of the papal church. I am informed, however, that their liturgy is still in the ancient Syriac, among many of the Chaldean villages of Mesopotamia.

The above statements in reference to the language of the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia have been repeatedly made to me by individuals of their own people. They have also just been confirmed by a Chaldean deacon from the region of Mosul, who recently arrived here, and has spent a considerable part of his time, during the past week, in my study.

The *spoken* language of the Nestorians of Persia and of the Kurdish mountains is derived directly from the ancient Syriac. It differs somewhat in different regions. According as a given district is situated in the vicinity of the Turks, Kurds, or Persians, the language has become corrupted by the introduction of a great number of words and phrases, borrowed from the languages of those nations respectively; and thus differs much more widely from the ancient Syriac, than the dialects spoken by some of the independent Nestorians of the Kurdish mountains, who have come less in contact with these barbarizing influences. In all these regions, however, the *body* of the spoken language of the Nestorians comes from the ancient Syriac, as obviously and directly as the modern Greek comes from the ancient Greek.

The "Chaldeans" of Mesopotamia are also said to have formerly spoken a corruption of the Syriac. At present most of them are said to use Arabic, particularly in and about the city of Mosul. In some of the villages, however, they still speak a corrupted Syriac,—the same that is spoken by the Nestorians of Ooroomiah, save that it approaches nearer to the ancient language. It was undoubtedly this language which Niebuhr

heard in some of those villages and pronounced to be "Chaldean."* The deacon above named is from a village about fifteen miles distant from Mosul. He states that the inhabitants of that village and others in the vicinity usually speak corrupt Syriac instead of the Arabic. His own dialect differs but little from that spoken here.†

Of the difference between the ancient Chaldaic language and the Syriac, you are of course better qualified to judge than I am. I feel quite clear, however, in reference to the points which I have stated above, viz. that the *ancient* language of both the Nestorians and the present "Chaldeans" is the same, —and that, the ancient *Syriac*; also, that the *spoken* language of the Nestorians and of these "Chaldeans" is the same, (except so far as the Arabic prevails among the latter,) and that it is derived directly from the ancient *Syriac*.‡

I have almost constant occasion to notice the very strong relationship which exists between all these cognate Semitic languages, as the Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, etc. The Nestorian ecclesiastics, for example, very easily learn the Hebrew language, from its resemblance to their own. I have, at present, a class of these ecclesiastics in Hebrew, whose proficiency, with

* Niebuhr, however, calls it *Syrianisch*; see the Note on p. 456, above. R.

† The very same statements respecting the language of the papal Nestorians in the villages around Mosul, were made to the writer at Constantinople in 1838, by Mr. Rassam, now British Consul at Mosul, himself a native "Chaldean" from that city or the vicinity. R.

‡ In the article above referred to, (Am. Bib. Repos. Jan. 1841, p. 12,) Mr. Perkins remarks that he and his colleague, Mr. Holladay, "have taken some pains to compare the language of the Nestorians with the Chaldaic, as exhibited in the books of Daniel and Ezra, and at the same time with the ancient Syriac of those portions of Scripture; and the result has been a most decided preponderance in favor of deriving the modern language directly from the Syriac." I cite this in order to subjoin the remark, that the Chaldaic of Daniel and Ezra is hardly a fair standard of comparison, since it approaches much nearer to the Hebrew than does the ordinary Chaldee dialect. The comparison should rather have been made with some portion of the Chaldee translations exhibited in the Targums. R.

very little effort, is such as would do honor to an Andover lecture-room. There are also Jews in this city who speak a corrupt dialect of the Hebrew; and their language so nearly resembles that spoken by the Nestorians, that individuals of the two nations can readily understand each other.

The *spoken* language of the Nestorians has scarcely been reduced to writing by themselves. Hence, as I have said above, the epistolary correspondence is still conducted in their ancient language, the Syriac. I find, too, by referring to Mr. Smith's "Researches," that the manuscripts which he procured here, were the only works, as he supposed, existing in the spoken language.* I have found no other manuscripts prepared in the vulgar tongue in this region. I obtained, some time since, from the vicinity of Mosul, what purported to be a translation of a part of the Gospels, into the spoken language. It proved to me that the "Chaldeans" of the villages in that region speak a corrupted Syriac; but the preparation of the work was so entirely without rule or standard in construction, orthography, etc., as to prove, also, that the spoken language of the Nestorians and Chaldeans has been as little cultivated on the western, as on the eastern side of the Kurdish mountains.

We regard the necessity of cultivating the spoken language of the Nestorians as so obvious and great, in order to reach the mass of the people with religious and intellectual matter, that I long since commenced reducing it to writing. I have made a translation of some parts of the Scriptures, of a small geography, and of some other things, into the language. Our translations are doubtless still imperfect in orthography as well as in other respects; as I have had no standard to aid me, but the Syriac language. In the hope, however, that they may gratify you and your German friends, and afford you some light, I will send you a few specimens of which we have duplicates. We have as yet printed nothing. Our press is now on the way to this country.† As I send by the English post, I can forward

* Vol. II. p. 192. See above, p. 456.

† In consequence of many delays, the press did not reach Ooroomiah until Nov. 1840. The following entries in Mr. Perkins' journal of that month, show the joy with which it was welcomed.

"Nov. 7th, 1840.—Our printer, Mr. Breath, arrived. His coming with the press is, we believe, the dawn of a new era on the Nestorians.—9th. We took the press from the boxes in

but few manuscripts at this time ; but will endeavor to send more, together with some manuscripts in the ancient language, when an opportunity for transportation shall occur. Lying on my table are two letters which I lately received ; one from the Patriarch and one from a bishop. I send you these also with a translation. They are in the ancient language, i. e. the ancient Syriac.

You are doubtless aware that the British and Foreign Bible Society has published the entire Scriptures in the Syriac language. Only the four Gospels, however, are in the Nestorian character. These were published in the year 1829. The type is very perfect. Have you seen a copy of these Gospels ?

The idea is sometimes suggested, that these corrupt languages, —such for instance as the modern Greek, the modern Armenian, the modern Syriac, etc.—ought not to be reduced to writing ; that only the *ancient* languages should be cultivated ; and that thus, by general education, the people of these nations may be led back to the re-adoption of their respective ancient tongues. What is your opinion on this subject ?

It has appeared to us obviously impossible ever to effect the object which the theory proposes in reference to the Nestorians. The mass of the people understand almost none of the pure Syriac, unmodified by vulgar contractions and inversions, and by the importation of barbarisms. We, however, encourage the cultivation of the old Syriac, as well as of the spoken language. We wish the Nestorians to contrive to study and use it in some measure ; and we hope that by regarding it and using it as their *classical* language, they may be able to cultivate and enrich their vulgar tongue. Can we do better than adopt such a course ?

When our press and type reach us, we design to print an

which it was brought, and set it up. It appears like an exotic in this dark and distant land ; and, at the same time, like a familiar old acquaintance, whose arrival is inexpressibly welcome to us.—21st. We put our press in operation by printing on small scraps, a few copies of the Lord's Prayer in ancient Syriac, merely to gratify the curiosity of the natives, who have never before seen any thing of the kind. The press is now the *lion* here. Numbers call daily to visit it. The Nestorians are greatly delighted with it." See Mission. Herald, Sept. 1841, p. 351. R.

edition of the entire Syriac Scriptures in the Nestorian character. From this you will infer, that we do not wish the Nestorians to cease cultivating that noble language.

With my kind regards to Prof. Roediger, please assure him that it will ever afford me great pleasure, to do all in my power to facilitate his inquiries in reference to these eastern languages.

Yours, most truly,

JUSTIN PERKINS.

P. S. Nov. 23d. I have just found among my papers two other letters from the Patriarch, both in the ancient Syriac, which I send, with translations.

From the reply made to this letter, Mr. Perkins has given the following extracts :* “The views contained in your letter, leave no room to doubt of the character of the language ; nor that the Chaldean, so called, of Mesopotamia, is the same. I have myself had no doubt of this before ; although on inquiring of Mr. Rassam and others in Constantinople, I could get no satisfactory information. The prevailing view among scholars, at present, is that the ancient Chaldee and Syriac are, at the bottom, the same dialect ; the former having developed itself in a more Jewish form, and adopted the Hebrew alphabet, and the latter having been diffused among Christians with a different alphabet ; i. e. one being a Hebraizing Aramæan and the other a Christian Aramæan. A similar fact exists at this day, in relation to the Servian and Illyrian languages. They are the same, or nearly so, as spoken ; but the Servians are Greek Christians, and use a peculiar alphabet ; while the Illyrians are Catholics, and write with the Latin letters.†

“There can be no doubt, I think, as to the propriety and necessity of cultivating the modern Syriac, in the manner you mention, any more than there is in the case of the modern Greek. It is the language, and the only language of the people, and must remain so ; though it should be purified and refined, by a reference to the ancient language, so far as possible.”

* Amer. Bibl. Repos., Jan. 1841, pp. 11, 12.

† Very recently an alphabet has been proposed by Mr. Gai, an Illyrian scholar, adapted to both his own and the Servian lan-

The preceding letter of Mr. Perkins was accompanied by a small package, containing five or six scriptural tracts in the modern language of the Nestorians, and the four letters there mentioned in ancient Syriac. The tracts comprised translations of the Sermon on the Mount, and some of the minor epistles. Three of the letters were from the Patriarch of the mountains, who always takes the name or rather the title of Mar Shimon, i. e., Lord Simeon. He resides not far from Jûlamerk in the Hakkary district, one of the most inaccessible parts of the Kurdish mountains. One of the letters bears his great seal; the other two have only his smaller private seal. All were written by amanuenses; one of them by the priest Abraham of Ashtta, who was afterwards visited by Dr. Grant, and is described as the most learned Nestorian now living. The contents of all the letters are unimportant and even trivial; consisting chiefly of high-flown oriental compliments and expressions of thanks, under which the all-pervading oriental feeling of self-interest is not always concealed. Their chief value is as proofs of the good soil into which the missionary seed has here been cast.

The arrival of these literary documents in Berlin, from the wild and almost unapproachable mountains of Kurdistan, the fierce seats of robbery and bloodshed, where the traveller Schulz a few years before had been foully murdered on attempting to enter the region, awakened great interest among the German literati. The celebrated and excellent Ritter, who since the death of Rennell occupies the geographical throne, drew up with the help of these papers an account of the country and the people, which he read before one or two literary societies, and also before the present king of Prussia, then crown prince; and afterwards inserted the substance of it in his great published work, accompanied by translations of two of the Syriac letters sent by Mr. Perkins.* The documents were ultimately all placed in the hands of Prof. Roediger of Halle, where they yet remain; and he has since succeeded in obtaining a few others from different sources. He has as yet made public only the *Creed*, printed in the common Syriac character, with a commentary and remarks on the language, and then later, two of

guages, which would do away almost the only distinction between the two. It has been readily adopted by the Illyrians, but seems to find little favor with the Servians. R.

* Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Th. IX. pp. 670—687, Berlin, 1840.

the letters in ancient Syriac forwarded by Mr. Perkins, in the same character, with remarks.*

According to Roediger's judgment, the broad foundation of this modern Syriac, is the ancient Aramæan (of which, as we have seen, the ancient Chaldee and Syriac were probably little more than different alphabets), but greatly corrupted in its organization. The sounds are for the most part exceedingly softened and weakened; very often contracted; and some again have passed over to a barbarian harshness.† Many later foreign words are also intermixed from the Arabic, Persian, and Kurdish languages. The ancient Syriac of the letters has likewise some peculiarity. Many anomalies appear in the use of the vowels; which serve to show that the language, in its ancient correct form, is no longer the living property of the writer. Modern words, too, from the Arabic and Persian, are occasionally introduced.

The arrival of the press at Ooroomiah will doubtless greatly tend to fix and extend the modern language and literature of the Nestorians, and multiply its materials; and, with these more ample means, we may hope that the philology of the language and the intellectual character of the people will speedily become more developed and more widely known.

After these remarks upon the language of the Nestorians, we turn to the work of Dr. Grant named at the head of this article. It describes the first successful attempt to explore the mountainous district inhabited by the independent tribes of the same people. We premise a brief notice of what was already known respecting the region.

The independent Nestorians, in the midst of their wild mountain fastnesses, are rendered still more inaccessible from the fact, that they are surrounded and hemmed in on every side by tribes

* See Roediger über die aramäische Vulgairsprache der heutigen Syrischen Christen, in *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II. pp. 77—93. Also: *Syrische Briefe*, *ibid.* Bd. III. pp. 218—225. A short form of prayer in modern Syriac is also given by Roediger in his *Syrische Chrestomathie*, Halle, 1838.

† "In roughness of sound, it exceeded even the Armenian. I was able soon to detect in it many Arabic and Hebrew words; but rarely enough to complete the meaning of a sentence. Almost every word seemed to end in a vowel." *Smith's Researches*, II. p. 212.

of ferocious Kurds; their territory indeed being the very heart of Kurdistan. Between them and the district of Salmas and Ooroomiah, along the water-shed between the streams flowing to the lake of Ooroomiah, and those running to the Tigris, dwell the Kurds of the Hakkary district, reported the fiercest of all. On the S. W. of the mountains, towards the Tigris, the Turkish power has of late years made some progress, and partially subjected several of the petty Kurdish tribes and some fortresses to its sway; so that access to the mountains is on that side more open.

The first account of this country in modern times is from the Catholic missionaries who were sent to the Kurds on the western side of the mountains. Pater Leopold Soldini, a Dominican, went thither in 1760, and died in 1779 at Zakhu, situated, according to Dr. Grant, on an island in the river Khabar, not far above its entrance into the Tigris. He was followed by Pater M. Garzoni, who fixed himself at Amadieh, where he remained twenty-eight years, devoting himself to missionary labors among the Kurds, and to the study of their language, of which he prepared and published a grammar. His accounts of the country and people are very scanty.*—About the same time, the accurate Niebuhr, on his route through Mosul, gathered information in respect to several of the districts of this part of Kurdistan, which subsequent inquiry has only served to confirm.†

In the present century, the indefatigable Mr. Rich collected much valuable information respecting the same region; and gives also the route of a Tatar courier by way of Amadieh and Julamerk to the lake of Van, corresponding almost entirely to the subsequent route of Dr. Grant.‡ Accounts of a similar kind were gathered by Lieut. Col. Monteith in Persia, and by Dr. Walsh in Constantinople.§ The researches of Smith and Dwight, which led to the establishment of the American mis-

* P. M. Garzoni *Grammatica e Vocabulario della lingua Kurda*, Roma 1787. Roediger and Pott *Kurdische Studien*, in *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* Bd. III. p. 1—17. Ritter's *Erdkunde* Th. IX. p. 656.

† Niebuhr *Reisebeschr.* II. p. 332.

‡ C. J. Rich, *Narrative a Residence in Koordistan*, I. pp. 275—280. Lond. 1836. Ritter, l. c. pp. 659—663.

§ *Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.* Lond. Vol. III. 1833. pp. 52—54. Ritter, l. c. pp. 664—670.

sion among the Nestorians of Ooroomiah, brought out also further information respecting their more independent brethren in the mountains.* In 1829, the orientalist Schulz appears to have reached Jälamerk from the east; but was treacherously murdered on his return. Dr. Grant visited the scene of the murder, and recounts the causes which led to it.†

The residence of the missionaries at Ooroomiah brought them of course into occasional contact with the Nestorians of the mountains, who often visit their brethren of the plain. We have already seen from the letters of the Patriarch, that he held correspondence with them, and that he took an interest in their proceedings. Many repaired also to Ooroomiah to visit the mission, or to avail themselves of the medical services of Dr. Grant; and thus opportunity was afforded for cultivating a kind feeling towards the mission among the mountains, and gradually preparing the way for future personal inquiry and the establishment of schools in those districts. Indeed, so pressing did the Patriarch and his followers become on this latter point, that it was thought advisable both by the missionaries on the spot, and by the board at home, that an attempt to penetrate the country should no longer be deferred. Accordingly, in April 1839, Dr. Grant, in pursuance of instructions from home, set off on this journey. It had been his wish to enter the mountains from the east; but the other approach from the west was deemed the most feasible; and, after visiting Constantinople, and returning by way of Diarbekr and Mardin to Mosul, he left that city on the 7th of October, for Amadiéh, near the great elbow of the Zab (the ancient Zabús or Zabatus), formerly a Kurdish fortress, but now held by the Turks.

The direct route to Amadiéh lies through Rás el-'Ain and Elkósh, and then across the chain of mountains, which here causes the Zab to make nearly a right angle towards the east. But for the purpose of obtaining the protection of a Kurdish chieftain, Dr. Grant proceeded first to Akra, N. E. of Mosul, and thence up the valley of the Hazir (the ancient Bumadus),

* Vol. II. p. 217, seq.

† Page 123. The information previously received respecting his death, see in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Th. IX. pp. 649-653. The papers of Schulz, relating to the languages of those countries, are understood to be in the hands of the distinguished orientalist, Prof. Jul. Mohl of Paris.

crossing the mountains at its source. The remaining route of the traveller lay up along, or near the valley of the Zâb; sometimes upon its banks, and sometimes at a distance across the precipitous mountain ranges, lying between its lateral streams. He passed near Jûlamerk; and reaching the residence of the Patriarch on the opposite side of the river, Oct. 26th, remained for five weeks the guest of that dignitary, enjoying his hospitality, and being treated in all things as a friend and brother. Dr. G. now proceeded to Bash Kala, the residence, at the time, of the principal chief of the Hakkary Kurds; the same indeed by whose orders or connivance Schulz was murdered. He found the chieftain ill; was enabled by his medicines to relieve him; and thus established himself firmly in his favor. No further difficulty of course lay before him; and crossing the mountains from the sources of the Zâb to Salmas, he reached Ooroomiah on the 7th of December.

In returning to Constantinople on his way to this country, Dr. Grant again visited the higher or northeastern part of the same territory. Leaving Ooroomiah May 7th, 1840, with his little son of four years old, he travelled over the mountains still covered with snow, and across the higher branches of the Zâb to Bash Kala; thence to Jûlamerk, where the Patriarch was then residing; again by another route to Bash Kala; which place he left June 1st, to pass around the eastern shore of the Lake of Van on his way to Constantinople.

It is not our purpose to make any extracts from this portion of the work. The whole account of the journey and of Dr. Grant's intercourse with the people occupies only one hundred pages; it is animated, graphic, and exceedingly interesting; and could not be abridged without injustice. It is sufficient to remark, that he was everywhere received with the utmost kindness, and often met with individuals who welcomed him as their former physician and benefactor.

It appears from Dr. Grant's journal and from his map, that the mountainous tract in the centre of which the Nestorians dwell, is (roughly speaking) nearly quadrangular, and nearly at equal distances from the lakes of Van and Ooroomiah and from the Tigris. The highest mountains apparently are in the E. and N. E. They are the sources of the streams flowing to the Tigris; while those descending to the eastern lake are much shorter. To the Tigris run two main streams, cleaving the high mountain region to its base, and finding their way along the

bottoms of the deep chasms thus formed. The chief of these is the Zâb (Zabatus of Xenophon), which with its similar lateral vallies and streams drains all that part of the country seen by Dr. Grant. Parallel to this, though with a shorter course, and rising N. W. of Jalamerk, is the Khabâr, perhaps the Habor of the Hebrews, which flows S. W. in a shorter course to join the Tigris below Jezirah. To Dr. Grant we owe the first correct account of this latter stream, which is wrongly laid down on all former maps.

The summits of these mountains, or rather of this mountainous region, it would seem, furnish a species of table land, on which much pasture grows in summer. These high pastures are called *Zozan*. The villages and dwellings of the inhabitants are all in the vallies and near the streams, and are built of stone; but in summer they drive their flocks to the *Zozan* above, and dwell there for the season in tents; not very unlike the peasants of Switzerland. The Nestorians of these fastnesses everywhere appear like other independent mountaineers, rude, fierce and indomitable, yet kind-hearted and hospitable, with many peculiar virtues and customs, arising out of their seclusion from the world and the pressure of foes from without. We have been greatly struck, while reading Dr. Grant's account, with their close resemblance to other Christian tribes in like circumstances; particularly the Mainotes of Greece and the Montenegrins of the Illyrian coast. Some of these coincidences we shall have occasion hereafter to refer to.

For this portion of his book the public are very greatly indebted to Dr. Grant; and had he broken off here, he would have heard only the voice of universal thanks. But he has chosen to devote the remaining two-thirds of his work to bringing forward a theory, which, as he has treated it, bears very much the aspect of a *hobby*, viz. that these Nestorian tribes are the descendants and representatives of the lost ten tribes of Israel. His arguments in support of this theory are partly historical and circumstantial, and partly prophetic. These latter we are willing to let go for what they are worth, without taking them ourselves at all into the account; being fully of opinion in respect to prophecies *yet to be fulfilled* (on which alone the argument is built), that we at this day know very little more, than did of old the prophets who inquired and searched diligently, and the angels who desired to look into them; in either case without success. Nothing is more easy

than to make out any theory of the future, and find the proof of it in prophecy. Witness the many theories of the present day, respecting the prospects and destiny of the Jews.

As to the other arguments adduced by Dr. Grant, we regard the main strength of his position as resting upon these two, viz., the tradition prevalent among the Nestorians themselves and admitted by the resident Jews; and the probability that their country is one of the places to which the ten tribes were carried away. These, we admit, if the reports made are entirely correct and not over-colored, are important facts; and as such we shall hereafter give them a more particular examination. Besides these, however, Dr. Grant has thrown together a mass of what he probably would regard as cumulative evidence, drawn from the consideration of their language, their names, their reputed observance of parts of the Mosaic ritual, such as sacrifices, vows, and the like; their physiognomy and proper names; their tribes and government; their custom of blood-revenge; their social and domestic habits, hospitality, marriage rites, and general occupations. All these are brought forward with great confidence, as being identical with, and derived from, the similar characteristics and customs of the Hebrews; and as therefore affording decisive proof that the people in question are of the race of Israel. But in the exhibition of all this evidence, we regret to perceive too often the air rather of a special pleader, than of the accurate historian and sound critic.

Thus, then, we have here another added to the multitude of theories, according to which, in turn, the ten tribes of Israel have been lost and found throughout all the northern half of the globe,—in every country of Europe, Asia and North America. Is the new theory better than the old? Since the publication of Dr. Grant's book, we have heard the remark made in various parts of the country, that admitting all its statements to be true and well founded, he would appear to have established his position. For this reason, it seems to be a duty towards the Christian public, to examine somewhat closely the evidence adduced, in order to judge both of its intrinsic value and of its bearing on the point in question.

Of the previous theories, that which recognizes the lost tribes of Israel in the aborigines of North America, is perhaps at the present day the most popular. It has been sustained with a good deal of acuteness and much zeal by Dr. Boudinot, Ethan

Smith and M. M. Noah ; and to it, after their example, Mr. Silk Buckingham has recently given in his adhesion. As a refutation of this theory, Dr. Grant thinks it sufficient to remark as follows, p. 135: "The evidence which has been adduced to identify the American Indians with the lost tribes is entirely circumstantial, and based chiefly upon customs, etc., which are *primitive* rather than peculiarly Jewish ; customs similar to those found among the Arabs and other eastern nations." We ask the reader to bear this remark in mind.

It would lead us too far to follow out in detail all the minor points of evidence adduced by the author ; nor is this essential. If we can succeed in showing the true character and force of the more important portions of his argument, the reader will then be in a situation duly to appreciate the remainder. Nor do we think it necessary to follow the precise order of the book ; but shall reserve the consideration of their language, their traditions, and their country, till the last.

We begin with Chap. VI. From the *names* applied by the Nestorians to themselves, Dr. Grant derives an argument for their Hebrew descent. Now, so far as they are called *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, or *Nestorians*, we know the origin of these names, and that they have in themselves no bearing on the point at issue. The term *Beni Israel*, by which they are further said to call themselves, is obviously connected with the tradition of their descent, which will be considered afterwards. But the name *Nazareans*, which is likewise very commonly employed by themselves and others, Dr. Grant thinks, may be, "as evidence of their Hebrew descent, in some respects even more satisfactory than the expressive appellation, Sons of Israel." This appears, as he supposes, from the fact, that this term was originally applied to "Christians converted from *Judaism* ;" in other words, all Nazareans were at first "Jews, or Israelites converted to Christianity." He cites the remark of Mosheim, that "those who have the title of Christians among the Greeks, were among the Jews called Nazareans ;" and after an argument of some length, sums up his conclusion thus: "It is quite clear, that the Nazareans were converted Jews ; and the Nestorians, being Nazareans, must be converted Jews." p. 198.

Now on all this it is sufficient to make two remarks. First, because the name Nazareans may, in its origin, have had this limited signification, it does not follow that it must retain the same now, after the lapse of nearly eighteen centuries. And

further, Dr. Grant appears to have overlooked the fact, or perhaps was not aware of it, that in the wide-spread Arabic language this same term Nazareans is the only current name for Christians. From the western coasts of Africa to the eastern shores of Arabia Felix ; from the Mediterranean to the mountains of Kurdistan ; wherever an Arab has occasion to speak of Christians, he knows them solely as Nazareans.* Now the great body of the Chaldeans (papal Nestorians) on the west of the mountains speak the Arabic wholly or occasionally ; and we therefore need not go back to antiquity to account for its introduction or its meaning among the Nestorians. They have adopted it, just as they have adopted their title for Dr. Grant himself, *Hakim*,† from the Arabic.

In Chap. VII, several things are brought forward in regard to the rites and customs of the Nestorians, which the author refers directly to an hereditary observance of the Mosaic ritual. Among these are *sacrifices* ; which, in the form of "peace-offerings," are found among this people. "They are usually offered to return thanks for God's benefits, or to obtain new favors from him ; as, for instance, the recovery of sick friends, or their own restoration to health. The animal is then usually slain before the door of the church, when a little of the blood is often put upon the door or lintels." p. 207. The flesh is then usually eaten. But Dr. Grant admits, that "sacrifices are common also among heathen nations, and are practised by the Muhammedans, and even by the Armenians." As to the Muhammedans, similar offerings are frequent among them. The writer was once present, when his Bedawin guides offered such a sacrifice in the midst of the desert between Sinai and Palestine.

* Sing. *Nusrāny* ; Plur. *Nūsāra* and *Nūsārah*. See Freytag's Lex. Arab. IV. pp. 287, 288. In Acts 11: 26, the Arabic version has for Christians a word derived from *Messiah*, much as if we should speak of *Messianites*. But this is very unusual. The Syriac in the same passage adopts the Greek word *Χριστιανοί*.—Mr. Smith remarks, that in using the term *Nūsāny*, the Nestorians "seemed to feel that it is a generic term, and sometimes added *Siriāny* to make it distinctive of their sect ; which was equivalent to calling themselves *Syrian Christians*." Researches, Vol. II. pp. 214, 215.

† In the letters of the Patriarch, etc. Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl. III. p. 222. *Hakim* signifies properly "a wise man ;" but is in common use for "physician, doctor."

A kid was killed as a "redemption," in order that its death might redeem their camels from death; and also as a peace-offering for the prosperity of our journey. With the blood they smeared crosses on the necks of their camels, and on other parts of their bodies.* But how then are we to know, that the sacrifices of the Nestorians are so "peculiarly Jewish,"† as to prove that people to be of Hebrew origin, and not also to prove the same of the Muhammedans and Armenians? To this Dr. Grant replies, that "in all these (latter) cases, no proof can be furnished from the attendant circumstances, or the people themselves, by which either they or their sacrifices can be traced to a Hebrew origin." p. 210. It is only in connection with other evidence of the Hebrew descent of the Nestorians, that these sacrifices "afford the strong proof of their Israelitish origin." This we must regard as verging closely upon that species of logic sometimes called "begging the question." The argument drawn out, is as follows:

The Nestorians are of Hebrew descent.	The Armenians are <i>not</i> of Hebrew descent.
They have sacrifices.	They have sacrifices.
Therefore: Their sacrifices are of Hebrew origin, and prove them to be of Hebrew descent.	But Therefore: Their sacrifices are not of Hebrew origin, and prove nothing.

The occurrence of *vows* among the Nestorians is adduced by Dr. Grant as going to prove also their Hebrew descent. Strangely enough he brings this topic forward, as if vows among Christians were peculiar to the Nestorians; without the slightest allusion to the very extensive prevalence of vows of various kinds, not only among the Greeks and Romans, as well as the primitive Christians, but also throughout the most of modern Christendom and the Muhammedan world. Yet the temples of the Christian and the mosks of the Muslim to this day everywhere

* Biblical Researches in Palestine, etc. I. p. 269. See also Lane's Modern Egyptians, I. pp. 58, 110, 111, 306. II. pp. 251, 293, 303. The Coptic Christians have also sacrifices at their marriages and at the tombs of their relatives; Lane, *ibid.* II. pp. 331, 335.

† See also the account given by the Nestorians themselves of their sacrifices to Smith and Dwight; where they are represented merely as "a good work." Researches II. p. 216.

exhibit votive offerings; besides the multitudes of vows made and fulfilled in private, that have left no trace behind.*

The *first-fruits* of the fields, gardens, vineyards, and flocks, according to Dr. Grant, are to this day presented to the Lord by the independent Nestorians, as they were among the Jews of old. p. 213. They are carried to the principal church, and are consumed by attendants and visitors at the church, or in public festivals. Such was indeed the ancient Hebrew custom. But so obvious is the idea of such an offering of gratitude, that among nearly all nations who had, or have, an established system of sacrifices, the offering of the first-fruits has rarely been omitted; so that the custom may be regarded as one of the very earliest institutes of worship. It prevailed among the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians;† and at the present day, we have little doubt, that traces of a similar custom may be discovered among other oriental Christians. At any rate, the custom has been found prevailing among the American Indians to such an extent, as to form one of the principal arguments of those who advocate the descent of the latter from the ten tribes. "Their most solemn worship was the sacrifice of the first-fruits, in which they burnt the first and fattest buck, and feasted together on what else they had collected."‡ Among the tribes north of the Ohio, twelve old men were selected, who held up the venison and the first-fruits (of corn), and prayed with their faces to the east; after which the offering was eaten.§ This indeed is one of the instances which Dr. Grant pronounces to be "*primitive* rather than peculiarly Jewish;" but what is there in the first-fruits of

* Dr. Grant relates the instance of a priest, who was trying to lead a very holy life, and had therefore taken the vow of a Nazarite, letting his hair and beard grow, and eating no meat nor milk nor oil. pp. 92, 212. Such instances are said to be uncommon; and are obviously nothing more nor less than the ascetic vows so frequent in the history and practice of all the churches. There is nothing more Jewish in the one case, than in the other.

† See the References in Winer Bibl. Realw. I. p. 404. Compare Spencer Legg. Ritt. p. 716.

‡ Smith's Hist. of New Jersey. See also the testimony of William Penn, Adair, and others, collected by Boudinot, *Star in the West*, pp. 209—229.

§ Beatty, quoted by Boudinot, *ib.* p. 211.

the Nestorians, taken by themselves, which show that they are any less "primitive" and general?

It is a beautiful and striking trait in the character of the Nestorians, that the *Christian Sabbath* is regarded with a sacredness among the mountain tribes, unusual among the other Christians of the East. On the plains there is much desecration of the Lord's day. p. 214. This strict observance, Dr. Grant argues, is a remnant of Judaism; and hence, they are of Hebrew origin. May it not rather be a result of their secluded position in the mountains, which has shut them out from the adverse influences that have operated on their brethren in the plains? Was the strictness with which the Puritans of New England once kept the Sabbath, in any way connected with a Hebrew lineage? Further, the severity of the Jewish observances had and has reference to the rest of the seventh day; and although the primitive Gentile churches adopted only the first day, yet among a church of purely Jewish converts, we should naturally look for some slight trace of regard for their former Sabbath, the seventh day. Yet nothing of this appears among the Nestorians.

In a similar manner, the author finds a parallel between the sanctuary or chancel in the Nestorian churches, and that of the Jewish temple; and this to him is an evidence of Jewish descent. But we are not sure that these sanctuaries or chancels in the churches of this people, are any more sacred than those in the churches of other oriental Christians, and especially those of the Copts.*

The Nestorian women after childbirth are not allowed to enter the church, until the expiration of *forty* days; and in some places, the term is prolonged to sixty days, if the child be a female. In respect to this custom, we recognize, with Dr. Grant, its Jewish origin, in the ceremony of purification; but we do not see that it proves the Hebrew descent of the people. It is nothing more nor less than the very current custom of the *churching* of women, which prevails throughout all churches, and in the Greek church is also fixed at forty days; while in the West, no certain time is appointed. Even the English liturgy contains an office for the same occasion.

* Lane's Mod. Egypt, II. p. 321. Into the Coptic *Heykel*, the sanctuary or chancel around the altar, only the officiating priests are admitted.

"*Swine's flesh* and the meats prohibited by the Levitical code, are regarded by many of the Nestorians with little less abhorrence, than they were by the Jews. In the mountains, though wild hogs are frequently killed, very few, if any, eat of their flesh." p. 219. Some of the Nestorians, then, do eat of wild swine. So too, in Egypt, according to Mr. Lane,* "*the Copts almost universally abstain from eating swine's flesh ;*" but the flesh of the wild boar is often eaten by them. Camel's flesh, too, they consider unlawful, as did the Jews. But because of their abstinence from swine's and camel's flesh, we are not aware, that the Copts have ever been regarded as descendants of the Jews.

In the *fasts and festivals* of the Nestorians, including the *Passover*, there is said to be a close analogy to those of the ancient Jews. p. 220. But beyond all question, this is in like manner literally true of all the oriental churches. In the *Passover*, Dr. G. says, the Nestorians substitute the emblems of Christ's body and blood for the paschal lamb ; in other respects they keep the festival (according to Dr. G.) much after the manner of the ancient Hebrews. But what is this manner ? and do not all Christian churches make the like substitution ? So long as we have no more definite information, we must doubt, whether the Easter of the Nestorians differs greatly from that of the other churches of the East.

In respect to two great leading customs of the Jews, which of all others we should expect to find retained among a church composed of converts from Judaism, *and still claiming to be such*, the Nestorians not only do not possess these customs themselves, but in neglecting them have departed from the practice of other Christian churches. The first is *tithes*, of which there is no trace among that people (p. 214), although so current among other Christian nations. The other is *circumcision*, which is not practised. p. 221. It is not enough to say that this rite was abolished in the apostolic church. The apostolic decree had reference only to the Gentiles and not to the Jewish converts ; and even Paul himself at a later period circumcised Timothy. The Jewish converts were in the highest degree tenacious of this rite ; and their obstinacy was the occasion of all the difficulty in the primitive church. It is therefore very singular, that in a nation of Christians descended solely from

* Vol. II. p. 326.

Jewish converts, there should be not a trace of this rite; and the more so, because throughout the Muhammedan world around them, and also among the Coptic Christians,* circumcision is still practised. In these facts, as it seems to me, lies a very strong point of counter-evidence against the validity of Dr. Grant's whole theory.

We now come to Chap. VIII, in which the author endeavors to sustain the same position, by an appeal to the physiognomy of the Nestorians, their proper names, their tribes and government, and the practice of blood-revenge. In regard to the many Jewish *proper names* in use among the people, this no more proves them to be descendants of the ten tribes, than the prevalence of the same names among the Maronites, or also among the Puritans of England and New England, makes them out also to be of Hebrew lineage. Dr. Grant relates, that of forty-five members of their seminary, thirty-two had Jewish names found in the Bible. We have looked at the first twelve classes on the general catalogue of Yale College, from A. D. 1702 to 1713 inclusive, containing in all forty-six graduates; and find that of these not less than forty-four had Jewish names found in the Bible; and a like proportion continues for many years afterwards.—We will take up the other points in their order.

"The *physiognomy* of the Nestorian Christians bears a close resemblance to that of the Jews of the country in which they dwell" (p. 223), so much so that it is often difficult to distinguish between them. Dr. Grant adduces also the testimony of one English and one American gentleman, as remarking their "peculiar Jewish physiognomy." But it is not said, whether this remark was made before or after these gentlemen were aware of Dr. Grant's hypothesis. On the other hand, Messrs. Smith and Dwight, who were for some time in the region of Ooroomiah, and who certainly were not careless observers, make no mention of any such resemblance to the Jews, although they heard them claim to be of Jewish descent. Mr. Rich, too, who gives a drawing of a Nestorian family from the mountains, is in like manner silent as to the same point; and Mr. Perkins, the oldest member of the mission, in describing the Nestorians as a "very fine looking people," with "features regular, manly, intelligent and often handsome," yet says nothing of any Jew-

* Lane's Mod. Egypt. II. p. 326.

ish expression.* From the silence of such observers, we might perhaps draw the conclusion, that there is probably no very prominent national resemblance, whatever there may be in individual cases.

But in regard to this question of Jewish physiognomy in general, it may be well to bear in mind the very judicious observation of Mr. Lane, that "in features, and in the general expression of countenance, the oriental Jews differ less from other eastern nations, than do those in European countries from the people among whom they live."† That is to say, the Jews are essentially an oriental people; and when transplanted to a European soil, and scattered among nations of the Teutonic or other western races, their oriental physiognomy at once marks them out as a distinct people. But in the East, surrounded by other oriental races of not dissimilar features, the distinction which stands forth so prominently in the West falls away; and to the eyes of a Frank traveller the general expression of all oriental features assumes everywhere the air of a Jewish physiognomy. We may thus perhaps account in part for the fact, that such a resemblance has been ascribed to various tribes, and in some cases contradicted by other travellers. Thus in the case of the Afghans, Forster was forcibly struck with their Jewish physiognomy; which Wolf again directly denies. Major Rawlinson supposes that the Kalhurs around Mount Zagros may be descendants of the ten tribes; "they have many Jewish names among them, and above all their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of Jewish descent."‡ Of the Lesghy tribes, a bigoted Muslim race of wild savage banditti, inhabiting the mountains in the south of Dhagistan west of the Caspian, Mr. Samuel affirms that "their physiognomy and character assimilate in many respects to the Hebrew family. They appear to be of the same [Hebrew] stock, and descended from one common parent, as far as outward appearance goes."§ And not only is this general likeness of feature found among the Asiatic tribes; but those of North America are also made to

* Smith and Dwight's *Researches*, Vol. II. p. 242. Rich's *Koordistan*, Vol. II. Mr. Perkins in *Am. Bib. Repos.* Jan. 1841, p. 16.

† *Mod. Egypt*, II. p. 343.

‡ *Jour. of Lond. Geogr. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 36.

§ Samuel's *Remnant Found*, pp. 46, 47.

bear the same common Jewish stamp. No testimony can be stronger than that of William Penn, who thus writes to a friend in England: "I found them with like countenances with the Hebrew race; and their children of so lively a resemblance to them, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Barry Street in London, when he sees them." Mr. Catlin, himself a painter, bears witness in a manner no less explicit: "The first thing that strikes the traveller in an Indian country, as evidence of the Indians being of Jewish origin, is the close resemblance which they generally bear, in a certain expression of countenance, to those people."*

All this may suffice to show, first, how very uncertain all such testimony is in itself; and secondly, how easily the eye and judgment may be unconsciously influenced by a desire to support a favorite theory.

The Nestorians are divided into *tribes*, inhabiting different portions or vallies of the country; and at the head of each of these tribes, and of their subdivisions, are found chiefs bearing the title of *Melek*. The head of the whole nation is in fact the Patriarch; who however is clothed strictly only with spiritual power, and has no army or force at his command, except as he may have influence enough, on an emergency, to call one or more of the *Meleks* to his aid.† In all this Dr. G. finds of course the tribes of Israel,‡ the name *Melek* which designated the royal head of the Hebrew nation, and the high priest of the Hebrew commonwealth. But it is difficult to see, how these tribes of the Nestorians and their *Meleks*, have *per se* any thing more to do with the Jews, than the tribes of Mount Sinai and their *Sheikhs*, or than any other of the thousand Bedawin tribes which roam over the eastern deserts. The term *Melek* is here obviously only equivalent to *Sheikh*; and is so used likewise in Arabic in the countries on the upper Nile as far as Darfour and Sennaar, being common (in the abbreviated form *Mek*) to all the petty chieftains of those regions.‡

* Buckingham's America, I. p. 92.

† Smith and Dwight, Researches, II. p. 218.

‡ "The existence of the Nestorians, from time immemorial, in distinct tribes, nearly or quite corresponding in number to those of ancient Israel, is a remarkable fact, and may furnish interesting testimony with regard to their origin." p. 225.

§ Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, etc. p. 211.

Nor is it necessary to refer the supreme authority of the Patriarch to the example of the Jewish high priest.

We have already alluded to the small mountainous region of Montenegro, near the Illyrian coast, and its hardy and warlike race of Slavic mountaineers, as presenting in many respects a striking parallel to the country and people of the independent Nestorians. The inhabitants are divided into four *Nahia* or districts; and these again into tribes; and each *Nahia* and tribe has over it a chief. But the most singular part is, that "the highest person among the Montenegrins, is the Metropolitan or Bishop, called in their language *Vladika*." This species of theocracy grew up in Montenegro, about three centuries ago; and the office of *Vladika* is now hereditary in a particular family, in such a way, however, that the incumbent has the right of designating which member of the family shall be his successor.* This seems also to be the case with the Patriarch of the Nestorians; who, in other respects, has about him nothing more of the Jewish high priest than has the *Vladika* of Montenegro.

A very early custom of the Hebrews and of other ancient nations, was that of *blood-revenge*; by which, in all cases of homicide, the nearest relative of the person slain was bound to kill the slayer, or be himself regarded infamous. So deeply was this custom seated, that even Moses did not see fit to prohibit it directly; but chose rather to evade and counteract the evil by the institution of cities of refuge. The same custom we find still existing among the tribes of the independent Nestorians in its full strength; so that "an indelible stain marks the character of the person who does not avenge the death of a relative." p. 229. Dr. G. confirms the statement by terrible examples. p. 91. While two promising lads, the sons of two brothers, were at play together, one shot the other; and the be-

* Wuk Stephanowitch, *Montenegro und die Montenegriner*, Stuttg. u. Tub. 1837, pp. 30, 31.—In 1838, the present king of Saxony visited Montenegro, and was very hospitably received by the *Vladika*. After his return, the latter sent him a complimentary poem of his own composition; and as there happened to be at the time no scholar in Dresden acquainted with the language, the poem was put into the hands of a lady, now a resident in this country, to translate. The present *Vladika* is a young man, partly educated at St. Petersburg.

reaved father, who was the legal avenger of blood, could accept of nothing but the blood of his brother's child. In a social party, a person, for some supposed insult, plunged his dagger into the breast of another; upon which the brother of the slain closed the scene, by laying the murderer dead at his feet. And this, too, among a Christian people! To Dr. G. this custom affords of course indubitable evidence in behalf of his favorite position.

But what evidence have we, that this custom continued to exist among the later Jews; or that it was even found at all among them after the separation of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel? We know of none. The institution of cities of refuge under Joshua appears to have done its work, and accomplished the object of the great legislator, by gradually wearing out this hideous feature. Even under the Judges, the rights of the *Goel* or avenger, the next of kin, (to judge from the Book of Ruth,) appear to have become limited to the *Levirate* duties and the privilege of redeeming property. The latest trace of blood-revenge furnished by the Scriptures, is in the feigned story of the woman of Tekoah, intended to persuade David to recall Absalom; although in respect to Absalom himself, it is not intimated that he was exposed to danger from this custom.* From that time forward, there is no farther hint of the practice among the Hebrews; the Jews of the age of the New Testament had it not; nor is it found among the Jews of the present day in any quarter of the globe. How then could the Nestorians derive it from the Jews? It was and is unknown to the latter; and it is totally at variance with all the precepts of Christianity. Instead, therefore, of proving any kindred between the Nestorians and Jews, this fact, so far as it goes, tends rather to establish the contrary.

The same fact serves to show, that this is more probably one of those *primitive* and universal customs, which spring up among different races under the influence of similar circumstances. To say nothing of the ancient Greeks and Arabians, as well as the modern Persians, Abyssinians, Druses, and Circassians, among whom this atrocious feature is related to exist, more or less,† we meet with it at the present day prevailing especially among independent nomadic or pastoral tribes, where the want or

* 2 Sam. c. xiv.

† See the authorities in Winer Bibl. Realw. I. p. 221.

weakness of an established civil government, renders the public administration of criminal justice imperfect or impracticable. Thus we still find the custom in its full strength among the wild hordes of Bedawin who rove over the Arabian deserts and nestle in Mount Sinai; among all of whom, it has never been counteracted by the institution of cities of refuge nor by any other asylum.* Still more remarkable is it, that the same customs should still be found existing among rude Christian tribes inhabiting mountainous districts; like the Nestorians of Kurdistan, the Mainotes of the Peloponnesus,† and the Montenegrins of Illyria. In this latter country, the custom of blood-revenge is carried even to a greater extent than among the Nestorians. "It is considered a sacred duty; and such a debt *must* be paid, even if not until after a hundred years. If, of two brothers, one were to slay their father, the other would be bound to avenge the father's death by the blood of his own brother. The relatives of the slain preserve his bloody garments, in order to stimulate by the sight their friends to vengeance; and especially is this done by the mother of the young children of a murdered person, in order to inculcate the same lesson as they grow up."‡ The custom here, as well as among the Nestorians, obviously takes the place of public judicial punishment.

A parallel to the Hebrew *cities of refuge* is found by Dr. Grant in the Nestorian churches; to which the man-slayer may flee and remain in security, until he shall have been proved to be guilty; or his case have been adjusted by payment of the fine of blood, or otherwise. Among the Bedawin, where no churches exist, the slayer flies to another tribe; among the Mainotes and Montenegrins, he does the same, or he may make the church his sanctuary. But Dr. G. leaves entirely out of view the fact, that even the ancient heathen temples were in the same manner asylums, like that of Diana at Ephesus;§ and also that in an early age the like immunities were granted by the emperors to all Christian churches, and convents, and

* Bibl. Researches in Palest. I. p. 209. Burckhardt, Travels in Syria, etc. p. 540.

† See a horrible instance which occurred in Maina, even between priests, in Col. Leake's Travels in the Morea, I. pp. 236, 237.

‡ Wuk Steph. Montenegro u. die Montenegriner, p. 35.

§ See the references, Winer Bibl. Realw. I. pp. 443, 444.

were extended even to church-yards and bishops' houses; whence the criminal could not be removed without a legal assurance of life, and an entire remission of the crime. The same immunity still exists in the churches of some Catholic countries. In all this, there is just as much relation to the Hebrew cities of refuge, as there is in the Nestorian churches; and the one instance proves just as much as the other, and no more.

[To be concluded.*]

ARTICLE X.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Sermons on Important Subjects. By the Rev. Samuel Davies. A. M., Pres. of the College of New Jersey. With an Essay on the Life and Times of the Author; by Albert Barnes. Stereotype edition, containing all the Author's Sermons ever published. In three volumes. New York: Dayton & Saxton. 1841. pp. 566, 556, 499.*

PRESIDENT DAVIES has always stood in the front rank of American preachers. Although called to the sacred office without the advantages of a thorough education, and dying at an early age, he attained to distinguished celebrity as a pulpit orator. His published sermons are mostly posthumous; still if we imagine them to have been "delivered," in the language of Mr. Barnes, "by a man of the noble bearing, the fine form, the eloquent gesticulation, the fervor of manner, and the *heart and soul* of such a man as Mr. Davies, it is easy to understand the reason why he had so commanding an influence over a popular audience, and why he was characterized as the prince of preachers." His rich natural endowments, however, did not betray him into the fault of negligent and hasty preparation for the pulpit. "I always thought it," he once remarked, "to be a most awful thing to go into the pulpit and there speak nonsense in the name of God. Besides, when I have an opportunity of preparing, and neglect to do

* We regret that want of space obliges us to defer the remainder of this article till the next number.

so, I am afraid to look up to God for assistance, for that would be to ask him to countenance my negligence." "Every discourse of his, which he thought worthy of the name of a sermon, cost him four days' hard study."

The productions of such a man, written with such views of the sacredness of his work, could not fail to be acceptable and useful. It will not be expected of us to point out the characteristics of Pres. Davies as a sermonizer. Mr. Barnes has done this with discrimination and fidelity in his "Essay on the Life and Times of the Author." But the best voucher for the value of these discourses is their almost unexampled popularity. Probably no other sermons which have issued from the American press have obtained more unequivocal proofs of the public favor. Prior to 1800, nine editions of them had been given to the world. In Great Britain, moreover, they have been repeatedly published with the approval and recommendations of the soundest divines. The publishers of the volumes before us have acted wisely for themselves, we have no doubt, as well as advantageously for the public in preparing this "stereotype edition."

The preliminary "essay," above referred to, occupies about 60 pages. It takes a rapid view of the leading incidents in the life of Pres. Davies, and also of the early history of Presbyterianism in Virginia, the materials of which were mainly furnished by Dr. Hill. Next follows the writer's estimate of Pres. Davies as a preacher. The last 25 pages of the "essay" are devoted to a consideration of "*the kind of ministry fitted to the times in which we live.*" The sentiments advanced in the progress of this discussion are judicious and weighty,—such as we should expect from one who himself illustrates "*the kind of preaching that this age demands.*" The sermons contained in the present edition are eighty-two in number, embracing a great variety of subjects,—ordinary and occasional,—and well suited to all classes of readers.

2.—*A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Literature in the Theol. Seminary at Andover. Second edition, corrected and mostly written anew. Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell (successors to Gould and Newman). New York: Dayton & Saxton. 1841. pp. 308.

The first edition of this grammar,—which was published in 1834,—having been for some time exhausted, Prof. Stuart has reluctantly consented to issue a second. The state of his

health, in connection with the multiplicity of his engagements, deterred him at first from assuming any additional labor ; but having once consented to revise his previous investigations, he has applied himself to the undertaking with characteristic diligence and fidelity. The science of Greek grammar has been rapidly advancing during the last few years. The work of Kühner,—to omit the mention of others,—has thrown floods of light upon the structure of this venerable language. “Buttmann and Hermann,” Prof. Stuart observes in his Preface, “laid the foundation for recent improvements ; Kühner has shown to what an extent they have been carried. The science of grammar has been simplified, and *principle* is now substituted, in a multitude of cases, for what had before been little better than a chaotic mass of facts. It would seem that not much further room is left for any important improvements ; yet the history of the past may well admonish us, not to exclude the hope of still further acquisitions to grammatical science.”

The most cursory perusal of the volume before us is sufficient to prove that Prof. Stewart has not been inattentive to the recent discoveries. The present edition is considerably larger than the first. Important parts of the work have been “written entirely anew,” and it may be regarded as bringing together all the great principles of the language. The “Verbs” are treated with fulness and accuracy ; and more than 150 pages are devoted to “Syntax.” Some topics, which have been too much neglected in this country, here receive the attention which their importance demands.

3.—*Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Exodus; designed as a general help to Biblical Reading and Instruction. By George Bush, Prof. of Heb. and Orient. Lit., N. Y. City University. In two volumes. Andover: Gould & Newman. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. 1841. pp. 300, 299.*

Prof. Bush is already known as a learned and industrious commentator on the Old Testament. These volumes have the same general characteristics as the *Notes on Genesis*. They bear the mark of uncommon diligence, extensive research, and a commendable readiness to meet the real difficulties of the sacred text. His language is clear, sometimes a little too copious perhaps, but always carefully weighed and chosen. He is distinguished above most modern interpreters of Scripture by the strength of his imagination ; indeed he constantly

reminds us of some of the older commentators. This peculiarity imparts a freshness to many passages in his expositions which heighten the pleasure with which they are perused. Occasionally, however, it leads him to interpretations and opinions which, to say the least, are somewhat questionable. Types and symbols assume an importance and a significance, in his hands, which few assign to them at the present day.

In most of Prof. Bush's expositions we fully concur; he usually exhibits the true spirit of the original. In cases of real difficulty he lays out his strength, and generally with success. He denies,—with good reason we think,—that the magicians of Pharaoh performed genuine miracles; they merely imitated, by their *enchantments*, the prodigies of Moses and Aaron. God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, he supposes, not by any positive divine influence, but by so ordering the course of events that “the haughty king should take occasion to *confirm himself* in his disregard of the counsels of the Most High.”

We regret that he has refused to locate the passage of the Israelites across the Red Sea in the immediate vicinity of Suez. In opposition to the opinions of Niebuhr, Leclerc, Rosenmüller, Dr. Robinson and others, he adopts the theory of the editor of the Pictorial Bible and those who agree with him, which places this occurrence “some ten or twelve miles farther south.” The arguments which he adduces in support of this preference seem to us unsatisfactory,—especially the consideration “that the waters being here deeper and broader the miracle would be the more conspicuous and unquestionable.” We think too that Prof. Bush has found himself somewhat straitened in his interpretation of certain expressions in the context. He supposes, for instance, “that the body of the waters had been rolled up, as it were, by the force of the wind from the *western* to the *eastern* side of the sea, and that it was through this agglomerated fluid that the passage was opened.” Of course this could not have been the effect of an *east wind*; and hence he gives to קָרַיִם “rather a generic than a specific import,” denoting “any *uncommonly strong or violent wind* from whatever quarter it blows.” Besides, we conceive it to have been absolutely impossible for six hundred thousand men, with their women and children, “the mixed multitude” that followed them, and “their flocks and herds, even very much cattle,” to have crossed the Red Sea ten or twelve miles south of Suez, during the time allowed them by the sacred narrative.

The remarks of Prof. Bush respecting the *shechinah*, the *tabernacle* and the *cherubim*, will excite the most attention. He has evidently bestowed much thought upon each of these

topics ; and those who dissent from his opinions must admire the sincerity and earnestness with which he holds and defends them. We have not space for a careful examination of our author's sentiments ; and nothing short of an extended notice can do them justice. We commend them to the diligent study of all lovers of biblical investigation.

The value of the second volume is materially enhanced by numerous cuts, illustrative of the tabernacle, its furniture, the dresses of the priests, etc.

4.—*Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841.* New-York and London : Wiley & Putnam. New-Haven : B. L. Hamlen. 1841. pp. 439.

We are in every respect gratified with the appearance of this handsomely executed octavo volume from the pen of the octogenarian Colonel Trumbull. On opening it we are presented with an accurate engraved likeness of the venerable author and subject of the work, taken in 1833. This is as it should be. When an old man, on the eve of his departure to a better world, pauses to perform that work which most persons, necessarily as well as properly, leave to their survivors, there is a propriety in his presenting his face with the record of his life. And such a man has a right to tell his own story. That which would be justly censured as egotism and vanity, in a younger man, may be received with satisfaction from one who has survived two generations of the world's inhabitants, and whose life has been prolonged almost to the limits of a third. Such an one, having well nigh finished his course, having done with the world and its objects of ambition, can leave no richer legacy to posterity than a faithful record of his own life and times. He is the relic of a by-gone age ; and if, as we believe is true of Col. Trumbull, his mind is uncorrupted, and retains, in a great degree, its original vigor, it is a blessing to mankind for him to linger among the living. When he testifies of what he has seen and heard, his writings come upon us with something of that authority with which memory repeats to us the counsels of a venerated father who, being dead, yet speaketh ; and they are the more interesting, because they are the words of a living witness.

Col. Trumbull was the son of John Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, and was born at Lebanon in that state, 1756. Being in his infancy the subject of "convulsion fits," his life was preserved by a remarkable providence and the untiring care of his mother. His education was conducted with the best

advantages of those times. His taste for drawing and painting was early indicated. He was graduated at Cambridge at the age of seventeen, and soon after, by the approach of the revolution, had his attention directed to the study of military affairs. At the age of nineteen he entered the army as adjutant, was in the battle of Bunker's Hill, was soon after appointed Aid to General Washington, and then advanced to the rank of Major, and soon after to that of Colonel, and was present at some of the most interesting scenes of the war, until 1777, when, before he had reached the age of twenty-one years, he closed his military career, by declining to receive his commission as Colonel, on account of the refusal of Congress to give it the date to which he judged it entitled. The correspondence relating to this unhappy occurrence is spread before the reader, and is honorable to the military spirit of the youthful aspirant.

He then resumed his favorite study of painting as a profession, and went to Boston for this purpose; and, after some interruption by the progress of the war, he went to Europe at the age of twenty-four and became a pupil of Mr. West in London. Here, after a few months, he was arrested and retained in prison for the term of seven months under suspicion of unfriendly designs against the British government. After his release he sailed to Holland, and thence, through much danger and delay, to America, where he remained until peace was restored between the two countries, when he returned to London in 1784, and commenced his famous picture of the Battle of Bunker's Hill and other works in the line of his profession, visited France and other countries, and remained abroad until 1789, when he returned. In 1794, he again embarked for England, as Secretary to Mr. Jay, and, in 1796, was appointed one of the commissioners to carry into execution the seventh article of the treaty between the two governments, remained abroad several years, visited France and was exposed to the peril of his life by the spirit of the French Revolution, returned to New-York, again visited England in 1808, and remained abroad eight years, since which he has honored his own country with his residence and a reputation in the line of his profession which is surpassed by no American artist. His paintings in the rotunda at Washington and in the Trumbull gallery at New-Haven will remain as monuments of his genius; and it is gratifying to reflect that a life of so much vicissitude, so useful and honorable to our country, is still prolonged and comfortably provided for by an annuity from Yale College in return for the splendid works which adorn the Trumbull gallery.

We have then in this volume the *Reminiscences* of one who lived before the great American Revolution, who mingled in the scenes which accompanied the achievement of our liberties, was personally acquainted with Washington and his co-patriots, and the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in our own country, and with Burke and Fox and their cotemporaries, in England, who was also familiar with the horrors of the French Revolution, and who is, perhaps, the only educated man of that age who survives to recount to us, of his own knowledge, the thrilling incidents and the great events of those times. The work is well written, is embellished with numerous sketches from the author's pencil, and is an interesting and instructive accession to our country's history.

5.—*Plain Sermons. By Contributors to the "Tracts for the Times."* In two volumes. New-York: J. & H. G. Langley. 1841. pp. 346, 350.

These volumes are a reprint of a London work, whose prefatory "Advertisement" is dated, "Oxford, *The Feast of the Circumcision*, 1839." They are accompanied with a Note by Bishop Onderdonk of New-York, recommending them as "admirably adapted to the conveying of religious instruction on the sound principles of the gospel," and authorizing "the public reading of them" by lay-readers within his diocese. The writer of the Oxford "Advertisement" remarks that "the kind of characters which the writers of the 'Tracts for the Times' have wished to form" is best exemplified by such persons, as, "by habitual purity of heart and serenity of temper, give proof of their deep veneration for sacraments and sacramental ordinances;" and adds: "To carry out this design more fully, it has been thought well to publish, from time to time, in connection with the 'Tracts,' a few 'Plain Sermons,' in order to show that the subjects treated of in the 'Tracts' were not set forth as mere parts of ideal systems, or as themes for disputation," etc., "but are rather urged as truths of immediate and essential importance, bearing more or less directly on our every day behavior."

With this design we have in these volumes seventy-two short sermons. We have read a number of them, and have much less objection to the sermons themselves than to the design which is thus formally announced. Our readers are aware that we deprecate the peculiar though sometimes half concealed doctrines of the "Tracts for the Times," and their

tendency to substitute a veneration of external forms and observances for internal spiritual graces. It is, however, interesting to observe that their zeal in support of their peculiar views has not entirely choked the word, and rendered it wholly unfruitful even in the writers of the "Tracts." When they turn to the discussion of the ordinary topics of Christian duty and experience, they show that personal piety and serious religion may exist irrespective of the characteristic doctrines of the "Tracts;" and we cannot but suspect a concealed insincerity in the writers, when they profess to regard these independent discussions as belonging to the same system with the peculiarities referred to. To us most of these sermons appear to stand aloof from all connection with the Tracts, excepting that they are the productions of some of the same writers. They are mostly on the elementary topics of personal piety and individual Christian duties and privileges, such as *self-examination, religious peace, value of time, private prayer, God an impartial judge*, etc etc. Their personal appeals are urged in the language of faithfulness, and they are more direct and pungent, in this respect, than most modern English preaching which has fallen under our notice. They are written with great good taste and purity of style, and their principal deficiency, in comparison with the best sermons of our own preachers, is a lack of cogent argument, and of bold and discriminating views of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Some of the sermons, however, assert the apostolical succession of the English bishops, and say: "If this be denied us, we are nothing better than usurpers, self-appointed ministers," etc. From claims of this sort, other denominations are of course dissenters; and while we would cheerfully recommend most of these sermons as unexceptionable and in some respects excellent, the considerations above named stand in the way of our unqualified approbation.

- 6.—*An Introduction to the Greek Language; containing an outline of the Grammar, with appropriate Exercises for the use of Schools and private Learners. By Asahel C. Kendrick, Prof. of the Greek Language and Literature in the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution.* Utica: Bennett, Backus and Hawley. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. Philadelphia: A. S. Barnes & Co. Rochester: Stanwood & Co. 1841. pp. 192.

Prof. Kendrick has been for some time a successful teacher of Greek in the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution of

this state. His experience in this employment has led him to feel the need of a book, which shall gradually unfold to his pupils and to others the peculiarities of this language, more especially as they have been developed by Thiersch, Buttmann, Kühner and others. The plan of the work is to exhibit, clearly and succinctly, the principles of the grammar, in connection with numerous examples for the practice of the learner. These are to be successively mastered before the subsequent parts of the book are taken up. "If the author may be permitted to advert to his own experience as a teacher in Greek, he would express the conviction that the secret of success is to go slowly over the elements, and attend to only one thing at a time. To dwell on each topic until the pupil has perfectly mastered it, is the way to make his acquisitions profitable, and his subsequent progress easy, rapid and delightful." With an occasional exception, the plan of Prof. Kendrick has been judiciously executed; in some parts of his work he has been particularly happy. His aim is to make thorough scholars; and this Introduction, we doubt not, will contribute essentially to the fulfilment of this praiseworthy intention.

7.—*Elementary Geology*. By Edward Hitchcock, LL. D., Prof. of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College; Geologist to the State of Massachusetts, etc. etc. Second Edition. With an Introductory Notice, by John Pye Smith, D. D. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 1841. pp. 346.

In our No. for Oct. 1840, we recommended this work as admirably adapted to the use of classes in colleges, and other seminaries of learning; and also as well suited to the general reader, who is destitute of the requisite facilities for studying the numerous and extended treatises on geology. We did not anticipate, however, that a *second* edition would be called for and issued within a single year. But such is the fact; and this of itself is gratifying evidence of its merit. It has secured the approbation, moreover, of those who are best qualified to judge of its worth,—among them Profs. Silliman of Yale College, Webster of Harvard University, Rogers of the University of Pennsylvania, Bailey of the Military Academy at West Point, Adams of Middlebury College. The Introductory Notice of Dr. J. Pye Smith is highly commendatory.

The author has endeavored to adapt this edition to the advancing state of geology. The most important addition relates to the subject of *Glaciers* and *Glacial Action*, which is now excit-

ing so much interest in Europe. Prof. Hitchcock has availed himself of the recent discoveries of Agassiz, Buckland and Lyell,—particularly of the *Etudes sur Glaciers* by Agassiz. About seventeen pages have been added to the present volume.

8.—*America, Historical, Statistic and Descriptive.* By J. S. Buckingham, Esq. In two volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841. pp. 514, 516.

The above is the imprint on the titlepages of the two volumes before us. The lettering of the cover is *Buckingham's Travels in America*. Having read the work with some care, we rather prefer the latter as the more appropriate title. It contains, it is true, a great variety of "historical, statistic and descriptive" matter, and something, almost, *de omnibus rebus*. But the author has made *himself* and his performances the subject of quite too much of his narration; while his travels, the heralding of his name from place to place, and the popular plaudits which attended his lectures and public addresses form the only connecting links between his successive accounts of the cities, towns and states through which he passed, and of the scenes, manners, usages and institutions which he describes.

In reading a book of travels we are always pleased to find the narrative so conducted as to make us, as far as may be, the travelling companions of the author, seeing things in the order in which he saw them, and sympathizing with him in his vicissitudes. But when he becomes himself the hero of his own story, and magnifies every incident, and honors every person and institution just in proportion as they serve to give prominence to his own exploits, we are disgusted. Such we confess has been the effect, on our own mind, of this marked characteristic of the work before us. The author devotes a disproportionate space to these self-applauding descriptions, and is so much absorbed in them that he seems almost to have forgotten that there was any thing else great and good in the country, excepting those institutions and efforts, (and these were often the less prominent and influential,) in whose public proceedings he was himself invited to take part. The examples of this egotistic propensity are numerous and constantly recurring throughout the work. We give the following as specimens, Vol. I. pp. 187, etc. He says, "a very splendid entertainment, called a Temperance Festival," was "got up in honor of my arrival in Philadelphia," etc.—was "avowedly held to do honor to myself," etc.; and then quotes

from the newspaper accounts of it: "Mr. Buckingham addressed the audience in a strain of surpassing eloquence," etc.; "Mr. Buckingham, the celebrated lecturer, addressed the company," etc. "As a speaker, he possesses remarkable ease, fluency and readiness, combined with a graceful, unaffected manner," etc.; "Mr. Buckingham concluded his most eloquent, diversified, powerful and convincing address," etc., etc. Now however quotations like these, made by a writer in his own praise, may accord with the taste of British readers, to us they are intolerable. The wisdom of Solomon has enjoined it as a duty, and all the principles of correct taste, as well as of Christian humility, confirm the requisition: "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips."

There is another prominent characteristic of this work, which we feel constrained to name in terms of decided disapprobation and reproof. It is the inaccuracy of many of its statements, amounting in some instances, apparently, to an entire recklessness of the precise truth. And this is the more censurable, because the author claims to have enjoyed "special privileges" and advantages for acquiring "extensive and accurate information" on all the subjects of his work. He also boldly admits, that by thus commending his work to the confidence of his readers, in respect to the accuracy of its information, he has "increased the weight of" his "responsibility to public opinion for its execution." And yet in the face of these claims which are urged upon our attention, the work contains so many statements, which are palpably wrong or incomplete, that they destroy our confidence in the veracity of the whole, and we cannot appeal to it as an undoubted authority on any of the numerous subjects of which it treats. We regret the necessity of making these remarks, and we assure our readers they are the result of no unkind feelings towards Mr. Buckingham. He has ever appeared to us to be an amiable man, and our impressions are confirmed by the perusal of the present work. He is on the right side in respect to most of the great questions of morals, and of religious and political liberty. He is the friend of temperance, of missions, and of the universal diffusion of knowledge and religion. He is also a friend and an admirer of our free institutions. He writes concerning America without the appearance of any unfriendly feelings. He is as ready to praise as to censure; and we can attribute the inaccuracy of his accounts of men and things in this country to nothing worse than, perhaps, an excess of vanity, which leads him unduly to magnify every thing

with which he can associate his own name, and the long indulgence of a habit of speaking and writing without reflection.

But our readers will require of us some further evidence that our censure is well deserved. Take, then, the author's account of "the scale of remuneration to all classes of the legal profession" in New-York, which he says "is liberal without being absurdly extravagant or profuse. The younger members who have any practice at all as attorneys, readily make an income of 3,000 dollars, or from £600 to £700 a year, rising from this minimum to as much as 10,000 dollars, or about £2,000 sterling, a year. The smallest fee of a barrister of any standing, and in almost any cause, is 100 dollars, or about £20. The greatest fee to the most distinguished barrister in any regular cause tried in the city courts is 5,000 dollars, or about £1,000. But when a special cause of importance arises, requiring great skill and considerable application, especially if such cause has to be tried at a distance from the residence of the barrister, and he be a person of the first eminence, it is said, (and one of the profession was my informant,) that as large a sum as 25,000 dollars, or £5,000 have been paid; but this was admitted to be a very rare and unusual occurrence. The judges have fixed salaries, varying from 1,600 dollars for the youngest to 3,000 dollars to the oldest, including the Chancellor and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court respectively." Who, before this, ever heard that the salaries of our judges were fixed on a scale varying with their respective ages? And who, that knows any thing of the pleasure with which our lawyers receive half the amounts above stated for their services, does not perceive that our author has given them at least two for one? And yet his statement is made in figures, with all the parade of accuracy, reducing dollars to pounds, as if it were a veritable account of the matter.

Again (Vol. I. page 139), in his account of the great effort lately made to increase and improve the Common Schools of New York, he names Mr. John Orville Taylor as having "taken the most active and practical part in this valuable labor," and, as an evidence of his qualifications for the task, he states that Mr. Taylor fills "a Professorship of the Science of Education in the New York University." But the name of that gentleman has never appeared on the catalogues of the University, and the public possess none of the ordinary evidences of his connection with it. Our author also tells us of "a monthly periodical" commenced by Mr. Taylor in 1836, "admirably conducted," etc., of which, he says "the circulation is immense, approaching to 50,000 monthly;" and adds (p.

142) : " For myself, I think the cheap little paper of the Common School Union of far more value and importance to the formation of the public mind and public morals of the rising generation of the United States, than all the other newspapers, magazines and reviews put together." It is a remarkable fact that the publication of the monthly paper here referred to (immense as Mr. Buckingham describes its circulation) was closed some two years since, as we suppose, for the want of support !

We have only space to add, that New-York politicians will be amused to read our author's grave account of the governor, lieutenant-governor, the comptroller and his deputy, the treasurer and his deputy, the attorney general, surveyor general, the secretary of state and his deputy, four canal commissioners and three bank commissioners, as constituting " what is called '*The Regency*,' or effective force of the executive."—Vol. II. p. 20.

Such specimens of running and flying carelessness, of ludicrous misconception and reckless statements occur very frequently on the pages of this work, and render it almost worthless for the purposes of accurate information. It is, however, pleasantly written, and contains a vast variety of extempore remarks and discussions, and hastily formed conclusions, some of which are worthy of consideration. The author characterizes us as a newspaper-reading people, and he seems to have constructed his work to meet what he conceives to be the prevailing taste of the age both here and in England. But we apprehend he has even exceeded the demand in this respect, and given us a work so like what Carlyle calls the " straw-threshing" of the daily press, that, even by those who are contented with this kind of intellectual entertainment, it will scarcely be preferred ; its chapters having as little connection with each other as the successive numbers of a newspaper, and its subjects being as multifarious and incongruous as the topics of those ephemeral sheets, which even critics do not criticise.

A beautiful engraved likeness of the author appears as a frontispiece of the first volume, and the work contains numerous wood-cuts, illustrating American scenery, institutions, structures, etc. It is well " got up" by the publishers. It is dedicated by the author, in due form, to His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, who, it appears, approving of " the feelings of good will towards the American people, under which this work was undertaken," has promised it his " full sanction and patronage."

- 9.—*The Life and Times of Red-Jacket, or Sa-go-ye-wat-ha ; being the Sequel to the History of the Six Nations. By William L. Stone.* New-York and London : Wiley & Putnam. 1841. pp. 484.

Much praise is due to Col. Stone for his valuable contributions to the history of the aborigines of our country. Our own nation has no fabulous age to which it can trace the history of its origin. The beginning of our existence as a people was in the possession of a degree of light and knowledge, which the nations of the old world have attained only after the lapse of ages. But, to make room for the millions to which we, in the good providence of God, have been multiplied, we have displaced a people whose origin, to use the language of our author, "is lost in the shadowy obscurity of tradition for ages before the sound of the white woodman's axe rang upon the solemn stillness of the forest-continent," and who perhaps, by a different course of treatment by us, might have been raised to the civilization, the liberty, the law, and the religious consolations which we possess. From us, indeed, these blessings demand the highest expressions of gratitude and praise to the Giver of all good. With the enjoyment of these favors, however, we have the lingering consciousness of guilt; "the voice of" our "brother's blood crieth from the ground,"—from the beautiful fields which we cultivate; and if the judgments which it demands are delayed, it should at least remind us of the duty we owe to the remnant of that devoted race which still survives among us, or trembles along the borders of our advancing possessions. We should, therefore, be deeply concerned to know their history, especially during the progress of that desolation to which our own arms have reduced them, that we may the better understand and feel our obligations.

Such are the considerations which should commend to the grateful regard of our countrymen the labors of Col. Stone in the present work, which is the execution in part of his design to compile a complete history of the great "Iroquois Confederacy," with the addition of the Tuscaroras, constituting what is usually called the "Six Nations." An exceedingly interesting and somewhat extended portion of this history was given to the public, some three years since, by the same author, in connection with his "Life of Brant." After the death of Brant, Red-Jacket became the most distinguished man of the Six Nations. Our author has accordingly chosen to weave into the "Life and Times of Red-Jacket," the subsequent por-

tion of his proposed history, and promises, if life and health are spared, to take up the earlier periods of our Indian history in subsequent works. The present volume appears to have been compiled with great diligence, and contains a vast variety of interesting matter, and much that will be new to most readers. It is written in the lively and characteristic style of the author, and will be found no less entertaining than instructive. The title is preceded with an exquisitely beautiful engraved likeness of Red-Jacket, and the volume is executed in superior style by the publishers.

- 10.—*Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times. By an American Citizen.* New York: W. M. Dodd. 1841. pp. 240.

In some respects this is an extraordinary production. It is by "an American Citizen," and "published for the author." The edition is very small, and pecuniary profit does not enter into his plan. We are told in the Preface, moreover, that "with the exception of a few gentlemen, who kindly assisted in revising the sheets and reviewing the authorities and notes, it is not probable that any individual out of the writer's family will be able to conjecture, with the least degree of probability, who is the author."

We give the "occasion of the work" in his own language. "During some of the first years of the writer's active life he was a skeptic; he had a friend, who has since been well known as a lawyer and a legislator, who was also skeptical in his opinions. We were both conversant with the common evidences of Christianity; none of them convinced our minds of the divine origin of the Christian religion, although we both thought ourselves willing to be convinced by sufficient evidence. Circumstances, which need not be named, led the writer to examine the Bible. The result of the examination was a thorough conviction, in the author's mind, of the truth and divine authority of Christianity. He supposed at that time that in his inquiries he had adopted the only true method to settle the question in the minds of intelligent inquirers; subsequent reflection has confirmed this opinion." "The author commenced a series of letters to convey to his friend the evidence which satisfied his own mind beyond the possibility of doubt. The correspondence was, by the pressure of business engagements, interrupted. The investigation was continued, however, when leisure would permit, for a number of years.

The results of these investigations are contained in the following chapters."

The discussion is introduced by the following positions: "Man will worship;" "he will become assimilated to the character of the object that he worships;" "the character of heathen deities has always been defective and unholy;" "from this corrupting worship man has no power to extricate himself." Hence it follows that "a pure object of worship should be placed before the eye of the soul;" and the revelation of such an object "should be accompanied with sufficient power to influence men to forsake their former worship and to worship the holy object." The way is thus prepared for an examination of that system which purports to be a revelation from God. The author begins with the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt. The miracles wrought for their deliverance dethroned every false deity, and revealed the I AM—Jehovah. When they reached Sinai they were prepared to receive the Moral Law. The course of training to which they were subjected for ages gradually enabled them to comprehend spiritual truths, and, at the same time, effectually cured them of their propensity to idolatry. Passing to the Christian dispensation, the writer shows that Jesus Christ,—God manifest in the flesh,—is precisely the model, the teacher and the Saviour which we need. In the progress of this discussion, the reader will find many interesting thoughts, particularly in those chapters which consider the Levitical economy. The writer is evidently a scholar, and a reflecting, earnest inquirer after the truth, and his book is well suited to the wants of those who are still encompassed by the snares from which he has so happily escaped.

- 11.—*Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home.* By the Author of "Hope Leslie," "Poor Rich Man and the Rich Poor Man," "Live and Let Live." In two volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841. pp. 275, 297.

Every body reads the works of Miss Sedgwick. She writes to be read, by conveying useful instruction and information in an easy and entertaining style. The present volumes are the result of her late tour of a few months in Europe. They convey the impressions of things,—men, manners, scenery etc.—just as they were made on her own mind; and though the subjects of her sketches are familiar to most American

readers, she has succeeded better than most writers in making us almost feel that we have seen them with our own eyes. The freedom of her style, however, betrays her into the use of occasional expressions which might better have been spared. But it is in vain to attempt to criticise such a writer in so brief a notice as we can devote to these volumes. They are beautifully executed by the publishers.

- 12.—*Higher Arithmetic, designed for the use of High Schools, Academies and Colleges.* By Geo. R. Perkins, A. M., Principal and Professor of Mathematics, Utica Academy. Bennett, Backus & Hawley: Utica. Gould, Newman & Saxton: New-York. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln: Boston. A. S. Barnes & Co.: Philadelphia. H. Stanwood & Co.: Rochester. 1841. pp. 252.

This book is intended to supply a deficiency in the series of text-books, now used in the schools of this country. The author remarks, with justice, that "among the multiplicity of works which have appeared within a few years, there seems not to have been any material change; they all wear nearly the same aspect. Whilst other school books have been rapidly improving, our arithmetic has remained nearly stationary." This treatise is not designed to teach the elements of the science, but rather to assist those who have become familiar with its fundamental rules. We approve both the object and the execution of the work. Indeed we are not acquainted with any book in the language which is equal to it.

- 13.—*The Widow Directed to the Widow's God.* By John Angell James. With an Introduction. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 205.

Although our religious literature has many excellent treatises for mourners, it has none which are addressed specifically and solely to the widow. Mr. James conceives that "she needs a special message of comfort from the Lord, a voice which speaks to her case alone, a strain of consolation which, in its descriptions and condolence, is appropriate, and exclusively so, to her." No one could have been selected with ampler qualifications for this tender office. Aside from the native kindness and generosity of his heart, the providence of God has obliged him to prove the efficacy of the consolations which he extends to others.

- 14.—*Anecdotes, Religious, Moral and Entertaining ; alphabetically arranged, and interspersed with a variety of useful observations. Selected by the late Charles Buck. From the ninth London edition.* New-York: Dayton & Saxton. 1841. pp. 514.

This book is too well known to require any description or commendation. It has been out of print for some years in this country ; and hence the present publishers have stereotyped the work, and put it at a price which, they think, will facilitate its general circulation. It may be useful to all, particularly to ministers of the gospel.

- 15.—*The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined, and the Protestant Ministry Defended against the Assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism, in a Series of Lectures.* By Thomas Smyth, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. Philadelphia: Hooker & Agnew, and Henry Perkins. Charleston: S. Hart, Sr. Cincinnati: Weed & Wilson. 1841. pp. 568.

This well filled octavo volume has come into our hands so recently that we have had time to read only a portion of it. Our impressions, however, of its value, from a partial examination, are such as make us unwilling to delay the present notice ; with the hope that some correspondent will hereafter furnish for our pages a more searching review of the work than it is possible for us at present to give. Its leading subjects, as indicated in the titlepage, are of sufficient importance to demand a thorough discussion ; and we agree with our author in the belief that the time has come when such a discussion is necessary for the proper vindication of the rights and duties of the great body of the Protestant ministry and churches, against the assumptions of a portion of their own number who take common ground with Romanists in excluding from the pale of communion in the "holy, catholic and apostolic church," all who dissent from their doctrine of "exclusive apostolic succession." These assumptions are not only found in many of the old and standard divines of the Church of England, but have been of late zealously put forth in the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," have been avowed by English and American bishops and by a great number of the Episcopal clergy of both countries ; and the assurance with

which they are urged in many recent publications calls for a patient and thorough examination of the arguments advanced in their support.

Such is the work undertaken by our author; and the "subject matter" of the present volume, as we are informed in his Introduction, "is the prelatial doctrine of apostolical succession, or the exclusive claim of high churchmen and Romanists to be the ONLY true church of Jesus Christ, his ONLY true and valid ministers, and the ONLY sources of efficacious ordinances and covenanted salvation. This doctrine, and not episcopacy, is the subject of our animadversion. The principles involved in this assumption, and not the character or standing of the Protestant Episcopal church, we condemn." The topics of the twenty-one Lectures comprised in this volume are as follows: *Necessity and plan of the discussion, etc.—the tribunal by which the doctrine in question must be adjudicated,—tests by which it must be tried,—tested by Scripture,—by history,—by facts,—is essentially Popish in its tendencies and results,—is intolerant in its tendencies,—is unreasonable,—is contrary to the more approved and charitable judgment of the English and American churches,—is schismatical in its tendencies and results,—the Presbyterian church vindicated from the charge of schism,—the true doctrine of apostolical succession asserted.* These subjects are discussed with great earnestness and strength; and the ample and numerous authorities by which his statements and reasonings are confirmed show that the author has spared no labor, and dispensed with no available aid, in his investigations. As far as we have examined them, they appear to us thorough and satisfactory, and we cordially commend the work to the diligent study of our readers.

The same author has in preparation a second volume, which will complete his proposed discussion of PRELACY AND PRESBYTERY, in which he will take up the latter subject. We shall look with interest for its appearance.

16.—*An Ecclesiastical Catechism of the Presbyterian Church; for the use of Families, Bible Classes and Private Members.* By Thomas Smyth. 1841. pp. 124.

This little volume is issued by the same publishers as the preceding work, by the same author. It is a well digested system of questions and answers on the church,—its government,—its officers,—its courts,—its power,—its fellowship, and the relation of the Presbyterian church to other denominations. It is a useful manual for Presbyterians, and may be instructive to others.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

We are obliged to condense our notices of the following works for want of room.

The Hannahs ; or Maternal Influence on Sons. By Robert Philip, Author of the *Marys, Marthas, Lydias, etc., etc.* New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1841. pp. 308.

The design of this work will be readily inferred from the subjects discussed. These are "the Peculiarities of Christianity toward Mothers," "a maternal Lamp," "Eve's maternal Character," "maternal Influence on Isaac,"—"on Jacob," "on Joseph," "on Moses," "on Samuel," "on David," "on Solomon," "on John the Baptist," "on the Saviour." As to the execution of this plan, it will suffice to say that it is in the usual style of this popular and prolific writer.

Memoir of Normand Smith ; or the Christian serving God in his Business. By Rev. Joel Hawes, D. D. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 72.

This is a faithful and exceedingly instructive sketch of an eminent Christian. He was distinguished neither by his talents nor his station in life, but solely by his consistent, vigorous piety, and his extraordinary devotedness to his Master's service. Few have been so successful in carrying their religion into their daily business ; few have shown so uniformly that their plans and interests were identified with the Redeemer's kingdom. As the Tract Society now hold the right of publication, we hope they will give the work an extensive circulation.

The Doctrines of Christian Baptism, examined by the acknowledged Principles of Biblical Interpretation. In two parts, including both the Mode and the Subjects. By James J. Woolsey. Philadelphia : Printed by I. Ashmead. 1841. pp. 364.

The author of this volume is the pastor of the Baptist Church in Norwalk, Connecticut. Having preached a series of sermons to his people in advocacy of the views of his denomination, he was requested to give them to the public. This he has done in a form somewhat enlarged from the original discourses. He has evidently bestowed much thought and study upon the subjects here discussed, and he appears to be fully persuaded of the legitimacy of his conclusions. The argument is managed with considerable ability, although, as it seems to us, it is not conclusive.

A Spiritual Treasury for the Children of God; consisting of a Meditation for each Day in the Year, upon select Texts of Scripture. By William Mason. Selected from his Morning and Evening Meditations. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 528.

These Meditations were written towards the close of the last century, with "the chief aim to exalt the Lord Jesus, the perfection of his atonement and righteousness, and the glory of his salvation." They are pervaded by an excellent spirit, and have been found exceedingly useful. The selections have been revised by the Tract Society, and published with some changes in obsolete or other defective forms of expression.

Practical Piety; or the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of the Life. By Hannah More. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 412.

The date appended to the Preface of this volume is March, 1841. Few books have been more popular or more useful. We have no doubt that the estimable writer is destined to exert a lasting influence upon the Christian world.

The Persecuted Family; a Narrative of the Sufferings of the Covenanters in the Reign of Charles II. By Robert Pollok, A. M., Author of the Course of Time, etc. New-York: Robert Carter. 1841. pp. 115.

Helen of the Glen; a Tale of the Scotch Covenanters. By Robert Pollok, Author of the Course of Time, etc. New-York: Robert Carter. 1841. pp. 113.

"The Persecuted Family" is a thrilling story of those times of cruelty and blood, which have loaded the memory of Charles II. and his minions with eternal disgrace. "Helen of the Glen" belongs to the same dark period; the tale itself however is less replete with the sufferings and the wrongs of the covenanters. Both are real incidents presented in the attractive style of the author.

A Discourse on the Moral Influence of Rail-Roads. By L. F. Dimmick, Pastor of the North Church, Newburyport, Mass. Newburyport: Charles Whipple. 1841. pp. 125.

The first half of this little volume is devoted to "the Perpetuity of the Sabbath." The author next considers "the ways

in which the Sabbath is violated ; this leads him to speak of Sabbath trains on rail-roads. Many weighty suggestions are made in connection with this last topic. We should like to see a copy of the book in the hands of every stockholder in Sabbath-breaking rail-road companies. •

ARTICLE XI.

RECENT LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

AMONG recent publications we notice Bellamy's New Translation of the Bible, Part VIII.—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles ; Essays on the Christian Ministry, selected from the American Biblical Repository and other American Publications, with a Preface by Dr. Murch, Pres. of Stepney College ; D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation in the 16th Century, translated D. D. Scott, Part I. ; Ranke's History of the Popes, translated by Mrs. Austin, 2d edition ; Keith's Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion, 24th edition ; The Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XXXII.—Rosenmüller and others on the Messianic Psalms ; Dr. Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, Vol. III,—containing the History and Ethnography of the Nations of Europe and Asia, to be completed in two volumes.

France.

Dr. Hodge's Commentary on Romans,—translated into French by Rev. Horace Monod of Marseilles, and accompanied by a Preface from the pen of Rev. Adolphus Monod, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Montauban,—is received with general favor by evangelical Christians. A very flattering notice of the work has been published in the Archives du Christianisme ; the writer, however, differs from the interpretation of Rom. V., denying the doctrine of imputation as set forth by Dr. Hodge, and affirming its opposition to the sentiments of the early Reformers, of Calvin in particular.—Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Central America, etc., has been translated into French.—A poem, entitled : *De Tristibus Franciæ*, by an unknown author of the 16th century, has recently appeared. The subject is the civil wars by which France was desolated under the three sons of Catharine de

Medicis. Among the recent announcements are *Panorama d'Egypte et de Nubie*; *Renovation philosophique ou Exposé des vrais principes de la philosophie*, by Girard de Candemberg; *L'Espagne artistique et monumentale*, Vol. I., a new publication by a Spanish Society of artists, intended to make known the monumental treasures of that country.

Germany.

In a recent letter to Dr. Robinson, Gesenius expresses his intention to complete his *Thesaurus* in 1842; he is also preparing a new edition of his *Commentary on Isaiah*.—A fifth edition of *De Wette's Introduction to the Old Test.* has appeared at Berlin, much improved and enlarged. We are informed that a font of movable hieroglyphic types has been cast at Leipsic; above 3000 of the characters are already completed.—Vol. V. of *Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church* is published, extending from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII.—Dr. J. Chr. Wm. Augusti died April 28th; he had been Prof. of Theology at Jena, Breslau and Bonn successively, and author of an *Introduction to the Old Test.*, *Manual of Christian Archeology*, and particularly of the *Memorabilia from Christian Archeology*.—*Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Central America*, etc., has been translated into German.

Italy.

The Chevalier Visconti has been appointed Professor of Archeology in the French Academy at Rome, in the place of the late Prof. Nibby.—From a recent account of the University of Padua, we learn that nearly all the professorships in the four faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy are filled. Dr. Valbusa is Prof. of Hebrew, the Exegesis of the Old Test., etc.; Dr. Agostini of Greek and the Exegesis of the New Test.; Dr. Fannio of Dogmatic Theology; Dr. Piotto of Ecclesiastical History. Intellectual and moral philosophy appears to receive but little attention.

United States.

Wiley & Putnam have Part I. of a *Complete Hebrew Concordance*, edited by Dr. Nordheimer and Wm. W. Turner, now in press. It is based on the *Concordance of Fürst*; the etymology and definitions of all the words will be given in English. The work will be published in 10 parts, and contain about 1200 pages, at \$1 a part.

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